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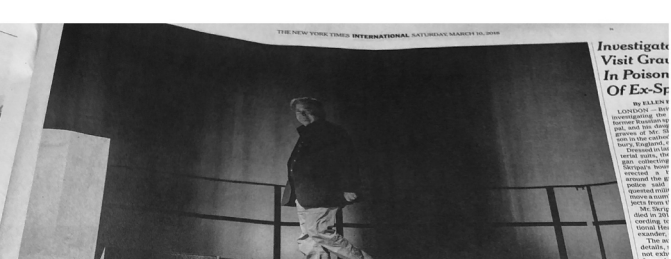


JENNY WETCHER/GETTY IMAGES

Stephen K. Bannon, the former chief strategist for President Trump, took the stage in Zurich on Tuesday for an event hosted by a right-wing Swiss magazine.

Bannon Takes On Europe, With Populist Toolbox in Hand

By JASON HOROWITZ

MILAN — Stephen K. Bannon leaned back in an armchair opposite a copy of a painting by an Italian old master and explained his modest efforts to build a vast network of European populists to decimate the Continent's political establishment.

"All I'm trying to be," he said, "is the infrastructure, globally, for the global populist movement."

Just that.

Only months ago, Mr. Bannon was forced out of the White House and Breitbart News, the alt-right news empire he helped make into a political force, for the sharp criticisms of President Trump's children attributed to him in a book.

"He's lost his mind," Mr. Trump said at the time.

But now Mr. Bannon, the architect of Mr. Trump's populist campaign message and the president's former chief strategist, has returned with an international mission.

On Saturday, he is set to headline the annual conference of France's far-right National Front in the northern city of Lille, where he will be introduced by its leader, Marine Le Pen. People with knowledge of Mr. Bannon's itinerary suggested that he might meet Le Pen in the weekend with the Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orban, but Mr. Bannon declined to say whether or not he would, only saying that he admired Mr. Orban as "hero" and "the most significant guy on the scene right now."

Back in Zurich, Mr. Bannon says, he held a "fascinating" meeting on Friday with leaders of German far-right Alternative for Germany party.

He included Alice Weidel and Jörg von Storch, who recently spoke to a New Year's Eve public announcement by the police that went out in languages, including Arabic, tweeting, "Are they seeking to please the barbaric, Muslim hordes of men?"

But it is Italy, where populist forces smashed the country's establishment by combining to win more than half the vote on Sunday, that Mr. Bannon has turned into his de facto headquarters.

In a sprawling interview here, he declined to name whom he had met, other than to describe them as a broad array of politicians, operatives and investors.

(A spokesman for Matteo Salvini, the leader of the anti-immigrant League, said the two would have liked to have met, but did not. A spokesman for the anti-establishment Five Star Movement, which won a third of Italian votes, did not return a request for comment.)

Aside from the occasional coffee at Campo de' Fiori or photo-op at Piazza Navona, Mr. Bannon has been holed up in hotel rooms, taking meeting after meeting.

In Rome, he stayed at the luxurious Rafael hotel, where Bettino Craxi, the face of Italy's corrupt establishment and mentor to Silvio Berlusconi, was pelted with coins in 1993 by an angry mob as he departed the political scene.

In Milan, he sat in a room at the grand Principe di Savoia, opposite a copy of Titian's portrait of the Duke of Mantua, a master of intrigue in Renaissance Italy and a longtime sufferer of syphilis, surrounded by red damask wallpaper. Items were on a room service cart, and a copy of a book titled "Headlines All My Life" was on the desk.

In both cities, he wore a blue and white striped button down over a polo shirt. In Rome the polo was orange. In Milan it was blue.

He sipped sparkling water and described a grand vision for a global populist future.

In the United States, Mr. Bannon said, he is working on a project to create a think tank to "weaponize" populist economic and social ideas.

He sees that work spreading to Europe, where a proliferation of populist websites in the image of Breitbart News, either owned by him or others, will spread those ideas, under his guidance.

As a final component, he wants to train an army of populist foot soldiers in the language and tools of social media.

Mr. Bannon said that a common message he had received from populist throughout Europe was a desire to establish a media outlet for their views.

"They see what Breitbart did and they want it in their own language," said Mr. Bannon, who slipped into the present tense when talking about the website from which he recently separated. "That's the key. Right now my sites are in English, they want one in their own language," he said, calling that "phase two."

A new mission: To train Europe's budding populists to do what he did.

He could be forgiven the slip, as the site still seems to be in his thrall. ("S'epper K. Bannon took Zurich by storm Tuesday, addressing a sell-out crowd," began Breitbart's article on the speech.)

But Mr. Bannon, who said he was paying for the trip, said he was weighing whether to buy a name-brand outlet, like Newsweek or United Press International, or to start a new one, or to connect entrepreneurs with capital or invest himself.

He imagined a scoop-driven and high-metabolism outlet "like Axios," he said, referring to the buzzy Washington newsletter, but with a populist bent that would deliver Europe's sleepy legacy papers.

"Whether I do it or a local entrepreneur does it," he said, "there are going to be these populist national news sites that pop up in the next year on line. That will only take these things to the next level."

With Europe more aggressively tackling the migration issue, Mr. Bannon was aiming to move the future battle of populism to other terrains.

He said that the reason it was so important to get populist nationalist governments in place was to prepare for a coming great-powers clash with an axis of ancient Turkish, Persian and Chinese civilizations. "Elites can't fight that fight," he said. "Because people have to buy into it."

He is also increasingly interested in motivating people to fight media conglomerates like Facebook that monetize their data. And he has become fascinated with crypto currencies and how they can help populist movements, the subject of a speech he gave in Zurich this week.

In preparation for the speech, organized by Die Weltwoche, a conservative Swiss magazine, Mr. Bannon said he visited the town of Zug, known as Crypto Valley for its bustling cryptocurrency industry. He was impressed.

"If Brussels and the European Central Bank is worried about Italy going to the lira, their concerns should be that all these communities and states are going to crypto," he said in Milan.

In the meantime, he said, he admires Italy's populist parties for already being on the technological cutting edge.

The Five Star Movement, a web-based party that preaches direct, online democracy, and the League, the hard-right, formerly northern-based secessionist party, both dominated social media during the campaign.

Often, their critics say, they did it with spurious and inflammatory fake news about migrants and crime. Many of those messages seemed propelled by automated bots rather than real supporters.

"You can't just have just all human, I'm sure they have some bots," Mr. Bannon said, unbothered. "The thing is, that they are generating enthusiasm on the strings."

He said he hoped the vast votes would eventually lead to something non out of the mainstream. Italians try to govern after an inconclusive election.

But he spoke also sympathetically about Mussolini, the strongman who only years ago was the future of Italy's European center-left.

Mr. Renzi, he said, "reject lesson the victorian in Europe," one.

The former prime said, had tried to sells's rules when it gration crisis, and European Union allow tries to close their ing Italy to take the burden.

"They hung him said.

Mr. Bannon sa on Sunday also Francis, who has for migrants.

"This vote wa pope," said Mr. who has nonetheless time critic of

"The pope like radical and a revolutionar the little gu place on Su

He said t turn to Ro the Vatica can cardi then Fra tended i

"They stay for non sa love to

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028481

From: [redacted]
Sent: 8/4/2015 10:23:22 PM
To: Allen West [redacted]; Rafael Bardaji [redacted]; Philip Kafka [redacted]; Herb goodman [redacted]; Grant Seeger [redacted] Lisa albert [redacted]; janet kafka [redacted]; James Ramsey [redacted] ACT for America [redacted]; john zouzelka-cell [redacted]; Joel Dunn [redacted] Nate mcclain [redacted]; Bennet Greenwald [redacted] taal safdie [redacted]; uri fouzailov [redacted] Neil anderson [redacted]; nate white [redacted] rita hortenstine [redacted]; Henry hortenstine [redacted]; Gary Gross [redacted] Forrest Miller - adj kearsarge house [redacted]; Bennett Schmidt [redacted]; Val sherman [redacted]; Marcie brown [redacted]; Mark epstein [redacted]; jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Michael Stechel [redacted]; michael buchholtz [redacted]; Michael horowitz [redacted]; Marshall Funk [redacted]
Subject: Fw: The Iran Nuclear Deal

Pls spent 2 minutes and watch this dennis prager video on iran deal. And then forward it if you agree. If not, I understand and just delete. Respectfully, terry
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Mike Cohen <[redacted]>
Date: Tue, 4 Aug 2015 22:00:42 +0000
To: Terry Kafka [redacted]
Subject: FW: The Iran Nuclear Deal

From: Mike Cohen
Sent: Monday, August 03, 2015 7:16 PM
Subject: FW: The Iran Nuclear Deal

Dear Friends,

PLEASE watch this very important short and incredibly clear video regarding the Iran deal.

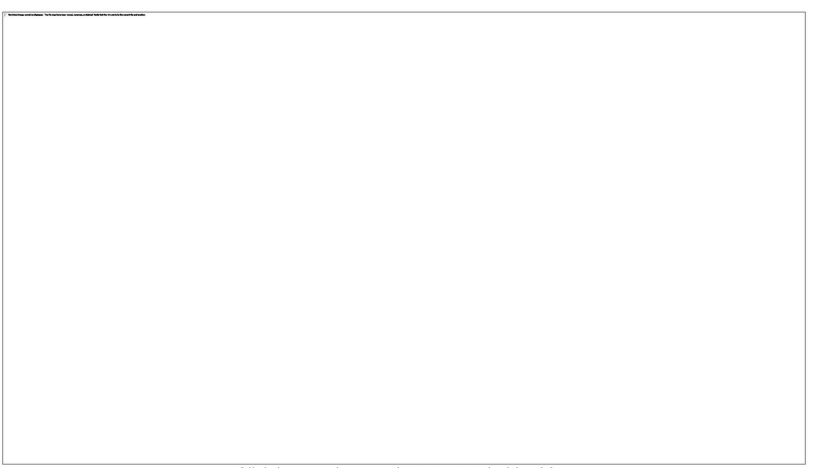
If you have not yet called your congressmen and asked other friends and relatives to do so, PLEASE do that as well. The wellbeing of your children and grandchildren depend upon it!

Mike

The Iran Nuclear Deal

Dear Friend,

This week, our featured video is as urgent as it gets. Just days after President Obama and Secretary of State John Kerry announced the nuclear deal with Iran, Dennis Prager was in studio recording a video explaining why the deal is so dangerous, and how it parallels what happened in 1938 between Great Britain and Nazi Germany. This is the fastest turn-around time on any video we've released in PragerU's history, but what's at stake is so monumentally important, we knew we couldn't waste any time. So please take five minutes to watch the video. Forward it to your family, friends, and the offices of your Congressional representatives. We all have an obligation to do whatever is in our power to impact as many people on this topic as we can.



Click image above or here to watch this video

From: Ehud Barak [redacted]
Sent: 4/23/2015 3:31:35 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Bill Clinton on Virtues of North Korean Nuclear Deal - History Repeats Itself

Hi Jeff

Subject: Bill Clinton on Virtues of North Korean Nuclear Deal - History Repeats Itself

Fyi
Best
EB

Check out this video on YouTube:

http://youtu.be/6TcbU5jAavw

Sent from my iPhone

From: Ehud Barak [redacted]
Sent: 4/23/2015 1:34:41 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: What Iran nuke deal means for Israel: Ehud Barak

Hi Jeff
Bill Clinton 1994.
Food for thought.
EB

http://video.cnbc.com/gallery/?video=3000369298

Sent from my iPhone

From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/29/2015 2:22:23 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should
Attachments: MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg

---

From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Sent: 3/28/2015 5:59:43 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time
Subj: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should

-----Original Message-----
From: Sample, Elizabeth <[redacted]
To: Norman D. Rau <[redacted]n>
Sent: Sat, Mar 28, 2015 5:24 pm
Subject: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should

Elizabeth Lee Sample
Senior Global Real Estate Advisor/Associate Broker
Sotheby's International Realty
38 East 61st Street
New York, NY 10065
[redacted]

http://www.samplepowers.com/
Click here to view my listings

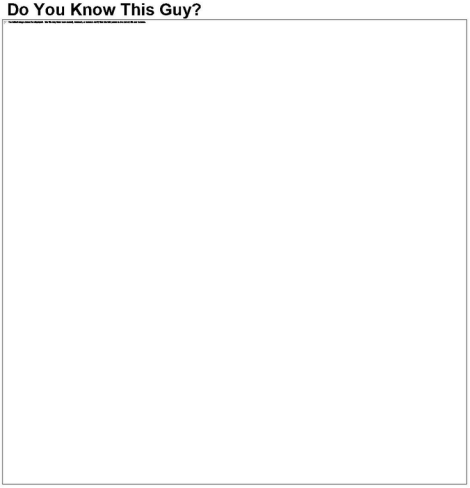
Karlie Jamison
Licensed Salesperson/Executive Administrator
[redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Fitz Corr" <[redacted]>
Date: March 27, 2015 at 5:24:21 PM EDT
To: "Fitz Corr" <[redacted]>
Subject: Do you know this Guy? You should

Subject: Do you know this Guy? You should

Do You Know This Guy?



He is Edward "Ed" Mezvinsky, born January 17, 1937. And so who is Ed Mezvinsky?

Well, he is a former Democrat congressman who represented Iowa's 1st congressional district in the United States House of Representatives for two terms, from 1973 to 1977.

He sat on the House Judiciary Committee that decided the fate of Richard Nixon.

He was outspoken saying that Nixon was a crook and a disgrace to politics and the nation and should be impeached.

He and the Clintons were friends and very politically intertwined for many years.

Ed Mezvinsky had an affair with NBC News reporter Marjorie Sue Margolies and later married her after his wife divorced him.

In 1993, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, then a freshman Democrat in Congress, cast the deciding vote that got President Bill Clinton's controversial tax package through the House of Representatives.

In March 2001, Mezvinsky was indicted and later pleaded guilty to 31 of 69 counts of federal criminal bank fraud, mail fraud, and wire fraud.

Ed Mezvinsky embezzled more than $10 million dollars from people via both a Ponzi scheme and the notorious Nigerian e-mail scams.

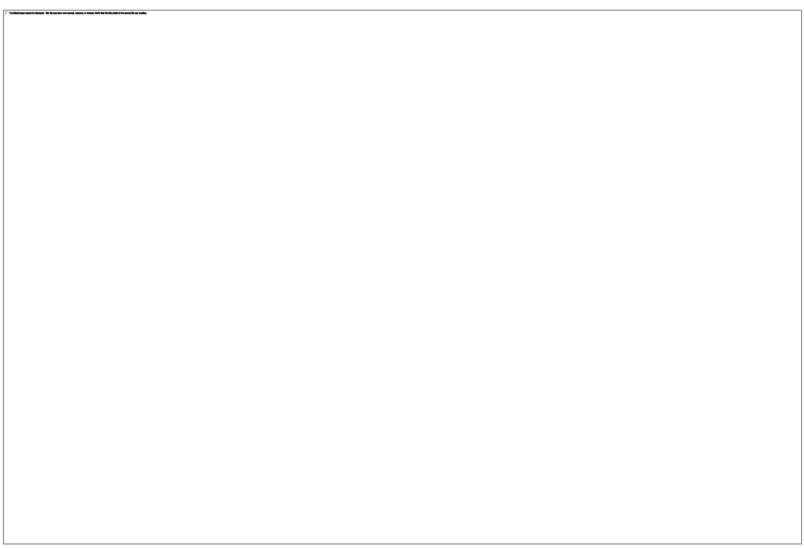
He was found guilty and sentenced to 80 months in federal prison.

After serving less than five years in federal prison, he was released in April 2008 and remains on federal probation.

To this day, he still owes $9.4 million in restitution to his many victims.

About now you are saying, "So what!"

Well, this is Marc and Chelsea Mezvinsky.



That's right; Ed Mezvinsky is Chelsea Clinton's father-in law.

Now Marc and Chelsea are in their early thirties and purchased a $10.5 million NYC apartment.

Has anyone heard mention of any of this in any of the media?

If this guy was Jenna or Barbara Bush's, or better yet, Sarah Palin's daughter's father-in- law, the news would be an everyday headline and every detail would be reported over and over and over.

And yet liberals say there are no double standards in political reporting.

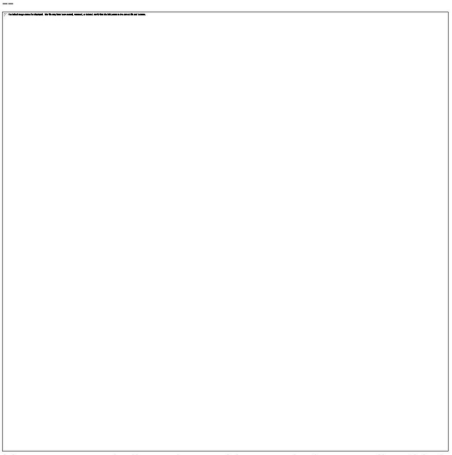
And people are already talking about Hillary as our next President!

And then there is possibly Chelsea for president in our future!

The cycle never ends!

Lying and corruption seem to make Democrat candidates more popular.

WAKE UP AMERICA



I have removed all previous addresses before sending this to you as well as sending it to you as a "blind copy". Please remove my address before forwarding.

From: Nicholas Ribis[redacted]
Sent: 1/4/2018 3:19:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Michael Wolff: My Insane Year Inside Trump's White House

Read this
https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.hollywoodreporter.com/amp/news/michael-wolff-my-insane-year-inside-trumps-white-house-1071504

Sent from my iPhone

From: Faith Kates [redacted]
Sent: 11/23/2017 2:41:19 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Have fun!!!

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:36 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

david fizel. hanson. trump

On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:32 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:
He's such a snooze who else is down there?

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:18 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

berries color for holiday

On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:16 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:
That means glenn check out his red hair!!!

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:15 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

eva

On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:14 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:
Ok dylan will want to see you I always want to see you. Where are you having thanksgiving?

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:12 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

all next week

On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:11 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:
Fun!!! When are you back in NYC?

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 23, 2017, at 7:54 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

hope today is fun for you.

--

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From: Peggy Siegal [redacted]
Sent: 11/20/2017 8:09:46 PM
To: Steven Pfeiffer [redacted] jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards
Attachments: image001.png; image002.png; image003.png

Dear Steven,

See below:

Company Name: The Peggy Siegal Company
Contact Name: Peggy Siegal
Address: 750 Lexington Avenue 5th Floor New York, New York 10022.

Best,
Rebecca

From: Steven Pfeiffer [[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, November 16, 2017 4:23 PM
To: jeffrey E.; Peggy Siegal
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards

Sounds good, works for me.

So, Peggy, if you could just let me know what info to include on the donation letter and invoice, I'll send that along your way.

COMPANY NAME (if applicable):
CONTACT NAME:
ADDRESS LINE 1:
ADDRESS LINE 2:

Thanks,
Steven

Steven Pfeiffer
Associate Director, Development
Independent Filmmaker Project

Made in NY Media Center by IFP
30 John Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
p: [redacted]
www.ifp.org

From: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Thursday, November 16, 2017 at 3:40 PM
To: Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]>, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards

just send to peggy. you her co . its better for her

On Thu, Nov 16, 2017 at 3:38 PM, Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]> wrote:

Hi Jeffrey –

Sounds good. Thanks so much for confirming. If you or someone in your office could provide the information below, I can send along an invoice and contribution letter for your $10K donation toward the chairs.

COMPANY NAME (if applicable):
CONTACT NAME:
ADDRESS LINE 1:
ADDRESS LINE 2:

Many thanks.

Best,
Steven

Steven Pfeiffer
Associate Director, Development
Independent Filmmaker Project

Made in NY Media Center by IFP
30 John Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
p: [redacted]
www.ifp.org

From: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Thursday, November 16, 2017 at 3:26 PM
To: Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]>, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]>, Richard Kahn <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards

happy to buy your 10k of chairs and will need me plus 3 seats.

On Thu, Nov 16, 2017 at 1:36 PM, Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]> wrote:

Hello Jeffrey –

I hope all is well with you. As per Peggy Siegal's office, I have included here the invitation to the IFP Gotham Awards ceremony, which will be held on Monday, November 27 at Cipriani Wall Street in New York City.

This year's ceremony is going to be another successful event. We couldn't be more thrilled with this year's impressive group of Tributees. The Actress Tribute will go to **Nicole Kidman** and the Actor Tribute to **Dustin Hoffman**. The Director Tribute will be given to **Sofia Coppola**, with the Cinematographer Tribute going to **Ed Lachman**. With the Industry Tribute, we will be honoring **Jason Blum**, founder of Blumhouse Productions. And we simply couldn't be more pleased to honor Vice President **Al Gore** with this year's special Humanitarian Tribute. With nominees this year

ranging from **Willem Dafoe, Adam Sandler** and **Robert Pattison** to **Margot Robbie, Lois Smith** and **Mary J. Blige**, this year's ceremony looks to be the most star studded ever.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Best regards,
Steven

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From: Steven Pfeiffer [redacted]
Sent: 11/16/2017 9:23:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Peggy Siegal [redacted]
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards
Attachments: image001.png; image002.png; image003.png

Sounds good, works for me.

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COMPANY NAME (if applicable):
CONTACT NAME:
ADDRESS LINE 1:
ADDRESS LINE 2:

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Steven

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Date: Thursday, November 16, 2017 at 3:26 PM
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From: Nicholas Ribis [redacted]
Sent: 7/16/2017 12:23:00 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]

Saw Matt C with DJT at golf tournament I know why he was there

Sent from my iPhone

From: Terje Rod-Larsen [redacted]
Sent: 5/27/2017 11:19:59 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: US Saudi Arms deal but Note Blackstone Infrastructure Fund with SAMA

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Richard John Nawrot <[redacted]>
Date: May 23, 2017 at 15:13:12 GMT+4
To: Terje Rod-Larsen <[redacted]>
Cc: Andreas Kraus <[redacted]>, George Henderson <[redacted]>
Subject: US Saudi Arms deal but Note Blackstone Infrastructure Fund with SAMA

Terje, the attached article appeared in todays FT, I have removed the defence part related to the US$110bn arms deal but highlighted the separate deal done with Blackstone to establish a fund for US infrastructure this is akin / precedent to what we seek to achieve with SAMA focused on global investment fund in Airport Infrastructure — Best Richard.

US President Donald Trump began his first foreign trip with a stop in Saudi Arabia, where a $110bn arms package was announced that the White House hopes will help Saudi Arabia and other gulf states combat terrorism in the region and ward off threats from Iran.

US defence companies lifted by Saudi deals

Lockheed Martin and Boeing stand out after Saudi Arabia signs a flurry of deals

Separately, the kingdom's sovereign wealth fund has also announced a large investment in US infrastructure through a new Blackstone fund. The sovereign Public Investment Fund intends to invest $20bn into Blackstone's new vehicle, with a further $20bn coming from other investors. The group's stock price rose 6.7 per cent to $31.88.

From: [redacted]
Sent: 5/8/2017 3:23:05 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Re:

explain

In a message dated 5/8/2017 11:19:08 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time, jeevacation@gmail.com writes:

> careful she is nottrustworthy at ALLL
>
> On Mon, May 8, 2017 at 10:43 AM, Jonathan Farkas <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> I am seeing Heidi a little bit I don't think it will turn into romance I am a bit old and not tall enough but she seems intelligent and kind Somers got an appointment from Trump she is on The White House Fellowship Commison it came through Woody and Suzanne Johnson because she bundled best Jonathan
>
> Sent from my iPhone
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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 6/6/2014 2:23:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: nanosatelites are getting hot

http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21603441-where-nanosats-boldly-go-new-businesses-will-followunless-they-are-smothered-excessive

Technology – Full text articles

Satellites: Space: the next startup frontier
The Economist

AROUND 1,000 operational satellites are circling the Earth, some of them the size and weight of a large car. In the past year they have been joined by junior offspring: 100 or so small satellites, some of them made up of one or more 10cm (4-inch) cubes. They may be tiny, but each is vastly more capable than Sputnik, the first man-made satellite launched by Russia in 1957. And many more are coming.

Space hardware used to cost so much that it was available only to generals, multinationals and the most privileged scientists. No more. Many of these nanosats, as small satellites weighing no more than a few kilograms are called, have been launched for small companies, startups and university departments, sometimes with finance raised on crowdfunding websites. Their construction costs can be down in the tens of thousands of dollars, which makes them thousands of times cheaper than today's big satellites. Admittedly, there is much they cannot do, but with that sort of price differential, and some ingenious use of the abilities they do have, they could be surprisingly competitive players on a number of fronts. In the next five years another 1,000 nanosats are expected to be launched.

Two trends are setting up nanosats for further success. Like people working on everything from robots to 3D printers, nanosat builders are harvesting the benefits of ever better, ever cheaper components built for smartphones and other consumer electronics. Some nanosats even contain complete smartphones, making use of the clever operating systems, radios and cameras which phones now contain. For as long as phones go on getting cheaper and more capable, so will nanosats. The cheapest so far—a tiny chipsat—was assembled for just $25, though it has yet to be successfully launched.

The launch systems too are getting much cheaper. SpaceX, the innovative rocket-maker founded by Elon Musk, has already brought down the costs of getting into space; it and its competitors could reduce them a lot further. The biggest beneficiaries will at first be people who make big satellites. But more big satellites will mean more opportunities for small satellites to piggy-back on their launches. And some companies are looking at cheap little launch systems tailored specifically to the needs of the nanosatellite. One reason space engineers are notoriously conservative is that the costs of failure are high. As making and launching satellites gets cheaper, it will be ever easier for innovative, risk-taking nanosat-makers to orbit around the lumbering incumbents.

Size does impose limits. Nanosats cannot peer as closely at the Earth or carry out as many experiments as big satellites. But for some jobs that does not matter. The plans that companies already have include using nanosats for monitoring crops, studying the sun and tracking ships and aircraft. Such a system might have been able to track Malaysian Airlines flight MH370, which went missing in March.

Nano can do

Yet not everyone is thrilled. One worry is that constellations of nanosats will mean a big increase in space junk; but, operating in low-Earth orbit, they burn up on re-entry after a year or so. And being cheap, they can soon be replaced with newer models. A more serious concern is that they are a "dual-use" technology: they could be used for military purposes. In America this has led to onerous restrictions.

Barack Obama's administration has sensibly repealed a law of 1999 that required all satellites to be licensed by the State Department as munitions under the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR). This could mean that most commercial satellites will be removed from ITAR by the end of the year and their export administered by the Commerce Department. But some satellite systems and spacecraft—including anything that can carry people into space—will remain under ITAR.

Care needs to be taken with military kit, but America's regulations still seem excessive. A regular review to distinguish between systems that pose a real threat and ones that don't would be a help, as would better intelligence. Tight restrictions on new technologies will not work, and will damage America's interests: exciting new ventures like nanosats will simply move to countries from which they can be launched with greater ease.

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Nanosatellites: Nanosats are go!
The Economist

ALTHOUGH widely used, satellites are expensive to build and to launch. That began to change last year. On November 19th Orbital Sciences, an American company, launched a rocket from the Wallops Flight Facility in Virginia. It carried 29 satellites aloft and released them into low-Earth orbit, a record for a single mission. Thirty hours later, Kosmotras, a Russian joint-venture, carried 32 satellites into a similar orbit. Then, in January 2014, Orbital Sciences carried 33 satellites up to the International Space Station (ISS), where they were cast off a month later.

Many of these 94 satellites were built in a standard format known as a CubeSat, a 10cm (4 inch) cube weighing 1.3kg (2.9lb) or less. Some comprised units of two or three cubes. After a decade of fits and starts, during which some 75 CubeSats were launched, satellites of this scale and other small satellites are moving from being experimental kit to delivering useful scientific data and commercial services.

In the next five years or so some 1,000 nanosats, as small satellites of 1-10kg are called, are expected to be launched. Some will be smaller than a CubeSat; others bigger and heavier. Some are like a matryoshka doll: the Russian launch included a satellite that launched eight smaller ones, including four PocketQubes (a 5cm cube format). One of these smaller satellites, developed in Peru, released its own tiny bird.

There will be upsets along the way. In April, as part of a mission by SpaceX, an American company, to resupply the ISS, a small mothership was placed in orbit carrying 104 "sprites" (pictured below). Not much larger than a postage stamp, these contain all the basic elements of a satellite, such as a radio, aerials, a solar cell and instruments. Developed as part of a crowd-funded project called KickSat at Cornell University, each sprite cost just $25 in parts. Their launch was free, courtesy of NASA, the American space agency. The sprites were designed to remain in orbit for a few weeks collecting data before burning up on re-entry. Unfortunately, due to a fault with a timer, the mothership failed to release them before it burned up on re-entry. A second mission is now being planned.

No going back

Despite that setback, the way ahead for satellite technology is clear. "You can now, with a single chip, create most of the capabilities that you would have found in Sputnik, but, of course, orders of magnitude faster," says Mason Peck, a former chief technologist at NASA and now a professor at Cornell University.

The most ambitious project to date is a flock of 28 nanosats, each one three CubeSats in size (ie, 30cm long). These were carried to the ISS in January and released in batches (pictured at the beginning of this article) through a sort of satellite shooter developed by NanoRacks, an American company. These nanosats came from Planet Labs, a firm based in San Francisco. The satellites now take pictures as they scan the Earth more frequently than traditional ones and at a fraction of the cost, albeit at a lower resolution.

Planet Labs, funded modestly with $65m of private investment, says its nanosats provide much of the performance of a conventional satellite for a fraction of the cost. That reflects a lot of antiquated technology in the space business, much of which can be bettered by the latest off-the-shelf equipment, says Will Marshall, Planet Labs' boss. There are other cost-saving measures. Satellites are usually built in elaborate clean rooms, but Planet Labs assembles its nanosats in "clean-enough" rooms in its downtown offices. The company expects to put another 100 nanosats into orbit in the next 12 to 18 months.

A few miles away, in another modest San Francisco office, Nanosatisfi is working on its ArduSats. These are open-source platforms and two have already gone up. They will contain an array of sensors and can carry out various missions, such as locating things. More than 250,000 ships, for instance, now broadcast an automatic identification signal than carries about 50 nautical miles. A fleet of small satellites in low orbit could pick up these signals and provide frequent updates about the ships' positions without the vessels having to use costly dedicated satellite uplinks. Such a system might have been able to track Malaysian Airlines flight MH370, which went missing in March.

Farther south in Mountain View, Skybox captures high-resolution imaging data from its first satellite in orbit as it prepares another 23 to launch in the coming years. Some things, though, can be shrunk only so far and larger satellites are needed for a telescope to obtain the higher resolutions required for the firm's analysis. While Skybox's minisatellites weigh around 100kg, a fairly common size for small satellites, the firm proved its concept to investors using CubeSats. "Being able to put something in space at very low cost allows you to demonstrate the technology to get more money," says Dan Berkenstock, one of the company's founders.

The CubeSat specification came out of the academic world in the late 1990s. Bob Twiggs, then at Stanford University and now at Morehead State University, was frustrated by long delays on a large-satellite programme and set about thinking how much satellite capability might be crammed into a much smaller craft that could be launched cheaply. Space launches usually comprise one or more primary payloads and require ballast to balance the rocket. CubeSats, reasoned Mr Twiggs, could take the place of some of this ballast, so long as they did not jeopardise the main mission. The optimum size Mr Twiggs came up with was based on a box used to display Beanie Babies. Later, with Jordi Puig-Suari of California Polytechnic State University, it was turned into a full specification. Mr Twiggs also developed the 5cm PocketQube, which has a maximum weight of 180 grammes.

Small satellites benefit from the constant improvements in price and performance being achieved by the consumer-electronics industry, particularly in smartphones. A typical phone is now likely to contain an accelerometer to measure how fast it is moving, a magnetometer to detect magnetic fields and provide a compass reading, a GPS receiver to pick up satellite data, multiple radios, a gyroscope to measure its position, a barometer to detect pressure, two cameras and much more.

Last year the world's first "phonesat" went into orbit. It was a Google Nexus One smartphone incorporated into a three-unit CubeSat called STRaND-1. This was built by Surrey Satellite Technology, a British firm that specialises in small satellites and which is part of the European Airbus group. The idea was to test the components of the smartphone in a space environment. The phone was loaded with a number of experimental apps for such things as taking photographs and recording magnetic fields during orbit.

Smartphones and other consumer electronics provide a wealth of ready-made technologies that can enable a CubeSat to perform many of the functions of a satellite a hundred times heavier and much larger, but at substantially less cost. Including the launch, a nanosat of CubeSat dimensions might cost $150,000-1m, rather than $200m-1 billion for a full-sized one.

Low cost and a tolerance of less-stringent standards allow multiple nanosats to be built faster. This allows for a higher risk of failure. Nanosats have a relatively short life, which might be no more than a year or two in low-Earth orbit before re-entering the atmosphere and burning up. Planet Labs, for one, expects to replace some of its nanosats with new versions every year.

Into space in a flash

In an industry in which preparing some missions has taken decades, the speed at which nanosats can be developed and put into orbit makes the biggest in the space business take notice. NASA has also found ways to leverage the consumer-electronics industry, says Bruce Yost of the space agency's Ames Research Centre in California. His group (some former members of which founded Planet Labs) has launched five phonesats and is now planning a small fleet of them to experiment with communications between satellites.

Nanosat parts are readily available to researchers. One supplier, Pumpkin, operates from a residential San Francisco neighbourhood. Andrew Kalman, its founder, started in 2000 selling standard components that Mr Twiggs and his colleagues at Stanford needed. Pumpkin now sells items ranging from brackets for a few hundred dollars up to complete systems for hundreds of thousands of dollars. The company has also supplied America's National Reconnaissance Office with 12 three-unit CubeSats to help the agency demonstrate the technology.

Although many satellites already circle the globe taking pictures, some of the images may not be updated for days, months or even years. Commercial services can provide relatively rapid satellite images on demand, a number of them taking pictures down to a resolution of 50cm (ie, 50cm x 50cm per pixel, the legal limit in America for commercial satellites, although military ones can peer closer). But such satellites may cover only part of the globe each day. Once their fleets are complete, Planet Labs will offer images with resolutions of between 500cm to 300cm and Skybox, with its bigger minisatellites, 90cm. The companies will provide pictures that can be updated in hours for a variety of scientific and commercial applications.

They could, for instance, be used to track environmental conditions, illegal tree-felling or changes in the course of rivers—which, even in their initial deployment, Planet Labs has discovered happen surprisingly often. The frequency of

satellite passes opens up many new possibilities, says Skybox's Mr Berkenstock. His firm can offer a stream of analysis, such as the number of trees in a forest or the number of cars at various times of the day in parking lots across America. Transport patterns can be followed, infrastructure monitored, the planting of fields, plumes from smokestacks and ships in ports can all be observed. Overlaying more and more data will provide much richer visualisation, adds Mr Berkenstock.

Nor will all the nanosats be looking downwards. Sensors facing sideways and upwards from low-Earth orbit will allow researchers to carry out a large number of experiments and to take measurements that have previously been too costly to consider. This includes detecting solar and cosmic radiation, interactions between magnetic fields and other forces which together make up what is called space weather. Measuring and predicting space weather could be used to protect billion-dollar satellites and prevent astronauts from receiving high doses of radiation. Many satellites measure aspects of space weather, but they tend to do so only in certain directions. Part of the failed KickSat experiment was to use the sprites to see if arrays of inexpensive devices could constantly monitor such forces.

Nanosats may be inexpensive, but resisting gravity's inexorable pull comes with a price tag. Although there is no standard price list for a launch, a CubeSat costs roughly $100,000 to put each 1.3kg unit into low-Earth orbit. A three-unit CubeSat might cost as much as $400,000. Jeff Foust, an analyst at Futron, a consultancy, studies launch costs and says he has heard of charges as low as $30,000 for a single CubeSat launched on a Russian rocket.

These prices put nanosats in the reach not just of small firms, but also of start-ups and researchers relying on academic grants. Some schools are also planning nanosat experiments. Bulk-buying launches for heavier combined payloads can work out, per kilo, even cheaper. And these costs could come down, too. Elon Musk, SpaceX's boss, has consistently predicted substantial price drops in launch costs, even to as little as $200 per kilo. The firm's Falcon 9 rocket recently demonstrated a successful controlled descent of its booster stage, which would allow it to be reused.

There is plenty of innovation in putting smaller payloads into space. Interorbital Systems, a Californian company, recently carried out a successful suborbital test flight of a small rocket (pictured right) designed to carry a 145kg payload. The company has presold berths for dozens of CubeSats at $13,000-38,000 per unit, as well as its own TubeSat format, which it offers to academia as kit and launch for $8,000.

NASA will test an air-launched system in 2016 with Generation Orbit, an Atlanta company. It uses a Gulfstream G-IV executive jet to carry aloft a rocket which it fires off to put 45-50kg payloads into low-Earth orbit. NASA is also working with Virgin Galactic, a private space venture led by Richard Branson. Virgin Galactic has developed its LauncherOne, another air-launched rocket. It can be flown to a higher altitude and carry payloads up to 225kg.

Neither Generation Orbit or Virgin Galactic may come down much on price, as both see a profit to be made in offering regular launches, even weekly ones. Operators whose nanosats ride shotgun as ballast in other missions do not have much control over when they launch or the orbits they reach, says William Pomerantz, the head of special projects at Virgin Galactic. John Olds, boss of Generation Orbit, says that as constellations of nanosats increase, placing them in a precise orbit will be critical in keeping small-satellite networks operating.

The nanosat wars

Nanosats also face two other limiting factors: communications and propulsion. Those used for academic work principally rely on amateur-radio frequencies, with basic equipment squeezed into the CubeSat form. Transmission and reception are further hindered by the size of antennae or dishes, both on the ground and on the satellites. Many academic projects set up their own listening stations and recruit space buffs who can use inexpensive kit, but these work on an informal basis. Companies tend to use licensed frequencies and plump for more expensive radio gear to handle their data flows. More development in communications equipment and investment in ground stations would improve things.

The other bugbear, propulsion, is harder to solve. Currently, launch operators can prevent nanosats carrying hazardous propellants that might be used to power them to another orbit. Nor have engineers had a reason to design tiny spaceship engines using safer fuel. But they do now. Even a basic capability to push in one direction would allow nanosats to remain in orbit longer, or allow a satellite that has been placed into low-Earth orbit, using an inexpensive launch provider, to nudge itself to a higher geostationary orbit. And some might travel far beyond Earth.

Benjamin Longmier of the University of Michigan and founder of Aether Industries, which makes equipment for high-altitude research, has begun production of a nanosat propulsion system based on his previous work at the Johnson Space Station in Texas. This is a rocket that uses ionised propellants accelerated by magnetic fields. He has been able to scale this down to CubeSat size, using liquid water or solid iodine as the propellant. Dr Longmier says the system

could allow a constellation of satellites to remain in the correct position relative to one another, move satellites to polar orbit from less-expensive launch insertions or increase an orbit.

Surrey Satellite Technology's STRaND-1 also contained a couple of experimental propulsion systems. One is a re-entry device that ejects a mixture of water and alcohol to tip the nanosat out of orbit at the end of its useful life. The other is an array of pulsed-plasma thrusters which heat and evaporate a material to produce a charged gas to push the satellite along.

NASA has plans to offer a $5m prize using a six-unit CubeSat for groups to demonstrate ways both to communicate across large distances and display the effective use of unconventional propellants. Jennifer Gustetic, in charge of NASA's prizes, says the winner will have to show that their systems are survivable and can be operated far out into space. The programme is still at an early stage, but it could involve transporting the CubeSats for release into orbit around the Moon. But NASA has competition. Dr Longmier believes his technology can beat NASA to the Moon without the use of an additional spacecraft to carry the CubeSats there. And James Cutler, a satellite-propulsion expert now also at the University of Michigan, thinks he can propel small birds even deeper into space. Let the nanosat wars begin.

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From: Intelligence Squared [info@intelligencesquared.com]
Sent: 6/12/2019 11:23:58 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Last Remaining Tickets: Mark Zuckerberg On Trial – Will He Be Held Accountable?

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Facebook is Damaging Society

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Featuring Damian Collins, Nina Schick, Torricke-Barton, Ed Vaizey, Helen Lewis

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Zuck sucks. According to his critics, Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook, presides over a company which is undermining our basic freedoms. It was complicit in the spread of fake news and foreign interference in our elections, and is partly to blame for the rise of political polarisation through its echo chambers and filter bubbles. The company has been selling the private data of millions of users around the world to select companies – most notoriously Cambridge Analytica, who used the information to meddle in the US presidential elections and Britain's EU referendum. And Facebook was accused of behaving like 'digital gangsters' by the House of Commons Digital Select Committee, led by **Damian Collins MP**, who claimed Zuckerberg has willfully misled lawmakers over fake news and data malpractice. Facebook is built on an essentially unethical business model, and the buck stops with Zuck.

That's the case against Mark Zuckerberg. But let's keep things in perspective, say his defenders. Facebook has done more than any other organisation in the world to connect people through technology, allowing more than 2.2 billion users so far – that's 30 percent of the world's population – to share their lives with friends and family around the world – all for free. And let's not forget that Facebook has been a vital tool for social and political organisation, from the Arab Spring to Obama's presidential campaign. The world is a complex and messy place and while it's convenient to scapegoat a single CEO for our polarised politics, the fact is there were multiple causes for Brexit and Trump. Of course, there are problems at Facebook and Mark Zuckerberg is keenly aware of them. In January 2018, he made a promise to fix Facebook, admitting that the organisation makes too many errors and listing his priorities as 'protecting our community from abuse and hate, defending against interference by nation states, or making sure that time spent on Facebook is time well spent'. Much of what we are reading about Facebook is old news. Zuckerberg is essentially an idealist and we should at least give him the benefit of the doubt as he seeks to rebuild the world's trust in Facebook.

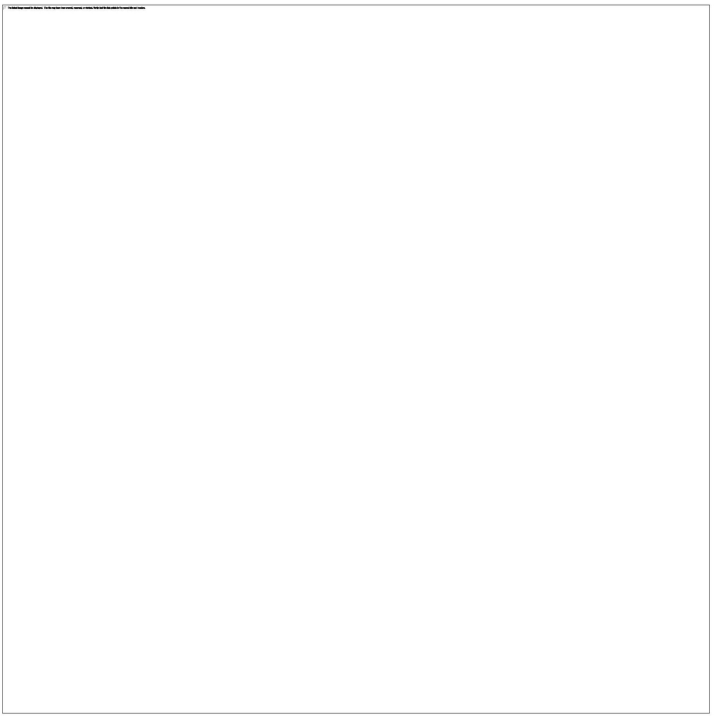
That's the argument of Zuckerberg's defenders. But are they right? Join us on June 18, hear the arguments and decide for yourself.

Damian Collins

Conservative MP for Folkestone and Hythe and chair of the House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee. He has played a key role in parliamentary scrutiny of Facebook's activities, including invoking a rare parliamentary mechanism to seize internal Facebook documents over the Cambridge Analytica scandal.

Nina Schick

Technology expert and political commentator focusing on how technology and artificial intelligence are reshaping democracy and geopolitics. She was a recent political advisor to former NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, leading research into next-generation disinformation in the form of AI-generated deep fakes. She is a regular commentator on Sky News, BBC and Bloomberg.

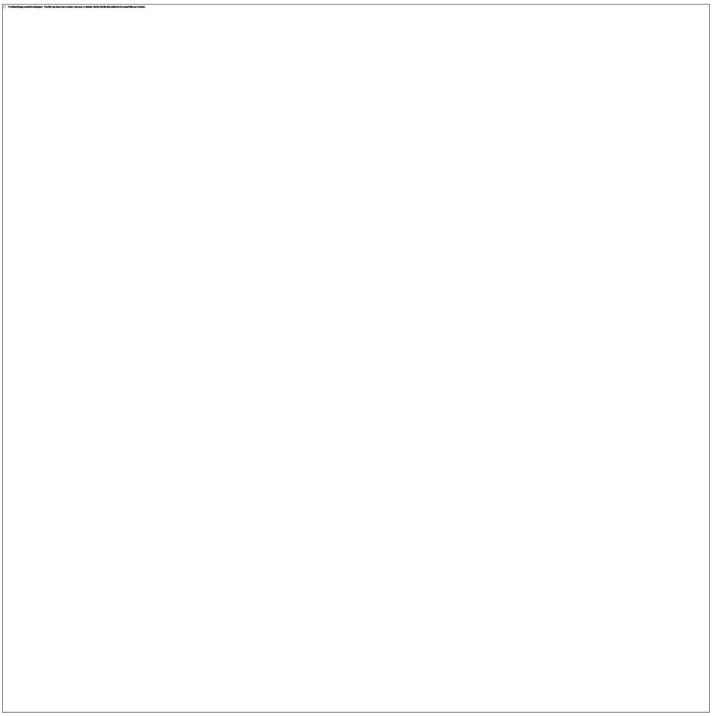


Dex Torricke-Barton

Former head of executive communications for Facebook. Over the last decade he has advised some of Silicon Valley's most prominent leaders and companies. He was Mark Zuckerberg's speechwriter from 2012-16, and was previously executive speechwriter for Google's Eric Schmidt. He has also head of communications for SpaceX, Elon Musk's rocket company.

Ed Vaizey

Conservative MP for Wantage and Didcot, who served as Minister for Culture, Communications and Creative Industries from 2010 to 2016 under David Cameron.



Helen Lewis

Helen Lewis is associate editor of the New Statesman, and has written on technology for the Sunday Times, Wired and the Guardian. Her first book, *Difficult Women*, is out next year.

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The Daily: The Rise of Nationalism Across the Globe

In this week's podcast, we hosted a live conversation from "The Daily", The New York Times' flagship podcast. In an event in partnership with The New York Times, we were joined by the podcast's host **Michael Barbaro**, as well as Berlin Bureau Chief **Katrin Bennhold**, London-based International Correspondent **Ellen Barry**, Executive Producer **Theo Balcomb** and Producer **Clare Toeniskoetter** for a conversation about the implications of the nationalist undercurrent currently sweeping across Europe.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/24/2014 7:06:50 AM
To: soon yi previn[redacted]

When I was 8 years old, I watched my trial-lawyer father play Horace Vandergelder in the Livingston, N.J., community-theater production of "Hello, Dolly!" He entered wearing an enormous marching-band bass drum (the character is in a parade), and he roared to his sobbing niece, "Dammit! How am I supposed to play 'Yonkers My Yonkers' with all that bellowing in my ears!" It was the most exciting thing I had ever seen.

I was a melancholic child. Worried, anxious. I never felt as if I belonged anywhere, as if I were a foreign exchange student living among the other kids, who seemed predestined to love sports. Add to that alienation the fact that my parents were going through a divorce, and I was truly treading water. But in that junior high school auditorium, I felt like I'd discovered a secret I didn't even know was being whispered. There was a place where I might belong: It was the Theater, and I was sold.

A few years later, at Stagedoor Manor in Loch Sheldrake, N.Y., I joined an intensive theater boot camp for kids just like me. The second I stepped off the bus, I felt like baby Simba when he's lifted into the air in "The Lion King" and all the animals sing. Everyone was affectionate; everyone hugged; no was called "gay" for doing anything that wasn't masculine. (My insecurity about this had shamefully kept me from doing theater in school.) It was utopia, and I never wanted to leave.

Photo

From left, Helene Yorke, Zach Braff and Lenny Wolpe in the musical "Bullets Over Broadway." Credit Sara Krulwich/The New York Times

It was there I met Michael Larsen, the musical director of the camp. He told me that I wasn't just a camper having fun, but that I also had talent. And he was tough — sometimes he'd scream at me — but I knew it was because he thought I had a shot. (Michael was the first of many gay men instrumental in guiding me to where I am now, which is why I try to speak on behalf of gay rights whenever I can. But I suppose that's a different essay.)

At 18, I was cast as Woody Allen and Diane Keaton's son in the film "Manhattan Murder Mystery," my first movie role. And now, after studying film and theater at Northwestern University, playing J. D. on "Scrubs" on TV for nine years and directing two films, I'm working with Woody Allen again. I'm typing these words in my dressing room at the St. James Theater, where on April 10 I'll open in "Bullets Over Broadway," a musical adaptation of his hit film. I play David Shayne, a struggling writer in 1929 New York who agrees to cast a mobster's ditsy girlfriend in one of his plays in order to get it produced.

The St. James is where Yul Brynner opened in "The King and I" in 1951; where hits like "Oklahoma!," "The Pajama Game," "Gypsy," "The Who's Tommy," and "The Producers" played, and where, in 1964, by the most surreal of coincidences, Carol Channing first descended an endless staircase in "Hello, Dolly!" I sit in Dressing Room 201, where many of the great luminaries of the Broadway stage — Patti LuPone, Nathan Lane, Mandy Patinkin — have paced waiting for the intercom to chime, "Places for Act I, please." This is the sanctuary that a little invisible boy in New Jersey dreamed he'd one day find.

Photo

Zach Braff in a 1988 production of "Godspell" at Stagedoor Manor. Credit Stagedoor Manor

It's my first time on Broadway, but not my first time onstage. My first job straight out of college was in George C. Wolfe's production of "Macbeth" at the Public Theater, starring Alec Baldwin, Liev Schreiber, Angela Bassett and Michael C. Hall, and I've since appeared Off Broadway in shows at the Delacorte and Second Stage Theater.

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A Times selection of noteworthy cultural events in New York City and beyond

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The first day of rehearsal for “Macbeth,” Alec Baldwin sat down next to me. “Who do you play?” he asked. My voice quivered: “Ummm, I play Fleance and Young Seward.” He paused. “Oh — so I kill you twice.” Each night, as he drove his broadsword through my heart, I thought, “I’ve made it!”

In the sixth season of “Scrubs,” the show’s creator, Bill Lawrence (also a major fan of musical comedy), decided to do a musical episode. It was the first time I had done musical comedy since I was at camp, and it instantly reminded me how much I loved it. My favorite song from the episode was called “Guy Love.” In it, Donald Faison (my best friend in real life and on the show) and I sang about how our homoerotic love for each other was nothing to apologize for. (“It’s guy love, that’s all it is.”) The experience replanted the seed, and I made a promise to myself: One day I would sing on Broadway.

Photo

Zach Braff, left, and Donald Faison on “Scrubs,” which had a musical episode in its sixth season. Credit ABC

I’d be curled in the fetal position spooning a pillow right now, though, if it weren’t for my current director, Susan Stroman. Directing and choreographing a musical is the most epic undertaking for one human being, yet Susan (or Stro, as the cool Broadway kids call her) handles it with aplomb.

And she’s not just choreographing the actors and dancers, but also the magnificent set designed by Santo Loquasto, which moves in ways I didn’t know scenery could move. It’s a dance of men and women and machines and winches and elevators and lights. The wings of the St. James are very narrow, so when a giant piece of scenery disappears from the audience’s view, the most elaborate game of Tetris begins, as the outstanding stage crew turns and lifts and twists; not an inch is wasted. The second the orchestra strikes the first note of the overture, no one stops moving until the final curtain hits the deck.

During “Manhattan Murder Mystery,” I had every word of my lines memorized down to the punctuation mark. I’ll never forget: The first thing Woody said to me was, “We’re probably not going to say exactly what’s on the page so ... you know ... just try to keep up. ...” While we’ve been in previews on “Bullets,” he and Stro have been giving us notes each day on the previous night’s performance. One night, I dropped a great joke by accident. He said to me with a smile, “You’ll probably get a bigger laugh if you actually say it onstage.”

All the people on Broadway are the best at what they do. All dancers want to work with Stro, so she gets the best dancers in New York City. Is there an oboist in the orchestra? You can guarantee he’s the best oboist on the island of Manhattan. Need to recreate the look of 1929? The six-time Tony winner William Ivey Long is here to design the costumes. And the voices! I am in awe. There has yet to be a time when I don’t get goose bumps when Betsy Wolfe, who plays my girlfriend, belts out the final notes of our duet, “I Found a New Baby.”

In TV and film, where I've had the bulk of my experience, the best moments of the day are edited together to create the best version of what you've captured. It's a different art, with a different process. But when the curtain rises at 8:05 every night at the St. James, the audience is being treated to a ballet of moving parts as intricate as a pocket watch. Whether it's the 19-piece orchestra under the stage, the crew in the wings or the 30 performers on top of it, the gears turn, the set spins and a tiny hidden smile creeps across my face.

Zach Braff is an actor, writer and director. His new film, "Wish I Was Here," opens July 18.

A version of this article appears in print on March 23, 2014, on page AR6 of the New York edition with the headline: An Invisible Boy Keeps His Promise. Order Reprints|Today's Paper|Subscribe

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Date: Monday, January 13 2014 08:14 PM
Subject: mission acomplished for some
From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Philanthropy – Full text articles

Revealed: the world's most admired people
Stephan Shakespeare **– Times**

Bill Gates is the most admired person in the world, according to a global survey for The Times by YouGov. The man who many see as responsible for the democratisation of computing and who is the biggest activist philanthropist across the globe is highly regarded everywhere.

In his home, America, he ranks only 5th, behind Pope Francis, President Obama, Billy Graham, and George W. Bush. Mr Obama and the Pope have a strong lead in Western nations but Mr Gates is highly regarded in every country polled, from Brazil to Egypt, Nigeria to Indonesia, Britain to Russia to Australia. He tops the poll in China — as respondents there said: "He got into a good university, but gave up studying to start his business. He has become a rich man despite dropping out of school . . . He has a successful career and a caring heart — he is ordinary, but great."

The Queen came highest in Britain and second in Australia, but didn't make the Indian top ten. Nevertheless she is the most admired woman in the world, in 17th place, closely followed by Angelina Jolie and Oprah Winfrey.

Half of the top ten admired in Russia are women, including the pop singer Alla Pugacheva and the Queen. That is the highest figure in all countries surveyed — women are strikingly under-represented.

Some light is shed on this by comparing our results with a recent Gallup poll in America, which asked for most admired man and woman in separate questions. In that poll, Bill Clinton scored 2 per cent and Hillary Clinton 15. YouGov asked a single question, not differentiating men and women, and the two Clintons rated about the same. The two polls also show the power of the media to direct public attention: Gallup polled early in December, and Pope Francis was "most admired" by only 4 per cent. By the time of the YouGov survey, Time magazine had made him its Person of the Year, and he shot up to 21 per cent.

Business leaders did well in general. YouGov puts Sir Richard Branson 4th in Britain, the Hong Kong billionaire Sir Li Kashing was sixth in China; the Nigerian industrialist Aliko Dangote was third in his home country; Silvio Santos, a media billionaire, was 4th in Brazil; Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the tycoon recently freed by Vladimir Putin, was 8th in Russia; while Warren Buffett, who is admired in India, Pakistan and China, was 8th in the world.

Actors and musicians do less well. With the exception of the Bollywood superstar Amitabh Bachchan, Ms Jolie and Stephen Fry, who confirms his enormous Twitter following by making 7th in Britain, just below Desmond Tutu. Johnny Depp and Brad Pitt get close to the top in a couple of countries and Justin Bieber did well in Indonesia, but the rock star and anti-poverty campaigner Bono is notable by his absence.

Sportsmen were more highly regarded, with the Indian cricketer Sachin Tendulkar 5th in the world — but only because he is so adored in the world's second-most populous country. The footballer Lionel Messi had broader support, reaching 15th in the world. In Britain, David Beckham squeaked into 10th place.

In only two countries of the 13 surveyed did no local politician make it into the top ten — Australia and the UK. The omission was most striking in Britain where Nigel Farage, the top politician, was in 16th place. David Cameron received the "most admired" accolade from only two people in a thousand. In Germany, Angela Merkel scored 65 times higher at 13 per cent, second only to the Pope. Vladimir Putin topped the Russian poll with a whopping 24 per cent, Nicolas Sarkozy was third in France and Goodluck Jonathan 8th in Nigeria. Edward Snowden, responsible for leaking classified documents that revealed the extent of surveillance by America's National Security Agency, was 10th most admired in the country that granted him asylum, Russia. He also showed strongly in Germany. We also asked who was the most famous person in the world. The

overwhelming choice was Mr Obama, with 26 per cent, and Mr Gates behind on 12.

YouGov polled in Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, the US, Australia, Pakistan, Indonesia, India, China, Egypt, Nigeria and Brazil, representing over half of the world's population and the most populated country on each continent, and spoke to total of 13,895 people around the world. We used a mix of internet and mobile phone surveys. In most countries we achieved representative samples but in some we were unable to achieve good representation of rural communities. Our survey asked two open-ended questions, seeking write-in answers: who do you think is the most famous person in the world, and who do you personally most admire?

Although we specified that only living people should be considered, many wanted to choose Nelson Mandela anyway, and had we conducted the survey a month earlier he would have come top. In China there was significant support for Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, with 14 per cent between them, and had those respondents considered only the living, Xi Jinping would have scored even more highly.

Who's Who
- Narendra Modi, an Indian politician, is the prime ministerial candidate of the BJP, the main opposition party.
- Amitabh Bachchan is a Bollywood superstar, who was the "angry young man" of Hindi cinema.
- Abdul Kalam is an Indian scientist and was president of his country 2002-07.
- Anna Hazare held a series of hunger strikes in India in a successful campaign for anti-corruption laws.
- Arvind Kejriwal is the Chief Minister of Delhi, and worked alongside Hazare.
- Peng Liyuan, a Chinese folk singer, is the wife of President Xi Jingping.
- The philanthropist Abdul Sattar Edhi founded the Edhi Foundation, the largest welfare organisation in Pakistan.
- Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo, the governor of Jakarta, is a populist leader who may run in the 2014 Indonesian presidential election.

Stephan Shakespeare is CEO of YouGov.

From: ehud barak [redacted]
Sent: 9/16/2013 11:12:33 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Summers withdraws from Fed race

A major blow to a friend. Lest BO takes him to replace JL.
Now he'll probably be free in the next few days. EB

Sent from my iPad

Begin forwarded message:

From: "FT Breaking News" <FT@emailbriefings.ft.com>
Date: 15 23:50:52 2013 בספטמבר GMT+03:00
To: [redacted]
Subject: Summers withdraws from Fed race
Reply-To: "FT Breaking News" <FT409AS2.6532248@emailbriefings.ft.com>

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Sunday September 15 2013

BREAKING NEWS

Summers withdraws from Fed race

Lawrence Summers has taken himself out of the running to be the next chair of the Federal Reserve, withdrawing his name after opposition from key Democratic senators indicated they would oppose his nomination.

Mr Summers, a former Treasury Secretary and senior economic adviser to Barack Obama in his first term, galvanised opposition among left-of-centre Democrats who painted him as symbol of the wrongs of financial deregulation.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/22/2018 7:23:38 PM
To: Starr, Ken [redacted]
Subject: Re: Jed Rubenfeld

i read turley,s piece on same subject / federalist papers etc. too much in the weeds. average joe. not sure what he concluded

On Wed, Aug 22, 2018 at 3:17 PM, Starr, Ken [redacted] wrote:
Wise counsel. Thx!

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 22, 2018, at 1:49 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I think scholarly but not too much so. no one above the law. . we began leaving a kingdom. . unlikely to give king like powers to a president. on one above the law. I would like lunch pail joe to come away and think , this guy is smart . I understood . lets see what he writes about the clintons.
someone suggested that trump could shoot someone on fifth avenue and not lose a vote. that is true , but would make little sense for him not to suffer an immediate consequence. the allowed civil depo setting precedent for criminal process , is a lawyers outline I might think of dumbing it down , again , and suggesting that you can sue your neighbor , even if you neighbor is the president. makes little sense that the you can be indicted for assaulting him but he cannot if he assaults you. low bar for civil higher bar for criminal. . at some point on your book tour I might point out how disappointed you were that the clinton and betty curries' trashcan story , was reopened . .

On Wed, Aug 22, 2018 at 2:08 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
i vote yes as it makes you relevant to today rather than merely re- reciting an old tale. :) or tail?

On Wed, Aug 22, 2018 at 12:07 PM, Starr, Ken [redacted] wrote:
Can you talk? Impt. [redacted]

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 17, 2018, at 9:18 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

thx

On Fri, Aug 17, 2018 at 10:14 AM, Starr, Ken [redacted] wrote:

Good morning!

Jed teaches crim law at Yale. Outspokenly strong on the need for procedural fairness in campus adjudicatory proceedings. Relevant to your friend's unhappy situation? If so, happy to make the connection.

Hugs, Ken

Sent from my iPhone

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From: Scott J. Link [redacted]
Sent: 5/30/2018 11:23:48 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; [redacted]
Subject: Memo: Sex offender Jeffrey Epstein talked to FBI to get plea deal

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FBI Epstein files say he gave info. Does it explain sweetheart deal?

Updated: 12:28 p.m. Wednesday, May 30, 2018 | Posted: 12:21 p.m. Wednesday, May 30, 2018

Uma Sanghvi WEST PALM BEACH —

Ten years after convicted Palm Beach sex offender Jeffrey Epstein escaped federal charges in connection with allegations that he paid dozens of teenage girls for sex, the FBI last week released what appears to be an explosive explanation for what many have long described as a sweetheart deal.

"Epstein has also provided information to the FBI as agreed upon," agents wrote in one of dozens of heavily redacted, decade-old memos that were unexpectedly and inexplicably posted on an FBI website known as "The Vault."

The simple declaration stunned those who have been following the tortuous and celebrity-studded case for years. It rekindled talk that the billionaire's 2008 decision to plead guilty to state charges to make the federal investigation disappear was part of a cover up to protect Epstein's high-powered friends, including President Donald Trump, former President Bill Clinton and Britain's Prince Andrew.

"That sentence obviously means something but I, too, am at a loss as to what it really means," said attorney Brad Edwards, who for a decade has been trying to unravel the mystery of Epstein's plea deal. "If there was some cooperation I would have expected that we would have been told. However, nothing surprises me at this point."

In recent years, federal prosecutors have offered various explanations for why they agreed to drop the case they were building against the 65-year-old enigmatic money manager if he pleaded guilty to state prostitution charges. In court papers, they have said they wanted to get justice for Epstein's young victims but worried a jury wouldn't believe them.

So, they have said, they negotiated a deal, allowing Epstein to plead guilty in Palm Beach County Circuit Court to one count of soliciting a minor for prostitution and another charge of soliciting prostitution. In exchange, federal prosecutors agreed to close their investigation. They have said they had no idea Epstein would only serve 13 months of an 18-month sentence in a vacant wing of the county stockade — a cell he was allowed to leave 16 hours a day, six days a week.

While voicing dismay at his lax punishment, prosecutors have pointed out that the plea deal required Epstein to pay the roughly 30 young women who filed civil lawsuits against him. Further, they said his guilty pleas force him to register as a sex offender for the rest of his life, potentially protecting other girls from abuse in the future.

However, over the years, they have never suggested that Epstein provided them any information in return.

Like Edwards, two people close to the long-closed federal investigation said they were flummoxed by the sentence in the FBI's memo that was written in September 2008, roughly two months after Epstein pleaded guilty in state court.

"I have never, ever heard of Jeffrey Epstein cooperating in any sense of the word," said one official, who requested anonymity because of the top role the person played in the investigation. "I am stumped. It's totally out of left field."

Another individual with ties to the case voiced similar views. Epstein may have been required to talk to FBI agents but it's unlikely he offered anything that would incriminate others, said the person, who declined to be identified because of ongoing efforts to help Epstein's victims challenge the plea deal. "I don't think he ever told the truth," the person said.

A lawsuit Edwards filed against the federal government, claiming prosecutors violated the Victims Rights Act by not notifying Epstein's victims of the pending plea deal, is still pending in U.S. District Court. Also, awaiting trial in Palm Beach County Circuit Court is a malicious prosecution lawsuit Edwards filed against Epstein. Edwards claims the billionaire filed a frivolous lawsuit to punish Edwards for representing a handful of Epstein's young victims.

West Palm Beach attorney Jack Goldberger, who was on Epstein's potent defense team, said he was "unable to respond" to questions about the FBI's memo. Other prominent lawyers who represented Epstein, including New York lawyer Jay Lefkowitz and retired Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, didn't respond to requests for comment.

The one line was part of a brief missive dated Sept. 18, 2008, closing the case: "On 9/11/08, case agent advised writer that Epstein is currently being prosecuted by the State of Florida and is complying with all conditions of his plea with the State of Florida. Epstein has also provided information to the FBI as agreed upon. Case agent advised that no federal

prosecution will occur in this matter as long as Epstein continues to uphold his agreement with the State of Florida. … Case agent is requested to contact writer in the event this matter moves forward on a federal level."

The memo was one of hundreds of documents, including dozens of copies of newspaper articles about Epstein, that were posted on the FBI's website. The website, www.vault.fbi.gov, serves as the FBI's electronic FOIA library. The heavily redacted documents showed agents traveled to New York City, Sante Fe, N.M., and St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands, where Epstein has homes. But there is little information about who they interviewed or what they learned.

The only witness named in the documents is Alfredo Rodriguez, who was a houseman at Epstein's Palm Beach mansion in 2004. That's when Epstein regularly paid young women to give him sexually-charged massages, police said.

Rodriguez was convicted of obstruction of justice in 2010 and sentenced to 18 months in jail for trying to sell a journal he purloined from Epstein. Prosecutors said the journal detailed Epstein's sexual dalliances. Rodriguez, who lived in Kendall, died in 2014.

Those familiar with FBI procedures said the records are administrative files, not investigative ones. Some questioned why the files were posted on the FBI's web site. The FBI didn't return a phone call for comment. According to the web site, the records were released "in compliance with the National Archives and Records Administration requirements."

And while it's been 10 years since Epstein pleaded guilty to prostitution charges and settled dozens of lawsuits with young women, litigation continues.

Scott J. Link
Board Certified Business Litigation

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Syllabus

NOTE: Where it is feasible, a syllabus (headnote) will be released, as is being done in connection with this case, at the time the opinion is issued. The syllabus constitutes no part of the opinion of the Court but has been prepared by the Reporter of Decisions for the convenience of the reader. See *United States* v. *Detroit Timber & Lumber Co.*, 200 U. S. 321, 337.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Syllabus

JAM ET AL. *v.* INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORP.

CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 17–1011. Argued October 31, 2018—Decided February 27, 2019

In 1945, Congress passed the International Organizations Immunities Act (IOIA), which, among other things, grants international organizations the "same immunity from suit . . . as is enjoyed by foreign governments." 22 U. S. C. §288a(b). At that time, foreign governments were entitled to virtually absolute immunity as a matter of international grace and comity. In 1952, the State Department adopted a more restrictive theory of foreign sovereign immunity, which Congress subsequently codified in the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (FSIA), 28 U. S. C. §1602. The FSIA gives foreign sovereign governments presumptive immunity from suit, §1604, subject to several statutory exceptions, including, as relevant here, an exception for actions based on commercial activity with a sufficient nexus with the United States, §1605(a)(2).

Respondent International Finance Corporation (IFC), an IOIA international organization, entered into a loan agreement with Coastal Gujarat Power Limited, a company based in India, to finance the construction of a coal-fired power plant in Gujarat. Petitioners sued the IFC, claiming that pollution from the plant harmed the surrounding air, land, and water. The District Court, however, held that the IFC was immune from suit because it enjoyed the virtually absolute immunity that foreign governments enjoyed when the IOIA was enacted. The D. C. Circuit affirmed in light of its decision in *Atkinson* v. *Inter-American Development Bank*, 156 F. 3d 1335.

Held: The IOIA affords international organizations the same immunity from suit that foreign governments enjoy today under the FSIA. Pp. 6–15.

(a) The IOIA "same as" formulation is best understood as making international organization immunity and foreign sovereign immunity

continuously equivalent. The IOIA is thus like other statutes that use similar or identical language to place two groups on equal footing. See, *e.g.*, Civil Rights Act of 1866, 42 U. S. C. §§1981(a), 1982; Federal Tort Claims Act, 28 U. S. C. §2674. Whatever the ultimate purpose of international organization immunity may be, the immediate purpose of the IOIA immunity provision is expressed in language that Congress typically uses to make one thing continuously equivalent to another. Pp. 6–9.

(b) That reading is confirmed by the "reference canon" of statutory interpretation. When a statute refers to a general subject, the statute adopts the law on that subject as it exists whenever a question under the statute arises. In contrast, when a statute refers to another statute by specific title, the referenced statute is adopted as it existed when the referring statute was enacted, without any subsequent amendments. Federal courts have often relied on the reference canon to harmonize a statute with an external body of law that the statute refers to generally. The IOIA's reference to the immunity enjoyed by foreign governments is to an external body of potentially evolving law, not to a specific provision of another statute. Nor is it a specific reference to a common law concept with a fixed meaning. The phrase "immunity enjoyed by foreign governments" is not a term of art with substantive content but rather a concept that can be given scope and content only by reference to the rules governing foreign sovereign immunity. Pp. 9–11.

(c) The D. C. Circuit relied upon *Atkinson*'s conclusion that the reference canon's probative force was outweighed by an IOIA provision authorizing the President to alter the immunity of an international organization. But the fact that the President has power to modify otherwise applicable immunity rules is perfectly compatible with the notion that those rules might themselves change over time in light of developments in the law governing foreign sovereign immunity. The *Atkinson* court also did not consider the opinion of the State Department, whose views in this area ordinarily receive "special attention," *Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela* v. *Helmerich & Payne Int'l Drilling Co.*, 581 U. S. ___, ___, and which took the position that immunity rules of the IOIA and the FSIA were linked following the FSIA's enactment. Pp. 11–13.

(d) The IFC contends that interpreting the IOIA immunity provision to grant only restrictive immunity would defeat the purpose of granting immunity in the first place, by subjecting international organizations to suit under the commercial activity exception of the FSIA for most or all of their core activities. This would be particularly true with respect to international development banks, which use the tools of commerce to achieve their objectives. Those concerns are

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inflated. The IOIA provides only default rules. An international organization's charter can always specify a different level of immunity, and many do. Nor is it clear that the lending activity of all development banks qualifies as commercial activity within the meaning of the FSIA. But even if it does qualify as commercial, that does not mean the organization is automatically subject to suit, since other FSIA requirements must also be met, see, *e.g.*, 28 U. S. C. §§1603, 1605(a)(2). Pp. 13–15.

860 F. 3d 703, reversed and remanded.

ROBERTS, C. J., delivered the opinion of the Court, in which THOMAS, GINSBURG, ALITO, SOTOMAYOR, KAGAN, and GORSUCH, JJ., joined. BREYER, J., filed a dissenting opinion. KAVANAUGH, J., took no part in the consideration or decision of the case.

NOTICE: This opinion is subject to formal revision before publication in the preliminary print of the United States Reports. Readers are requested to notify the Reporter of Decisions, Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 20543, of any typographical or other formal errors, in order that corrections may be made before the preliminary print goes to press.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 17–1011

BUDHA ISMAIL JAM, ET AL., PETITIONERS *v.* INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

[February 27, 2019]

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS delivered the opinion of the Court.

The International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945 grants international organizations such as the World Bank and the World Health Organization the "same immunity from suit . . . as is enjoyed by foreign governments." 22 U. S. C. §288a(b). At the time the IOIA was enacted, foreign governments enjoyed virtually absolute immunity from suit. Today that immunity is more limited. Most significantly, foreign governments are not immune from actions based upon certain kinds of commercial activity in which they engage. This case requires us to determine whether the IOIA grants international organizations the virtually absolute immunity foreign governments enjoyed when the IOIA was enacted, or the more limited immunity they enjoy today.

Respondent International Finance Corporation is an international organization headquartered in the United States. The IFC finances private-sector development projects in poor and developing countries around the world. About 10 years ago, the IFC financed the construc-

tion of a power plant in Gujarat, India. Petitioners are local farmers and fishermen and a small village. They allege that the power plant has polluted the air, land, and water in the surrounding area. Petitioners sued the IFC for damages and injunctive relief in Federal District Court, but the IFC claimed absolute immunity from suit. Petitioners argued that the IFC was entitled under the IOIA only to the limited or "restrictive" immunity that foreign governments currently enjoy. We agree.

I

A

In the wake of World War II, the United States and many of its allies joined together to establish a host of new international organizations. Those organizations, which included the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, were designed to allow member countries to collectively pursue goals such as stabilizing the international economy, rebuilding war-torn nations, and maintaining international peace and security.

Anticipating that those and other international organizations would locate their headquarters in the United States, Congress passed the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945, 59 Stat. 669. The Act grants international organizations a set of privileges and immunities, such as immunity from search and exemption from property taxes. 22 U. S. C. §§288a(c), 288c.

The IOIA defines certain privileges and immunities by reference to comparable privileges and immunities enjoyed by foreign governments. For example, with respect to customs duties and the treatment of official communications, the Act grants international organizations the privileges and immunities that are "accorded under similar circumstances to foreign governments." §288a(d). The provision at issue in this case provides that international organizations "shall enjoy the same immunity from suit

and every form of judicial process as is enjoyed by foreign governments." §288a(b).

The IOIA authorizes the President to withhold, withdraw, condition, or limit the privileges and immunities it grants in light of the functions performed by any given international organization. §288. Those privileges and immunities can also be expanded or restricted by a particular organization's founding charter.

B

When the IOIA was enacted in 1945, courts looked to the views of the Department of State in deciding whether a given foreign government should be granted immunity from a particular suit. If the Department submitted a recommendation on immunity, courts deferred to the recommendation. If the Department did not make a recommendation, courts decided for themselves whether to grant immunity, although they did so by reference to State Department policy. *Samantar* v. *Yousuf*, 560 U. S. 305, 311–312 (2010).

Until 1952, the State Department adhered to the classical theory of foreign sovereign immunity. According to that theory, foreign governments are entitled to "virtually absolute" immunity as a matter of international grace and comity. At the time the IOIA was enacted, therefore, the Department ordinarily requested, and courts ordinarily granted, immunity in suits against foreign governments. *Ibid.*; *Verlinden B. V.* v. *Central Bank of Nigeria*, 461 U. S. 480, 486 (1983).[1]

In 1952, however, the State Department announced that it would adopt the newer "restrictive" theory of foreign

[1]The immunity was "virtually" absolute because it was subject to occasional exceptions for specific situations. In *Republic of Mexico* v. *Hoffman*, 324 U. S. 30 (1945), for example, the State Department declined to recommend, and the Court did not grant, immunity from suit with respect to a ship that Mexico owned but did not possess.

sovereign immunity. Under that theory, foreign governments are entitled to immunity only with respect to their sovereign acts, not with respect to commercial acts. The State Department explained that it was adopting the restrictive theory because the "widespread and increasing practice on the part of governments of engaging in commercial activities" made it "necessary" to "enable persons doing business with them to have their rights determined in the courts." Letter from Jack B. Tate, Acting Legal Adviser, Dept. of State, to Acting Attorney General Philip B. Perlman (May 19, 1952), reprinted in 26 Dept. State Bull. 984–985 (1952).

In 1976, Congress passed the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. The FSIA codified the restrictive theory of foreign sovereign immunity but transferred "primary responsibility for immunity determinations from the Executive to the Judicial Branch." *Republic of Austria* v. *Altmann*, 541 U. S. 677, 691 (2004); see 28 U. S. C. §1602. Under the FSIA, foreign governments are presumptively immune from suit. §1604. But a foreign government may be subject to suit under one of several statutory exceptions. Most pertinent here, a foreign government may be subject to suit in connection with its commercial activity that has a sufficient nexus with the United States. §1605(a)(2).

C

The International Finance Corporation is an international development bank headquartered in Washington, D. C. The IFC is designated as an international organization under the IOIA. Exec. Order No. 10680, 3 CFR 86 (1957); see 22 U. S. C. §§282, 288. One hundred eighty-four countries, including the United States, are members of the IFC.

The IFC is charged with furthering economic development "by encouraging the growth of productive private enterprise in member countries, particularly in the less

developed areas, thus supplementing the activities of" the World Bank. Articles of Agreement of the International Finance Corporation, Art. I, Dec. 5, 1955, 7 U. S. T. 2193, T. I. A. S. No. 3620. Whereas the World Bank primarily provides loans and grants to developing countries for public-sector projects, the IFC finances private-sector development projects that cannot otherwise attract capital on reasonable terms. See Art. I(i), *ibid*. In 2018, the IFC provided some $23 billion in such financing.

The IFC expects its loan recipients to adhere to a set of performance standards designed to "avoid, mitigate, and manage risks and impacts" associated with development projects. IFC Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability, Jan. 1, 2012, p. 2, ¶1. Those standards are usually more stringent than any established by local law. The IFC includes the standards in its loan agreements and enforces them through an internal review process. Brief for Respondent 10.

In 2008, the IFC loaned $450 million to Coastal Gujarat Power Limited, a company located in India. The loan helped finance the construction of a coal-fired power plant in the state of Gujarat. Under the terms of the loan agreement, Coastal Gujarat was required to comply with an environmental and social action plan designed to protect areas around the plant from damage. The agreement allowed the IFC to revoke financial support for the project if Coastal Gujarat failed to abide by the terms of the agreement.

The project did not go smoothly. According to the IFC's internal audit, Coastal Gujarat did not comply with the environmental and social action plan in constructing and operating the plant. The audit report criticized the IFC for inadequately supervising the project.

In 2015, a group of farmers and fishermen who live near the plant, as well as a local village, sued the IFC in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

They claimed that pollution from the plant, such as coal dust, ash, and water from the plant's cooling system, had destroyed or contaminated much of the surrounding air, land, and water. Relying on the audit report, they asserted several causes of action against the IFC, including negligence, nuisance, trespass, and breach of contract. The IFC maintained that it was immune from suit under the IOIA and moved to dismiss for lack of subject matter jurisdiction.

The District Court, applying D. C. Circuit precedent, concluded that the IFC was immune from suit because the IOIA grants international organizations the virtually absolute immunity that foreign governments enjoyed when the IOIA was enacted. 172 F. Supp. 3d 104, 108–109 (DC 2016) (citing *Atkinson* v. *Inter-American Development Bank*, 156 F. 3d 1335 (CADC 1998)). The D. C. Circuit affirmed in light of its precedent. 860 F. 3d 703 (2017). Judge Pillard wrote separately to say that she would have decided the question differently were she writing on a clean slate. *Id.*, at 708 (concurring opinion). Judge Pillard explained that she thought the D. C. Circuit "took a wrong turn" when it "read the IOIA to grant international organizations a static, absolute immunity that is, by now, not at all the same 'as is enjoyed by foreign governments,' but substantially broader." *Ibid.* Judge Pillard also noted that the Third Circuit had expressly declined to follow the D. C. Circuit's approach. See *OSS Nokalva, Inc.* v. *European Space Agency*, 617 F. 3d 756 (CA3 2010).

We granted certiorari. 584 U. S. ___ (2018).

II

The IFC contends that the IOIA grants international organizations the "same immunity" from suit that foreign governments enjoyed in 1945. Petitioners argue that it instead grants international organizations the "same immunity" from suit that foreign governments enjoy to-

day. We think petitioners have the better reading of the statute.

A

The language of the IOIA more naturally lends itself to petitioners' reading. In granting international organizations the "same immunity" from suit "as is enjoyed by foreign governments," the Act seems to continuously link the immunity of international organizations to that of foreign governments, so as to ensure ongoing parity between the two. The statute could otherwise have simply stated that international organizations "shall enjoy absolute immunity from suit," or specified some other fixed level of immunity. Other provisions of the IOIA, such as the one making the property and assets of international organizations "immune from search," use such noncomparative language to define immunities in a static way. 22 U. S. C. §288a(c). Or the statute could have specified that it was incorporating the law of foreign sovereign immunity as it existed on a particular date. See, *e.g.*, Energy Policy Act of 1992, 30 U. S. C. §242(c)(1) (certain land patents "shall provide for surface use to the same extent as is provided under applicable law prior to October 24, 1992"). Because the IOIA does neither of those things, we think the "same as" formulation is best understood to make international organization immunity and foreign sovereign immunity continuously equivalent.

That reading finds support in other statutes that use similar or identical language to place two groups on equal footing. In the Civil Rights Act of 1866, for instance, Congress established a rule of equal treatment for newly freed slaves by giving them the "same right" to make and enforce contracts and to buy and sell property "as is enjoyed by white citizens." 42 U. S. C. §§1981(a), 1982. That provision is of course understood to guarantee continuous equality between white and nonwhite citizens with respect

to the rights in question. See *Jones* v. *Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U. S. 409, 427–430 (1968). Similarly, the Federal Tort Claims Act states that the "United States shall be liable" in tort "in the same manner and to the same extent as a private individual under like circumstances." 28 U. S. C. §2674. That provision is most naturally understood to make the United States liable in the same way as a private individual at any given time. See *Richards* v. *United States*, 369 U. S. 1, 6–7 (1962). Such "same as" provisions dot the statute books, and federal and state courts commonly read them to mandate ongoing equal treatment of two groups or objects. See, *e.g.*, *Adamson* v. *Bowen*, 855 F. 2d 668, 671–672 (CA10 1988) (statute making United States liable for fees and expenses "to the same extent that any other party would be liable under the common law or under the terms of any statute" interpreted to continuously tie liability of United States to that of any other party); *Kugler's Appeal*, 55 Pa. 123, 124–125 (1867) (statute making the procedure for dividing election districts "the same as" the procedure for dividing townships interpreted to continuously tie the former procedure to the latter).

The IFC objects that the IOIA is different because the purpose of international organization immunity is entirely distinct from the purpose of foreign sovereign immunity. Foreign sovereign immunity, the IFC argues, is grounded in the mutual respect of sovereigns and serves the ends of international comity and reciprocity. The purpose of international organization immunity, on the other hand, is to allow such organizations to freely pursue the collective goals of member countries without undue interference from the courts of any one member country. The IFC therefore urges that the IOIA should not be read to tether international organization immunity to changing foreign sovereign immunity.

But that gets the inquiry backward. We ordinarily

assume, "absent a clearly expressed legislative intention to the contrary," that "the legislative purpose is expressed by the ordinary meaning of the words used." *American Tobacco Co.* v. *Patterson*, 456 U. S. 63, 68 (1982) (alterations omitted). Whatever the ultimate purpose of international organization immunity may be—the IOIA does not address that question—the immediate purpose of the immunity provision is expressed in language that Congress typically uses to make one thing continuously equivalent to another.

B

The more natural reading of the IOIA is confirmed by a canon of statutory interpretation that was well established when the IOIA was drafted. According to the "reference" canon, when a statute refers to a general subject, the statute adopts the law on that subject as it exists whenever a question under the statute arises. 2 J. Sutherland, Statutory Construction §§5207–5208 (3d ed. 1943). For example, a statute allowing a company to "collect the same tolls and enjoy the same privileges" as other companies incorporates the law governing tolls and privileges as it exists at any given moment. *Snell* v. *Chicago*, 133 Ill. 413, 437–439, 24 N. E. 532, 537 (1890). In contrast, a statute that refers to another statute by specific title or section number in effect cuts and pastes the referenced statute as it existed when the referring statute was enacted, without any subsequent amendments. See, *e.g.*, *Culver* v. *People ex rel. Kochersperger*, 161 Ill. 89, 95–99, 43 N. E. 812, 814–815 (1896) (tax-assessment statute referring to specific article of another statute does not adopt subsequent amendments to that article).

Federal courts have often relied on the reference canon, explicitly or implicitly, to harmonize a statute with an external body of law that the statute refers to generally. Thus, for instance, a statute that exempts from disclosure

agency documents that "would not be *available by law* to a party . . . in litigation with the agency" incorporates the general law governing attorney work-product privilege as it exists when the statute is applied. *FTC* v. *Grolier Inc.*, 462 U. S. 19, 20, 26–27 (1983) (emphasis added); *id.*, at 34, n. 6 (Brennan, J., concurring in part and concurring in judgment). Likewise, a general reference to federal discovery rules incorporates those rules "as they are found on any given day, today included," *El Encanto, Inc.* v. *Hatch Chile Co.*, 825 F. 3d 1161, 1164 (CA10 2016), and a general reference to "the crime of piracy as defined by the law of nations" incorporates a definition of piracy "that changes with advancements in the law of nations," *United States* v. *Dire*, 680 F. 3d 446, 451, 467–469 (CA4 2012).

The same logic applies here. The IOIA's reference to the immunity enjoyed by foreign governments is a general rather than specific reference. The reference is to an external body of potentially evolving law—the law of foreign sovereign immunity—not to a specific provision of another statute. The IOIA should therefore be understood to link the law of international organization immunity to the law of foreign sovereign immunity, so that the one develops in tandem with the other.

The IFC contends that the IOIA's reference to the immunity enjoyed by foreign governments is not a general reference to an external body of law, but is instead a specific reference to a common law concept that had a fixed meaning when the IOIA was enacted in 1945. And because we ordinarily presume that "Congress intends to incorporate the well-settled meaning of the common-law terms it uses," *Neder* v. *United States*, 527 U. S. 1, 23 (1999), the IFC argues that we should read the IOIA to incorporate what the IFC maintains was the then-settled meaning of the "immunity enjoyed by foreign governments": virtually absolute immunity.

But in 1945, the "immunity enjoyed by foreign govern-

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ments" did not *mean* "virtually absolute immunity." The phrase is not a term of art with substantive content, such as "fraud" or "forgery." See *id.*, at 22; *Gilbert* v. *United States*, 370 U. S. 650, 655 (1962). It is rather a concept that can be given scope and content only by reference to the rules governing foreign sovereign immunity. It is true that under the rules applicable in 1945, the *extent* of immunity from suit was virtually absolute, while under the rules applicable today, it is more limited. But in 1945, as today, the IOIA's instruction to grant international organizations the immunity "enjoyed by foreign governments" is an instruction to look up the applicable rules of foreign sovereign immunity, wherever those rules may be found—the common law, the law of nations, or a statute. In other words, it is a general reference to an external body of (potentially evolving) law.

C

In ruling for the IFC, the D. C. Circuit relied upon its prior decision in *Atkinson*, 156 F. 3d 1335. *Atkinson* acknowledged the reference canon, but concluded that the canon's probative force was "outweighed" by a structural inference the court derived from the larger context of the IOIA. *Id.*, at 1341. The *Atkinson* court focused on the provision of the IOIA that gives the President the authority to withhold, withdraw, condition, or limit the otherwise applicable privileges and immunities of an international organization, "in the light of the functions performed by any such international organization." 22 U. S. C. §288. The court understood that provision to "delegate to the President the responsibility for updating the immunities of international organizations in the face of changing circumstances." *Atkinson*, 156 F. 3d, at 1341. That delegation, the court reasoned, "undermine[d]" the view that Congress intended the IOIA to in effect update itself by incorporating changes in the law governing foreign sover-

eign immunity. *Ibid.*

We do not agree. The delegation provision is most naturally read to allow the President to modify, on a case-by-case basis, the immunity rules that would otherwise apply to a particular international organization. The statute authorizes the President to take action with respect to a single organization—"any such organization"—in light of the functions performed by "such organization." 28 U. S. C. §288. The text suggests retail rather than wholesale action, and that is in fact how authority under §288 has been exercised in the past. See, *e.g.*, Exec. Order No. 12425, 3 CFR 193 (1984) (designating INTERPOL as an international organization under the IOIA but withholding certain privileges and immunities); Exec. Order No. 11718, 3 CFR 177 (1974) (same for INTELSAT). In any event, the fact that the President has power to modify otherwise applicable immunity rules is perfectly compatible with the notion that those rules might themselves change over time in light of developments in the law governing foreign sovereign immunity.

The D. C. Circuit in *Atkinson* also gave no consideration to the opinion of the State Department, whose views in this area ordinarily receive "special attention." *Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela* v. *Helmerich & Payne Int'l. Drilling Co.*, 581 U. S. ___, ___ (2017) (slip op., at 9). Shortly after the FSIA was enacted, the State Department took the position that the immunity rules of the IOIA and the FSIA were now "link[ed]." Letter from Detlev F. Vagts, Office of the Legal Adviser, to Robert M. Carswell, Jr., Senior Legal Advisor, OAS, p. 2 (Mar. 24, 1977). The Department reaffirmed that view during subsequent administrations, and it has reaffirmed it again here.[2] That longstanding

[2] See Letter from Roberts B. Owen, Legal Adviser, to Leroy D. Clark, Gen. Counsel, EEOC (June 24, 1980) in Nash, Contemporary Practice of the United States Relating to International Law, 74 Am. J. Int'l. L. 917,

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view further bolsters our understanding of the IOIA's immunity provision.

D

The IFC argues that interpreting the IOIA's immunity provision to grant anything less than absolute immunity would lead to a number of undesirable results.

The IFC first contends that affording international organizations only restrictive immunity would defeat the purpose of granting them immunity in the first place. Allowing international organizations to be sued in one member country's courts would in effect allow that member to second-guess the collective decisions of the others. It would also expose international organizations to money damages, which would in turn make it more difficult and expensive for them to fulfill their missions. The IFC argues that this problem is especially acute for international development banks. Because those banks use the tools of commerce to achieve their objectives, they may be subject to suit under the FSIA's commercial activity exception for most or all of their core activities, unlike foreign sovereigns. According to the IFC, allowing such suits would bring a flood of foreign-plaintiff litigation into U. S. courts, raising many of the same foreign-relations con-

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918 (1980) ("By virtue of the FSIA, and unless otherwise specified in their constitutive agreements, international organizations are now subject to the jurisdiction of our courts in respect of their commercial activities, while retaining immunity for their acts of a public character."); Letter from Arnold Kanter, Acting Secretary of State, to President George H. W. Bush (Sept. 12, 1992) in Digest of United States Practice in International Law 1016–1017 (S. Cummins & D. Stewart eds. 2005) (explaining that the Headquarters Agreement of the Organization of American States affords the OAS "full immunity from judicial process, thus going beyond the usual United States practice of affording restrictive immunity," in exchange for assurances that OAS would provide for "appropriate modes of settlement of those disputes for which jurisdiction would exist against a foreign government under the" FSIA); Brief for United States as *Amicus Curiae* 24–29.

cerns that we identified when considering similar litigation under the Alien Tort Statute. See *Jesner* v. *Arab Bank, PLC*, 584 U. S. ___, ___–___ (2018); *Kiobel* v. *Royal Dutch Petroleum Co.*, 569 U. S. 108, 116–117 (2013).

The IFC's concerns are inflated. To begin, the privileges and immunities accorded by the IOIA are only default rules. If the work of a given international organization would be impaired by restrictive immunity, the organization's charter can always specify a different level of immunity. The charters of many international organizations do just that. See, *e.g.*, Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, Art. II, §2, Feb. 13, 1946, 21 U. S. T. 1422, T. I. A. S. No. 6900 ("The United Nations . . . shall enjoy immunity from every form of legal process except insofar as in any particular case it has expressly waived its immunity"); Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund, Art. IX, §3, Dec. 27, 1945, 60 Stat. 1413, T. I. A. S. No. 1501 (IMF enjoys "immunity from every form of judicial process except to the extent that it expressly waives its immunity"). Notably, the IFC's own charter does not state that the IFC is absolutely immune from suit.

Nor is there good reason to think that restrictive immunity would expose international development banks to excessive liability. As an initial matter, it is not clear that the lending activity of all development banks qualifies as commercial activity within the meaning of the FSIA. To be considered "commercial," an activity must be "the *type*" of activity "by which a private party engages in" trade or commerce. *Republic of Argentina* v. *Weltover, Inc.*, 504 U. S. 607, 614 (1992); see 28 U. S. C. §1603(d). As the Government suggested at oral argument, the lending activity of at least some development banks, such as those that make conditional loans to governments, may not qualify as "commercial" under the FSIA. See Tr. of Oral Arg. 27–30.

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And even if an international development bank's lending activity does qualify as commercial, that does not mean the organization is automatically subject to suit. The FSIA includes other requirements that must also be met. For one thing, the commercial activity must have a sufficient nexus to the United States. See 28 U. S. C. §§1603, 1605(a)(2). For another, a lawsuit must be "based upon" either the commercial activity itself or acts performed in connection with the commercial activity. See §1605(a)(2). Thus, if the "gravamen" of a lawsuit is tortious activity abroad, the suit is not "based upon" commercial activity within the meaning of the FSIA's commercial activity exception. See *OBB Personenverkehr AG* v. *Sachs*, 577 U. S. ___, ___–___ (2015); *Saudi Arabia* v. *Nelson*, 507 U. S. 349, 356–359 (1993). At oral argument in this case, the Government stated that it has "serious doubts" whether petitioners' suit, which largely concerns allegedly tortious conduct in India, would satisfy the "based upon" requirement. Tr. of Oral Arg. 25–26. In short, restrictive immunity hardly means unlimited exposure to suit for international organizations.

* * *

The International Organizations Immunities Act grants international organizations the "same immunity" from suit "as is enjoyed by foreign governments" at any given time. Today, that means that the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act governs the immunity of international organizations. The International Finance Corporation is therefore not absolutely immune from suit.

The judgment of the United States Court of Appeals for the D. C. Circuit is reversed, and the case is remanded for further proceedings consistent with this opinion.

It is so ordered.

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JUSTICE KAVANAUGH took no part in the consideration or decision of this case.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 17–1011

BUDHA ISMAIL JAM, ET AL., PETITIONERS *v.* INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

[February 27, 2019]

JUSTICE BREYER, dissenting.

The International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945 extends to international organizations "the same immunity from suit and every form of judicial process as is enjoyed by foreign governments." 22 U. S. C. §288a(b). The majority, resting primarily upon the statute's language and canons of interpretation, holds that the statute's reference to "immunity" moves with the times. As a consequence, the statute no longer allows international organizations immunity from lawsuits arising from their commercial activities. In my view, the statute grants international organizations that immunity—just as foreign governments possessed that immunity when Congress enacted the statute in 1945. In reaching this conclusion, I rest more heavily than does the majority upon the statute's history, its context, its purposes, and its consequences. And I write in part to show that, in difficult cases like this one, purpose-based methods of interpretation can often shine a useful light upon opaque statutory language, leading to a result that reflects greater legal coherence and is, as a practical matter, more sound.

I

The general question before us is familiar: Do the words of a statute refer to their subject matter "statically," as it

was when the statute was written? Or is their reference to that subject matter "dynamic," changing in scope as the subject matter changes over time? It is hardly surprising, given the thousands of different statutes containing an untold number of different words, that there is no single, universally applicable answer to this question.

Fairly recent cases from this Court make that clear. Compare *New Prime Inc.* v. *Oliveira*, 586 U. S. ___, ___ (2019) (slip op., at 7) (adopting the interpretation of "'contracts of employment'" that prevailed at the time of the statute's adoption in 1925); *Wisconsin Central Ltd.* v. *United States*, 585 U. S. ___, ___ (2018) (slip op., at 2) (adopting the meaning of "'money'" that prevailed at the time of the statute's enactment in 1937); *Carcieri* v. *Salazar*, 555 U. S. 379, 388 (2009) (interpreting the statutory phrase "'now under Federal jurisdiction'" to cover only those tribes that were under federal jurisdiction at the time of the statute's adoption in 1934); and *Republic of Argentina* v. *Weltover, Inc.*, 504 U. S. 607, 612–613 (1992) (adopting the meaning of "'commercial'" that was "attached to that term under the restrictive theory" when the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act was enacted in 1976), with *Kimble* v. *Marvel Entertainment, LLC*, 576 U. S. ___, ___ (2015) (slip op., at 14) (noting that the words "'restraint of trade'" in the Sherman Act have been interpreted dynamically); *West* v. *Gibson*, 527 U. S. 212, 218 (1999) (interpreting the term "'appropriate'" in Title VII's remedies provision dynamically); and *Allied-Bruce Terminix Cos.* v. *Dobson*, 513 U. S. 265, 275–276 (1995) (interpreting the term "'involving commerce'" in the Federal Arbitration Act dynamically).

The Court, like petitioners, believes that the language of the statute itself helps significantly to answer the static/dynamic question. See *ante*, at 7–9. I doubt that the language itself helps in this case. Petitioners point to the words "as is" in the phrase that grants the international

organizations the "same immunity from suit . . . *as is* enjoyed by foreign governments." Brief for Petitioners 23–24. They invoke the Dictionary Act, which states that "words used in the present tense include the future" "unless the context indicates otherwise." 1 U. S. C. §1. But that provision creates only a presumption. And it did not even appear in the statute until 1948, *after* Congress had passed the Immunities Act. Compare §1, 61 Stat. 633, with §6, 62 Stat. 859.

More fundamentally, the words "as is enjoyed" do not conclusively tell us *when* enjoyed. Do they mean "as is enjoyed" at the time of the statute's enactment? Or "as is enjoyed" at the time a plaintiff brings a lawsuit? If the former, international organizations enjoy immunity from lawsuits based upon their commercial activities, for that was the scope of immunity that foreign governments enjoyed in 1945 when the Immunities Act became law. If the latter, international organizations do not enjoy that immunity, for foreign governments can no longer claim immunity from lawsuits based upon certain commercial activities. See 28 U. S. C. §1605(a)(2).

Linguistics does not answer the temporal question. Nor do our cases, which are not perfectly consistent on the matter. Compare *McNeill* v. *United States*, 563 U. S. 816, 821 (2011) (present-tense verb in the Armed Career Criminal Act requires applying the law at the time of previous conviction, not the later time when the Act is applied), with *Dole Food Co.* v. *Patrickson*, 538 U. S. 468, 478 (2003) (present-tense verb requires applying the law "at the time suit is filed"). The problem is simple: "Without knowing the point in time at which the law speaks, it is impossible to tell what is past and what is present or future." *Carr* v. *United States*, 560 U. S. 438, 463 (2010) (ALITO, J., dissenting). It is *purpose*, not linguistics, that can help us here.

The words "same . . . as," in the phrase "same immunity

. . . as," provide no greater help. The majority finds support for its dynamic interpretation in the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which gives all citizens the "*same* right" to make and enforce contracts and to buy and sell property "*as* is enjoyed by white citizens." 42 U. S. C. §§1981(a), 1982 (emphasis added). But it is *purpose*, not words, that readily resolves any temporal linguistic ambiguity in that statute. The Act's objective, like that of the Fourteenth Amendment itself, was a Nation that treated its citizens equally. Its purpose—revealed by its title, historical context, and other language in the statute—was "to guarantee the then newly freed slaves the same legal rights that other citizens enjoy." *CBOCS West, Inc.* v. *Humphries*, 553 U. S. 442, 448 (2008). Given this purpose, its dynamic nature is obvious.

Similarly, judges interpreting the words "same . . . as" have long resolved ambiguity not by looking at the words alone, but by examining the statute's purpose as well. Compare, *e.g.*, *Kugler's Appeal*, 55 Pa. 123, 123–125 (1867) (adopting a dynamic interpretation of "same as" statute in light of "plain" and "manifest" statutory purpose); and *Gaston* v. *Lamkin*, 115 Mo. 20, 34, 21 S. W. 1100, 1104 (1893) (adopting a dynamic interpretation of "same as" election statute given the legislature's intent to achieve "simplicity and uniformity in the conduct of elections"), with *O'Flynn* v. *East Rochester*, 292 N. Y. 156, 162, 54 N. E. 2d 343, 346 (1944) (adopting a static interpretation of "same as" statute given that the legislature "did not contemplate" that subsequent changes to a referenced statute would apply (interpreting N. Y. Gen. Mun. Law Ann. §360(5) (West 1934))). There is no hard-and-fast rule that the statutory words "as is" or the statutory words "same as" require applying the law as it stands today.

The majority wrongly believes that it can solve the temporal problem by bringing statutory canons into play. It relies on what it calls the "reference canon." That canon,

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as it appeared more than 75 years ago in Sutherland's book on statutory construction, says that "when a statute refers to a general subject, the statute adopts the law on that subject as it exists *whenever a question under the statute arises.*" *Ante*, at 9 (citing 2 J. Sutherland, Statutory Construction §§5207–5208 (3d ed. 1943); emphasis added).

But a canon is at most a rule of thumb. Indeed, Sutherland himself says that "[n]o single canon of interpretation can purport to give a certain and unerring answer." 2 Sutherland, *supra*, §4501, p. 316. And hornbooks, summarizing case law, have long explained that whether a reference statute adopts the law as it stands on the date of enactment or includes subsequent changes in the law to which it refers is "fundamentally a question of legislative intent and purpose." Fox, Effect of Modification or Repeal of Constitutional or Statutory Provision Adopted by Reference in Another Provision, 168 A. L. R. 627, 628 (1947); see also 82 C. J. S., Statutes §485, p. 637 (2009) ("The question of whether a statute which has adopted another statute by reference will be affected by amendments made to the adopted statute is one of legislative intent and purpose"); *id.*, at 638 (statute that refers generally to another body of law will ordinarily include subsequent changes in the adopted law only "as far as the changes are consistent with the purpose of the adopting statute").

Thus, all interpretive roads here lead us to the same place, namely, to context, to history, to purpose, and to consequences. Language alone cannot resolve the statute's linguistic ambiguity.

II

"Statutory interpretation," however, "is not a game of blind man's bluff." *Dole Food Co.*, 538 U. S., at 484 (BREYER, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part). We are "free to consider statutory language in light of a

statute's basic purposes," *ibid.*, as well as "'the history of the times when it was passed,'" *Leo Sheep Co.* v. *United States*, 440 U. S. 668, 669 (1979) (quoting *United States* v. *Union Pacific R. Co.*, 91 U. S. 72, 79 (1875)). In this case, historical context, purpose, and related consequences tell us a great deal about the proper interpretation of the Immunities Act.

Congressional reports explain that Congress, acting in the immediate aftermath of World War II, intended the Immunities Act to serve two related purposes. First, it would "enabl[e] this country to fulfill its commitments in connection with its membership in international organizations." S. Rep. No. 861, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., 3 (1945); see also *id.*, at 2–3 (explaining that the Immunities Act was "basic legislation" expected to "satisfy in full the requirements of . . . international organizations conducting activities in the United States"); H. R. Rep. No. 1203, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., 3 (1945) (similar). And second, it would "facilitate fully the functioning of international organizations in this country." S. Rep. No. 861, at 3.

A

I first examine the international commitments that Congress sought to fulfill. By 1945, the United States had entered into agreements creating several important multilateral organizations, including the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). See *id.*, at 2.

The founding agreements for several of these organizations required member states to grant them broad immunity from suit. The Bretton Woods Agreements, for example, provided that the IMF "shall enjoy immunity from every form of judicial process except to the extent that it expressly waives its immunity." Articles of Agreement of

the International Monetary Fund, Art. IX, §3, Dec. 27, 1945, 60 Stat. 1413, T. I. A. S. No. 1501. UNRRA required members, absent waiver, to accord the organization "the facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which they accord to each other, including . . . [i]mmunity from suit and legal process." 2 UNRRA, A Compilation of the Resolutions on Policy: First and Second Sessions of the UNRRA Council, Res. No. 32, p. 51 (1944). And the UN Charter required member states to accord the UN "such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes." Charter of the United Nations, Art. 105, 59 Stat. 1053, June 26, 1945, T. S. No. 993.

These international organizations expected the United States to provide them with essentially full immunity. And at the time the treaties were written, Congress understood that foreign governments normally enjoyed immunity with respect to their commercial, as well as their noncommercial, activities. Thus, by granting international organizations "the same immunity from suit" that foreign governments enjoyed, Congress expected that international organizations would similarly have immunity in both commercial and noncommercial suits.

More than that, Congress likely recognized that immunity in the commercial area was even more important for many international organizations than it was for most foreign governments. Unlike foreign governments, international organizations are *not* sovereign entities engaged in a host of different activities. See R. Higgins, Problems & Process: International Law and How We Use It 93 (1994) (organizations do not act with "'sovereign authority,'" and "to assimilate them to states . . . is not correct"). Rather, many organizations (including four of the five I mentioned above) have specific missions that often require them to engage in what U. S. law may well consider to be commercial activities. See *infra*, at 12.

Nonetheless, under the majority's view, the immunity of

many organizations contracted in scope in 1952, when the State Department modified foreign government immunity to exclude commercial activities. Most organizations could not rely on the treaty provisions quoted above to supply the necessary immunity. That is because, unless the treaty provision granting immunity is "self-executing," *i.e.*, automatically applicable, the immunity will not be effective in U. S. courts until Congress enacts additional legislation to implement it. See *Medellin* v. *Texas*, 552 U. S. 491, 504–505 (2008); but see *id.*, at 546–547 (BREYER, J., dissenting). And many treaties are not self-executing. Thus, in the ordinary case, not even a treaty can guarantee immunity in cases arising from commercial activities.

The UN provides a good example. As noted, the UN Charter required the United States to grant the UN all "necessary" immunities, but it was not self-executing. In 1946, the UN made clear that it needed absolute immunity from suit, including in lawsuits based upon its commercial activities. See Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, Art. II, §2, Feb. 13, 1946, 21 U. S. T. 1422, T. I. A. S. No. 6900 (entered into force Apr. 29, 1970); see also App. to S. Exec. Rep. No. 91–17, p. 14 (1970) ("The U. N.'s immunity from legal process extends to matters arising out its commercial dealings . . . "). But, until Congress ratified that comprehensive immunity provision in 1970, no U. S. law provided that immunity *but for* the Immunities Act. *Id.*, at 1. Both the UN and the United States found this circumstance satisfactory because they apparently assumed the Immunities Act extended immunity in cases involving both commercial and noncommercial activities: When Congress eventually (in 1970) ratified the UN's comprehensive immunity provision, the Senate reported that the long delay in ratification "appears to have been the result of the executive branch being content to operate under the provisions of the" Immunities Act. *Id.*, at 2.

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In light of this history, how likely is it that Congress, seeking to "satisfy *in full* the requirements of . . . international organizations conducting activities in the United States," S. Rep. No. 861, at 2–3 (emphasis added), would have understood the statute to take from many international organizations with one hand the immunity it had given them with the other? If Congress wished the Act to carry out one of its core purposes—fulfilling the country's international commitments—Congress would not have wanted the statute to change over time, taking on a meaning that would fail to grant not only full, but even partial, immunity to many of those organizations.

B

Congress also intended to facilitate international organizations' ability to pursue their missions in the United States. To illustrate why that purpose is better served by a static interpretation, consider in greater detail the work of the organizations to which Congress wished to provide broad immunity. Put the IMF to the side, for Congress enacted a separate statute providing it with immunity (absent waiver) in all cases. See 22 U. S. C. §286h. But UNRRA, the World Bank, the FAO, and the UN itself all originally depended upon the Immunities Act for the immunity they sought.

Consider, for example, the mission of UNRRA. The United States and other nations created that organization in 1943, as the end of World War II seemed in sight. Its objective was, in the words of President Roosevelt, to "'assure a fair distribution of available supplies among'" those liberated in World War II, and "'to ward off death by starvation or exposure among these peoples.'" 1 G. Woodbridge, UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration 3 (1950). By the time Congress passed the Immunities Act in 1945, UNRRA had obtained and shipped billions of pounds of food, clothing,

and other relief supplies to children freed from Nazi concentration camps and to others in serious need. 3 *id.*, at 429; see generally L. Nicholas, Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web 442–513 (2005).

These activities involved contracts, often made in the United States, for transportation and for numerous commercial goods. See B. Shephard, The Long Road Home: The Aftermath of the Second World War 54, 57–58 (2012). Indeed, the United States conditioned its participation on UNRRA's spending what amounted to 67% of its budget on purchases of goods and services in the United States. *Id.*, at 57–58; see also Sawyer, Achievements of UNRRA as an International Health Organization, 37 Am. J. Pub. Health 41, 57 (1947) (describing UNRRA training programs for foreign doctors within the United States, which presumably required entering into contracts); *International Refugee Org.* v. *Republic S. S. Corp.*, 189 F. 2d 858, 860 (CA4 1951) (describing successor organization's transportation of displaced persons, presumably also under contract). Would Congress, believing that it had provided the absolute immunity that UNRRA sought and expected, also have intended that the statute be interpreted "dynamically," thereby removing most of the immunity that it had then provided—not only potentially from UNRRA itself but also from other future international organizations with UNRRA-like objectives and tasks?

C

This history makes clear that Congress enacted the Immunities Act as part of an effort to encourage international organizations to locate their headquarters and carry on their missions in the United States. It also makes clear that Congress intended to enact "basic legislation" that would fulfill its broad immunity-based commitments to the UN, UNRRA, and other nascent organizations. S. Rep. No. 861, at 2. And those commitments, of neces-

sity, included immunity from suit in commercial areas, since organizations were buying goods and making contracts in the United States.

To achieve these purposes, Congress enacted legislation that granted necessarily broad immunity. And that fact strongly suggests that Congress would not have wanted the statute to reduce significantly the scope of immunity that international organizations enjoyed, particularly organizations engaged in development finance, refugee assistance, or other tasks that U. S. law could well decide were "commercial" in nature. See *infra*, at 12.

To that extent, an examination of the statute's purpose supports a static, not a dynamic, interpretation of its cross-reference to the immunity of foreign governments. Unlike the purpose of the Civil Rights Act, the purpose here was not to ensure parity of treatment for international organizations and foreign governments. Instead, as the Court of Appeals for the D. C. Circuit pointed out years ago, the statute's reference to the immunities of "foreign governments" was a "shorthand" for the immunities those foreign governments enjoyed at the time the Act was passed. *Atkinson* v. *Inter-American Development Bank*, 156 F. 3d 1335, 1340, 1341 (1998).

III

Now consider the consequences that the majority's reading of the statute will likely produce—consequences that run counter to the statute's basic purposes. Although the UN itself is no longer dependent upon the Immunities Act, many other organizations, such as the FAO and several multilateral development banks, continue to rely upon that Act to secure immunity, for the United States has never ratified treaties nor enacted statutes that might extend the necessary immunity, commercial and noncommercial alike.

A

The "commercial activity" exception to the sovereign immunity of foreign nations is broad. We have said that a foreign state engages in "commercial activity" when it exercises "'powers that can also be exercised by private citizens.'" *Republic of Argentina*, 504 U. S., at 614. Thus, "a contract to buy army boots or even bullets is a 'commercial' activity," even if the government enters into the contract to "fulfil[l] uniquely sovereign objectives." *Ibid.*; see also H. R. Rep. No. 94–1487, p. 16 (1976) ("[A] transaction to obtain goods or services from private parties would not lose its otherwise commercial character because it was entered into in connection with an [Agency for International Development] program").

As a result of the majority's interpretation, many of the international organizations to which the United States belongs will discover that they are now exposed to civil lawsuits based on their (U. S.-law-defined) commercial activity. And because "commercial activity" may well have a broad definition, today's holding will at the very least create uncertainty for organizations involved in finance, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency. The core functions of these organizations are at least arguably "commercial" in nature; the organizations exist to promote international development by investing in foreign companies and projects across the world. See Brief for International Bank for Reconstruction and Development et al. as *Amici Curiae* 1–4; Brief for Member Countries and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency as *Amici Curiae* 13–15. The World Bank, for example, encourages development either by guaranteeing private loans or by providing financing from its own funds if private capital is not available. See Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Art. I, Dec. 27, 1945, 60 Stat. 1440, T. I. A. S. No.

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Some of these organizations, including the International Finance Corporation (IFC), themselves believe they do not need broad immunity in commercial areas, and they have waived it. See, *e.g.*, Articles of Agreement of the International Finance Corporation, Art. 6, §3, Dec. 5, 1955, 7 U. S. T. 2214, 264 U. N. T. S. 118 (implemented by 22 U. S. C. §282g); see also 860 F. 3d 703, 706 (CADC 2017). But today's decision will affect them nonetheless. That is because courts have long interpreted their waivers in a manner that protects their core objectives. See, *e.g.*, *Mendaro* v. *World Bank*, 717 F. 2d 610, 614–615 (CADC 1983). (This very case provides a good example. The D. C. Circuit held below that the IFC's waiver provision does not cover petitioners' claims because they "threaten the [IFC's] policy discretion." See 860 F. 3d, at 708.) But today's decision exposes these organizations to potential liability in *all* cases arising from their commercial activities, without regard to the scope of their waivers.

Under the majority's interpretation, that broad exposure to liability is at least a reasonable possibility. And that being so, the interpretation undercuts Congress' original objectives and the expectations that it had when it enacted the Immunities Act in 1945.

B

The majority's opinion will have a further important consequence—one that more clearly contradicts the statute's objectives and overall scheme. It concerns the important goal of weeding out lawsuits that are likely bad or harmful—those likely to produce rules of law that interfere with an international organization's public interest tasks.

To understand its importance, consider again that international organizations, unlike foreign nations, are multilateral, with members from many different nations.

See H. R. Rep. No. 1203, at 1. That multilateralism is threatened if one nation alone, through application of its own liability rules (by nonexpert judges), can shape the policy choices or actions that an international organization believes it must take or refrain from taking. Yet that is the effect of the majority's interpretation. By restricting the immunity that international organizations enjoy, it "opens the door to divided decisions of the courts of different member states," including U. S. courts, "passing judgment on the rules, regulations, and decisions of the international bodies." *Broadbent* v. *Organization of Am. States*, 628 F. 2d 27, 35 (CADC 1980); cf. Singer, Jurisdictional Immunity of International Organizations: Human Rights and Functional Necessity Concerns, 36 Va. J. Int'l L. 53, 63–64 (1995) (recognizing that "[i]t would be inappropriate for municipal courts to cut deep into the region of autonomous decision-making authority of institutions such as the World Bank").

Many international organizations, fully aware of their moral (if not legal) obligations to prevent harm to others and to compensate individuals when they do cause harm, have sought to fulfill those obligations without compromising their ability to operate effectively. Some, as I have said, waive their immunity in U. S. courts at least in part. And the D. C. Circuit, for nearly 40 years, has interpreted those waivers in a way that protects the organization against interference by any single state. See, *e.g.*, *Mendaro*, 717 F. 2d, at 615. The D. C. Circuit allows a lawsuit to proceed when "insistence on immunity would actually prevent or hinder the organization from conducting its activities." *Id.*, at 617. Thus, a direct beneficiary of a World Bank loan can generally sue the Bank, because "the commercial reliability of the Bank's direct loans . . . would be significantly vitiated" if "beneficiaries were required to accept the Bank's obligations without recourse to judicial process." *Id.*, at 618. Where, however, allowing

a suit would lead to "disruptive interference" with the organization's functions, the waiver does not apply. *Ibid.*

Other organizations have attempted to solve the liability/immunity problem by turning to multilateral, not single-nation, solutions. The UN, for instance, has agreed to "make provisions for appropriate modes of settlement of . . . [d]isputes arising out of contracts or other disputes of a private law character." Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, Art. VIII, §29, 21 U. S. T. 1438, T. I. A. S. No. 6900. It generally does so by agreeing to submit commercial disputes to arbitration. See Restatement (Third) of Foreign Relations Law of the United States §467, Reporters' Note 7 (1987). Other organizations, including the IFC, have set up alternative accountability schemes to resolve disputes that might otherwise end up in court. See World Bank, Inspection Panel: About Us (describing World Bank's three-member "independent complaints mechanism" for those "who believe that they have been . . . adversely affected by a World Bank-funded project"), https://inspectionpanel.org/about-us/about-inspection-panel (as last visited Feb. 25, 2019); Compliance Advisor Ombudsman, How We Work: CAO Dispute Resolution (describing IFC and Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency dispute-resolution process, the main objective of which is to help resolve issues raised about the "social and environmental impacts of IFC/MIGA projects"), www.cao-ombudsman.org/howwework/ombudsman.

These alternatives may sometimes prove inadequate. And, if so, the Immunities Act itself offers a way for America's Executive Branch to set aside an organization's immunity and to allow a lawsuit to proceed in U. S. courts. The Act grants to the President the authority to "withhold," to "withdraw," to "condition," or to "limit" any of the Act's "immunities" in "light of the functions performed by any such international organization." 22 U. S. C. §288.

Were we to interpret the statute statically, then, the default rule would be immunity in suits arising from an organization's commercial activities. But the Executive Branch would have the power to withdraw immunity where immunity is not warranted, as the Act itself provides. And in making that determination, it could consider whether allowing the lawsuit would jeopardize the organization's ability to carry out its public interest tasks. In a word, the Executive Branch, under a static interpretation, would have the authority needed to separate lawsuit sheep from lawsuit goats.

Under the majority's interpretation, by contrast, there is no such flexibility. The Executive does not have the power to tailor immunity by taking into account the risk of a lawsuit's unjustified interference with institutional objectives or other institutional needs. Rather, the majority's holding takes away an international organization's immunity (in cases arising from "commercial" activities) across the board. And without a new statute, there is no way to restore it, in whole or in part. Nothing in the present statute gives the Executive, the courts, or the organization the power to restore immunity, or to tailor any resulting potential liability, where a lawsuit threatens seriously to interfere with an organization's legitimate needs and goals.

Thus, the static interpretation comes equipped with flexibility. It comes equipped with a means to withdraw immunity where justified. But the dynamic interpretation freezes potential liability into law. It withdraws immunity automatically and irretrievably, irrespective of institutional harm. It seems highly unlikely that Congress would have wanted this result.

* * *

At the end of World War II, many in this Nation saw international cooperation through international organiza-

tion as one way both to diminish the risk of conflict and to promote economic development and commercial prosperity. Congress at that time and at the request of many of those organizations enacted the Immunities Act. Given the differences between international organizations and nation states, along with the Act's purposes and the risk of untoward consequences, I would leave the Immunities Act where we found it—as providing for immunity in both commercial and noncommercial suits.

My decision rests primarily not upon linguistic analysis, but upon basic statutory purposes. Linguistic methods alone, however artfully employed, too often can be used to justify opposite conclusions. Purposes, derived from context, informed by history, and tested by recognition of related consequences, will more often lead us to legally sound, workable interpretations—as they have consistently done in the past. These methods of interpretation can help voters hold officials accountable for their decisions and permit citizens of our diverse democracy to live together productively and in peace—basic objectives in America of the rule of law itself.

With respect, I dissent.

From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 1/26/2019 9:24:09 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

As is often (but not always) the case you are correct....see if you can 'get the book' on him

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 3:20 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

go slow

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 9:18 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

He wants me to hire him....thinking about using him on the Softbank caper

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 3:05 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

as you may know i am very good friends with the sec gen council of europe , human rights court. . they know each other well

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 8:46 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Ever hear of a french/Israeli lawyer named ron soffer who has his main office in paris...(a yid who also works out of nyc)

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 2:21 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

Ha

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 8:19 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Calm down....it was about 30 years ago, fleeting (and not that bad)

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 2:12 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

sorry but i cant get the image of a naked lily sanchez out of my head.

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:43 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

So knew what your answer was going to be

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:39 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

kathy would tacke me if i were to save you :)

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:30 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Just want to make sure if brad and reid were in a burning building and you could save only one.....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:21 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

of course not. ! I've been called many things in the press recently -- retarded - is not one of them

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:14 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Very small fucking world....obviously don't mention my role with brad till we both think it useful

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:12 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

brad represent softbank ,not rajeev , but did speak to him yesterday, re DB

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 6:32 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Cal me if you get a chance...[redacted]

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 25, 2019 7:23 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

If he wants you to rep him. YES

On Fri, Jan 25, 2019 at 10:34 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Rajeev misra....softbank vision fund...any special jeffrey insights here?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:51 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

im not sheyl, frankly i havent been involved in this at all except for the ridiculousness . we will resolve it by end of month. .

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:47 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Ok....but give me an idea what follows the but....otherwise I will imagine the worst....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

i suggest we wait until face to face **Privileged - Redacted**

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:40 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

So....remarkably...in the middle of dealing with thiss the Steptoe numbercrunchers advise me Jeffrey has paid about 450 and owes about 300 and seems disinclined to make Steptoe whole.....hhhhhmmmm....first reaction is déjà vu... **Privileged - Redacted** **Privileged - Redacted** As you know I am the 800 pound gorilla here, Steptoe is not going to chase you down for the money but there are 500 lawyers here, processes, etc.....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 4:04 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

do you think he has the goods?

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:57 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Not my new guy...not repping him

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

you seemed to imply that your new guy could only shoot blanks? if thats so. its an easy decision. , if not. oy

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:09 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Still have to figure out what my role is in all this shit...

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:07 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Fun

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 3:05 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Crim

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:04 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Civil or crime

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 2:59 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Turns out you were right about sdny but they are "going to wait their turn"...

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 8:01 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

?

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:26 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted] wrote:

I will at some point....what time do you leave tomorrow

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 6:24 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

are you nuts. im a cowardly warm blooded jew. call me [redacted]

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:18 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

You are not in nyc now are you?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Im told southern District trying yo get out a rico claim against the org

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:41 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Jesusfuckingchrist....give me one of them....ready for a change

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:39 PM

To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

I have two more bidders

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:38 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

At cheryl's...sitting with her...watching trump shit...is Google going to happen?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:36 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

What number are you on? I won't talk sensitive, i want to tell you google

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:21 PM Weingarten, Reid [redacted] wrote:

Then I am going to have to make change the world decisions without you...(I am in london tomorrow-friday but I assume you are going to paris)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:41 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

im off to europe , tomorrow. .

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 4:37 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:14 PM

To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject:

Privileged - Redacted

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From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 1/26/2019 7:19:44 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

Calm down....it was about 30 years ago, fleeting (and not that bad)

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 2:12 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

sorry but i cant get the image of a naked lily sanchez out of my head.

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:43 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

So knew what your answer was going to be

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:39 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

kathy would tacke me if i were to save you :)

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:30 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Just want to make sure if brad and reid were in a burning building and you could save only one.....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:21 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

of course not. ! I've been called many things in the press recently -- retarded - is not one of them

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:14 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Very small fucking world....obviously don't mention my role with brad till we both think it useful

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:12 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

brad represent softbank ,not rajeev , but did speak to him yesterday, re DB

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 6:32 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Cal me if you get a chance....212 506 3914

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
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If he wants you to rep him. YES

On Fri, Jan 25, 2019 at 10:34 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Rajeev misra....softbank vision fund...any special jeffrey insights here?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
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im not sheyl, frankly i havent been involved in this at all except for the ridiculousness . we will resolve it by end of month. .

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So....remarkably...in the middle of dealing with thiss the Steptoe numbercrunchers advise me Jeffrey has paid about 450 and owes about 300 and seems disinclined to make Steptoe whole.....hhhhhmmmm....first reaction is déjà vu.... How the fuck are we back here after the unspeakably awful evan barr debacle.... More to the point just tell me where you are on this....did miller fuck up? Something else? As you know I am the 800 pound gorilla here, Steptoe is not going to chase you down for the money but there are 500 lawyers here, processes, etc.....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 4:04 PM

To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

do you think he has the goods?

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What number are you on? I won't talk sensitive, i want to tell you google

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:21 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Then I am going to have to make change the world decisions without you...(I am in london tomorrow-friday but I assume you are going to paris)

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Privileged - Redacted

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/26/2019 5:56:07 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dp6-Y6IHECo please watch with the eys that i have opened for you.

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From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 1/23/2019 2:42:14 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Have thought many, many things about you over the years,,,,,never thought you were my cheryl.....

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:51 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

im not sheyl, frankly i havent been involved in this at all except for the ridiculousness . we will resolve it by end of month. .

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:47 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Ok....but give me an idea what follows the but....otherwise I will imagine the worst....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

i suggest we wait until face to face yes he fucked up. but ,,,

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:40 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

So....remarkably...in the middle of dealing with thiss the Steptoe numbercrunchers advise me Jeffrey has paid about 450 and owes about 300 and seems disinclined to make Steptoe whole.....hhhhhmmmm....first reaction is déjà vu.... How the fuck are we back here after the unspeakably awful evan barr debacle.... More to the point just tell me where you are on this....did miller fuck up? Something else? As you know I am the 800 pound gorilla here, Steptoe is not going to chase you down for the money but there are 500 lawyers here, processes, etc.....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 4:04 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

do you think he has the goods?

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:57 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Not my new guy...not repping him

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

you seemed to imply that your new guy could only shoot blanks? if thats so. its an easy decision. , if not. oy

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:09 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Still have to figure out what my role is in all this shit...

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:07 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Fun

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 3:05 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Crim

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:04 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Civil or crime

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 2:59 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Turns out you were right about sdny but they are "going to wait their turn"...

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J

Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 8:01 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

?

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:26 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

I will at some point....what time do you leave tomorrow

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 6:24 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

are you nuts. im a cowardly warm blooded jew. call me [redacted]

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:18 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

You are not in nyc now are you?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Im told southern District trying yo get out a rico claim against the org

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:41 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Jesusfuckingchrist....give me one of them....ready for a change

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:39 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

I have two more bidders

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:38 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

At cheryl's...sitting with her...watching trump shit...is Google going to happen?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:36 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

What number are you on? I won't talk sensitive, i want to tell you google

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:21 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Then I am going to have to make change the world decisions without you...(I am in london tomorrow-friday but I assume you are going to paris)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:41 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

im off to europe , tomorrow. .

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 4:37 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:14 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject:

Privileged - Redacted

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From: Nicholas Ribis [redacted]
Sent: 12/23/2018 2:04:15 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]

Looks like Mick Mulvaney is out before he starts - knew it after his comments about DJT came public-

Sent from my iPhone

Date: Monday, August 26 2013 02:46 PM
Subject: FW: Press Snapshot: Monday, August 26th, 2013
From: Boris Nikolic <[redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

See good article re balmer below.

Still awaiting for call reply

Sent from my Windows Phone

From: John Pinette
Sent: 8/26/2013 4:17 PM
To: Bill Gates
Cc: DL-Press Snapshot
Subject: Press Snapshot: Monday, August 26th, 2013

Headline	Journalist	Outlet	Full Text
Energy			
Nuclear Operator Raises Alarm on Crisis	Hiroko Tabuchi	*New York Times*	Article text
The New Nuclear Craze	Mark Bittman	*New York Times*	Article text
Pipeline-Capacity Squeeze Reroutes Crude Oil	Russell Gold	*Wall Street Journal*	Article text
U.S. Electrical Grid on the Edge of Failure	Jeff Tollefson	*Nature*	Article text
Technology			
Ballmer Departure From Microsoft Was More Sudden Than Portrayed by the Company	Kara Swisher	*All Things D*	Article text
The Decline of E-Empires	Paul Krugman	*New York Times*	Article text
As Amazon Stretches, Seattle's Downtown Is Reshaped	Kirk Johnson & Nick Wingfield	*New York Times*	Article text
State Budgets and Healthcare Costs			
How to Charge $546 for Six Liters of Saltwater	Nina Bernstein	*New York Times*	Article text
States scramble to get health-care law's insurance marketplaces up and running	Sarah Kliff and Sandhya Somashekhar	*Washington Post*	Article text
80 House members: Shutdown better than Obamacare	Charles Babington	*Associated Press*	Article text
Berkshire Hathaway			
No breaking news			
Philanthropy			
Philanthropy: the givers club	Cordelia Jenkins	*Livemint and the Wall Street Journal*	Article text
Global Health and Development			
Pat on the back or force for good: what purpose do development awards serve?	Mark Tran	*Guardian blog*	Article text
Education			
A Chance at Learning	Ginia Bellafante	*New York Times*	Article text
Obama goes for college 'datapalooza'	Nick Anderson	*Washington Post*	Article text
Massively Online And Offline Too: How MOOCs Will Evolve In The Physical World	Giovanni Rodriguez	*Forbes*	Article text
Women and Children			
Indian Police Arrest Suspects in Two Gang Rapes	Sean Mclain and Khushita Vasan	*Wall Street Journal*	Article text
Is there any space in the development debate for African experts?	Andrew Quinn	*Guardian blog*	Article text
Child marriage campaigners in south Asia receive $23m cash injection	Mark Tran	*Guardian blog*	Article text

ARTICLE TEXT

Energy – Full text articles

Nuclear Operator Raises Alarm on Crisis
Hiroko Tabuchi – **New York Times**

The operator of Japan's tsunami-hit nuclear power plant sounded the alarm on the gravity of the deepening crisis of containment at the coastal site on Friday, saying that there are more than 200,000 tons of radioactive water in makeshift tanks vulnerable to leaks, with no reliable way to check on them or anywhere to transfer the water.

The latest disclosures add to a long list of recent accidents, leaks and breakdowns that have underscored grave vulnerabilities at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant site more than two years after a powerful earthquake and tsunami set off meltdowns at three reactors.

They come two weeks after the prime minister, Shinzo Abe, promised that his government would take a more active role in the site's cleanup, raising questions over how seriously he has taken that pledge. Mr. Abe's government has continued to push for a restart of the country's nuclear power program, and he heads to the Middle East on Saturday to promote Japanese exports to the region, including nuclear technology.

Mr. Abe also plans to lead Tokyo's delegation to Argentina for the International Olympic Committee's final vote, set for Sept. 7, on the host city for the 2020 Olympics. Tokyo, 150 miles south of the stricken nuclear power plant, is one of three finalists competing to host the games. The others are Istanbul and Madrid.

Opposition lawmakers here have demanded that Mr. Abe stay home and declare a state of emergency.

"The nuclear crisis is real and ongoing, yet the government continues to look the other way," said Yoshiko Kira of the opposition Japan Communist Party, which made significant gains in parliamentary elections last month.

"The government should declare a state of emergency right now, and intervene to stop the outflow of contaminated water," Ms. Kira said at an anti-nuclear rally outside Mr. Abe's office in Tokyo.

Mr. Abe remains popular, and it is uncertain how large a liability the crisis at the Fukushima plant will become for him.

But it has become increasingly clear that the latest problems may be too large for the plant's operator, the Tokyo Electric Power Company, or Tepco, to handle.

Tepco has built nearly 1,000 tanks at the sprawling complex to store as many as 335,000 tons of contaminated water, the product of coolant pumped into the reactors to keep their cores from overheating, and groundwater pouring into their breached basements at a rate of 400 tons a day. This week, Tepco said one tank had sprung a huge leak.

On Friday, Tepco presented an even starker view of the situation, acknowledging that as much as 220,000 tons of that water is stored in makeshift steel tanks similar to the one that is leaking. The operator said the 36-foot-tall cylindrical tanks, meant as a temporary repository for the growing amount of radiated water at the complex, used vulnerable rubber sealing and that their ability to withstand radiation was not tested.

The tanks are susceptible to leaks at the seams and through their concrete base, said Noriyuki Imaizumi, the acting general manager of Tepco's nuclear power division. A nearby drain can carry any leaked water to the sea, Mr. Imaizumi said, and high radiation readings along a section suggest that water has already traveled through the drain to the ocean.

The makeshift tanks also lack water level gauges, making it difficult to detect leaks. Only two workers are assigned to checking nearly 1,000 tanks on two-hour patrols twice a day, Mr. Imaizumi said.

The Nuclear Regulation Authority, which the Japanese government ordered to more actively advise and monitor Tepco's activities at the plant, had told the company to begin transferring the water from the makeshift tanks to better-built vessels. But after visiting the plant on Friday, an authority commissioner, Toyoshi Fuketa, said the vast quantities made doing so quickly "unrealistic."

A series of pits Tepco dug to store some of the water also began leaking earlier this year, forcing workers to transfer the water into the steel tanks.

Experts have said they suspect that more contaminated water is seeping out from under the melted-down reactors into the groundwater and the Pacific. Elevated levels of radioactive cesium in surrounding waters seem to confirm those suspicions.

Tepco has said those leaks are not directly from beneath the reactors, but from maintenance tunnels that run along the coast and remain contaminated from the early days of the disaster.

But it also acknowledges that the water beneath the reactors is extremely contaminated, and experts say that if it does get into the ocean, it will surpass even the leaks that occurred in the disaster's early days.

"That prospect scares me," Michio Aoyama, a senior scientist in the Oceanography and Geochemistry Research Department at the government-affiliated Meteorological Research Institute, said in an interview this month.

"It's the ultimate, worst-case scenario," Professor Aoyama said.

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The New Nuclear Craze
Mark Bittman - **New York Times**

There is a new discussion about nuclear energy, prompted by well-founded concerns about carbon emissions and fueled by a pro-nuclear documentary called "Pandora's Promise." Add a statement by James E. Hansen — who famously sounded the alarm on climate change — and, of course, industry propaganda, and presto: We Love Nukes.

Before we all become pro-nuclear greens, however, you've got to ask three questions: Is nuclear power safe and clean? Is it economical? And are there better alternatives?

No, no and yes. So let's not swap the pending environmental disaster of climate change for another that may be equally risky.

Despite all-out efforts and international cooperation, Fukushima, which scared Germany right out of the nuclear power business, still isn't under control. Proponents of nuclear power promise new and safer technology, but these discussions are filled with "coulds"; no such plants exist. Nor would they reduce the risks of proliferation. (Oh, that little thing.)

Nor would they do much to mitigate the all-too-infrequently discussed dangers of uranium mining, which uses vast amounts of water in the West — an area that can ill afford it — and is barely regulated or even studied. Thousands of uranium mines have been abandoned, and no one seems to know how many remain to be cleaned up. The cost of that cleanup, of course, will be borne by taxpayers, not industry.

Then there's disposal of spent fuel, which is not contained at the same safety level as active fuel, itself a scary thought. Decades into the nuclear age there remains, incredibly, no real plan for this; a patchwork scheme by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which appears to be even more industry-friendly than most federal agencies, was rejected by an appeals court last year, and the Obama administration is standing by its campaign promise (shocking, I know) to abandon the nuclear repository at Yucca Mountain in Nevada.

The economic viability of nuclear power is no more encouraging. Plants continue to close and generation rates continue to drop. Operators may indeed continue to make money on reactors, but that's only because federal subsidies are enormous. Insurance costs are limited. Loans are guaranteed (the Solyndra loan guarantee was half a billion dollars; in contrast, loan guarantees for new nuclear plants may run $8 billion); cost recovery and return on investment are also assured for decades, and some operators are able to collect costs from ratepayers (and pay dividends to shareholders) years before plants come online — even if they never come online.

So they're economical as long as you're the owner, because historically, subsidies for nuclear power have been more than double the expense of power generation itself. While estimates of the costs of power generation vary wildly — allowing both

proponents and detractors of any given power technology to make their cases — few of them take externalities (costs to the environment or to public health, for example) into account. And nuclear power's externalities could exceed those for any other form of power generation except coal.

That's why we're reducing coal usage — if we had a strong climate policy it would be gone in a couple of deades, and nuclear should be right behind it. It's likely that no new nuclear plants will be built before true renewables are able to take the place of scary, highly damaging energy sources.

Which brings us full circle: the new proponents of nuclear power say that since nuclear power is arguably preferable to coal, maybe we should subsidize the building of new plants.

If those were the only options, maybe that argument would be a sound one. But they're not. Energy efficiency (remember that?), natural gas (imperfect, yes, but improvable) and wind are all cheaper. Even solar is already less expensive than nuclear power in good locations.

Some studies show that renewables can generate 80 percent of our electricity in 2050, using current technologies, while reducing carbon emissions from the electric sector by 80 percent. Climate change fears should be driving not old and disproven technologies but renewable ones, which are more practical. These technologies remain relatively small — non-hydro renewables were around 5 percent of the total last year — but they're growing so fast (wind and solar use have quadrupled in the last five years) that just this week the chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission predicted that solar power could soon begin to double every two years.

Utilities are afraid that solar power will be to the electrical grid what PCs were to mainframes, or e-mail to the Postal Service: a technology that will simply kill its predecessors. Coal and nuclear power are both doomed, and the profit-making power grid with it. That's all to our benefit.

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Pipeline-Capacity Squeeze Reroutes Crude Oil
Russell Gold – **Wall Street Journal**

More crude oil is moving around the U.S. on trucks, barges and trains than at any point since the government began keeping records in 1981, as the energy industry devises ways to get around a pipeline-capacity shortage to take petroleum from new wells to refineries.

The improvised approach is creating opportunities for transportation companies even as it strains roads and regulators. And it is a precursor to what may be a larger change: the construction of more than $40 billion in oil pipelines now under way or planned for the next few years, according to energy adviser Wood Mackenzie.

"We are in effect re-plumbing the country," says Curt Anastasio, chief executive of NuStar Energy LP, NS +0.58% a pipeline company in San Antonio. Oil is "flowing in different directions and from new places."

U.S. oil production has reached its highest level in two decades, while imports have fallen dramatically. A system built to import oil and deliver it to coastal refineries has become ill-equipped to handle rising production in Texas, North Dakota and Canada's Alberta province.

"All of the pipes are pointed in the wrong direction," says Harold York, an oil researcher at Wood Mackenzie. "We are turning the last 70 years of oil-industry history in North America on its head, and we are turning it on its head in the next 10 to 15 years."

With oil prices persistently above $100 a barrel, companies drilling new wells don't want to forgo revenue while they wait years for new pipelines. That leaves them with trucks, trains and barges to move an increasing amount of crude.

Oil delivered to refineries by trucks grew 38% from 2011 to 2012, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, while crude on barges grew 53% and rail deliveries quadrupled. Although alternatives are growing rapidly, pipelines and oceangoing tankers remain the primary method for delivering crude to refineries.

In the Eagle Ford, a large four-year-old South Texas oil field, production has grown to more than 500,000 barrels a day, from less than 1,000 in 2009, according to state statistics. Getting that torrent out of the sparsely populated region has required modifications to the oil-delivery system.

For example, last year NuStar reversed a 16-inch pipeline built to carry crude imported from Africa and Europe northward from the Port of Corpus Christi. Now, the pipeline flows south, taking delivery from hundreds of trucks that fill up at individual wells. Some of the 175,000 barrels a day moving through the pipe is loaded onto barges at Corpus Christi and towed toward refineries near Houston.

Earlier this year, Phillips 66 began putting some of this crude on ships for a 2,200-mile journey around Florida to its refinery in Linden, N.J.

The heavy trucks moving Eagle Ford crude are causing headaches for residents and local officials, ripping up roads and causing traffic tie-ups.

"These are rural roads built for 10 cars an hour, and now it's 100 vehicles an hour, and 75 of them are 80,000-pound trucks," says Tom Voelkel, president of Dupre Logistics LLC. The Lafayette, La., company started hauling crude in Eagle Ford in November 2011 and has more than 100 drivers full time in the region.

The Texas Legislature appropriated $450 million this year to repair and improve roads in oil-producing counties. "It doesn't even begin to reach where it needs to reach," says Daryl Fowler, the chief elected county official in Cuero, Texas, about a hundred miles southeast of San Antonio.

"We've seen a fourfold increase in congestion around here," he says. "The roads are crumbling."

In July, the Texas transportation department decided to convert 83 miles of state road in six oil-boom counties from pavement to gravel, to reduce repair costs and slow traffic.

Trucks filled with Eagle Ford crude are also heading 100 miles west to a barge canal. The first barge of crude departed in September 2011, heading south toward the Gulf of Mexico and refineries near Houston. Now the canal moves 1.6 million barrels a month, says Jennifer Stastny, executive director of the Port of Victoria.

"It's like putting your 5-year-old to bed one night and he wakes up the next morning as a 16-year-old, with the appetite and demands of a 16-year-old," she says.

In North Dakota, trains move 69% of the state's 800,000 barrels a day of crude, according to state figures. Energy companies say they value rail's ability to deliver crude to the highest-paying markets.

But the deadly runaway crude train crash in Canada's Quebec province in July, which incinerated a small town and killed at least 47 people, highlighted the risks of the mile-long crude trains crisscrossing the country. The U.S. government is imposing new regulations on oil shipments by rail.

Some state regulators wonder if their local efforts leave them prepared for a train accident, in part because federal railroad rules pre-empt state and local control over trains.

In Washington state, "we can't say [to train operators] you have to have oil-spill contingency plans in order to operate," says Curt Hart, a spokesman for the state's Department of Ecology. "We do that for oil tankers, barges, large commercial vessels and refineries."

Home to five refineries, the state levies a per-barrel tax on crude delivered by tankers and barges, which pays for spill-response officials and inspectors. The tax doesn't apply to rail shipments.

The American Association of Railroads says it is prepared for growing crude shipments because it has long carried hazardous cargoes. In 2008, major U.S. railroads carried 9,500 carloads of crude, the association says, and are on pace this year to carry 389,000.

Most industry analysts believe that while crude on trains will last, truck and barge traffic will decline once new pipelines come into service.

Environmental groups have criticized some pipeline projects, including the Keystone XL, meant to move Canadian oil to Gulf Coast refineries. The federal government is still studying the Keystone pipeline and has yet to issue needed permits.

Steve Kean, president and chief operating officer of Kinder Morgan Inc., KMI +0.30% one of several interrelated companies that own or operate 82,000 miles of North American pipeline, says government agencies thoroughly vet new projects.

Falling imports, infrastructure investments and increased manufacturing are just some of the benefits of newly abundant energy supplies, he says. "This has got to be one of the best things that has happened in our economy in the past 10 years. It is better than the iPad."

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U.S. Electrical Grid on the Edge of Failure
Jeff Tollefson – **Nature**

Facebook can lose a few users and remain a perfectly stable network, but where the national grid is concerned simple geography dictates that it is always just a few transmission lines from collapse.

That is according to a mathematical study of spatial networks by physicists in Israel and the United States. Study co-author Shlomo Havlin of Bar-Ilan University in Ramat-Gan, Israel, says that the research builds on earlier work by incorporating a more explicit analysis of how the spatial nature of physical networks affects their fundamental stability. The upshot,

published today in Nature Physics, is that spatial networks are necessarily dependent on any number of critical nodes whose failure can lead to abrupt — and unpredictable — collapse1.

The electric grid, which operates as a series of networks that are defined by geography, is a prime example, says Havlin. "Whenever you have such dependencies in the system, failure in one place leads to failure in another place, which cascades into collapse."

The warning comes ten years after a blackout that crippled parts of the midwest and northeastern United States and parts of Canada. In that case, a series of errors resulted in the loss of three transmission lines in Ohio over the course of about an hour. Once the third line went down, the outage cascaded towards the coast, cutting power to some 50 million people. Havlin says that this outage is an example of the inherent instability his study describes, but others question whether the team's conclusions can really be extrapolated to the real world.

"I suppose I should be open-minded to new research, but I'm not convinced," says Jeff Dagle, an electrical engineer at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory in Richland, Washington, who served on the government task force that investigated the 2003 outage. "The problem is that this doesn't reflect the physics of how the power grid operates."
Critical order

Havlin and his colleagues focused on idealized scenarios. They found that randomly structured networks — such as social networks — degrade slowly as nodes are removed, which in the real world might mean there is time to diagnose and address a problem before a system collapses. By contrast, the connections of orderly lattice structures have more critical nodes, which increase the instability. The problem is that such orderly networks are always operating near an indefinable edge, Havlin says. To reduce that risk, he recommends adding a small number of longer transmission lines that provide short cuts to different parts of the grid.

Benjamin Carreras, a physicist at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee who has conducted similar work2, says that network theory can be useful for providing insight into electric grids but must be complemented with more complex models that attempt to represent both the physical realities and the responsiveness of the modern electric grid. Although in some cases adding long lines can benefit the overall stability of an electric system, Carreras' work suggests that in certain circumstances such an approach allows problems to propagate even farther.

"More connections may stabilize some processes, by, for instance, increasing the number of paths to generators, but also may destabilize others," Carreras says. "One cannot make generic statements on this topic."

Although local outages caused by falling trees knocking down distribution lines are common, large-scale failures within the core ne transmission lines rarely occur on a modern electric grid. Before 2003, the last major blackout in the United States had been on the west coast in 1996, and more recently an outage has struck in the San Diego area.

Dagle says that the 2003 blackout stemmed from a combination of bad vegetation management — the first three lines tripped after sagging into trees but were all within their load rating — and a series of monitoring and communications breakdowns. Vegetation requirements have since been standardized, and a new generation of sensors is providing grid operators with more information about what is happening across the grid at any given moment.

"Many more utilities have much more data," Dagle says. "The next phase of our voyage is to make better use of that data."

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Technology – Full text articles

Ballmer Departure From Microsoft Was More Sudden Than Portrayed by the Company
Kara Swisher – **All Things D**

According to sources close to the situation, the departure of CEO Steve Ballmer from Microsoft last week was more sudden than was depicted by the company in its announcement that he would be retiring within the next year in a planned smooth transition.

It was neither planned nor as smooth as portrayed.

While the decision to go seems to have technically been Ballmer's, interviews with dozens of people inside and outside the company, including many close to the situation, indicate that he had not aimed to leave this soon and especially after the recent restructuring of the company that he had intensely planned.

Instead, sources said Ballmer's timeline had been moved up drastically — first by him and then the nine-member board, including his longtime partner and Microsoft co-founder and chairman Bill Gates — after all agreed that it was best if he left sooner than later.

That was due to a number of increasingly problematic issues on the immediate horizon — including a potentially nasty proxy fight, continued business performance declines and, perhaps most of all, that Ballmer's leadership was becoming a very obvious lightning rod.

Interestingly, Ballmer actually indicated that he had planned on staying in his letter about his impending departure, noting: "My original thoughts on timing would have had my retirement happen in the middle of our transformation to a devices and services company focused on empowering customers in the activities they value most."

That sentence spurred much chatter inside the company, including the persistent rumor that Gates had dropped the bomb on Ballmer. That sentiment was further underscored when Ballmer's letter contained no reference or thanks to Gates, with whom he has been tightly tethered over the last several decades. Its absence has been much discussed internally at Microsoft, where it has been seen as an unusual slight and a sign of a rift.

Gates also did not reference his longtime business partner in any celebratory manner in Microsoft's announcement. "As a member of the succession planning committee, I'll work closely with the other members of the board to identify a great new CEO," said Gates, in the entirety of the quote about Ballmer's retirement. "We're fortunate to have Steve in his role until the new CEO assumes these duties."

Other sources cautioned that it was not indicative of tensions between the pair, but was done to minimize "lame duck concerns" that might arise if Ballmer was portrayed as already out the door.

Those sources also insist that Gates never asked Ballmer to step down sooner, although they acknowledge that he also did not — as Gates had in the past — disagree that it was best that he move on.

"Did Gates instigate it? No," said one source with knowledge of the situation. "But was he as supportive of Ballmer as he had been in the past? Maybe not."

That was still a big change, of course. Gates — who has always been and remains the key decision-maker on Microsoft's board — had always been Ballmer's major backer, despite increasing pressure both externally and from other directors for him to step down.

Gates had rejected such suggestions for years. That included former director and Netflix CEO Reed Hastings, who many sources said had been one of the first to urge that the company replace Ballmer as CEO, as well as from a spate of Wall Street investors complaining about the company's declining value in the Ballmer years.

As AllThingsD's John Paczkowski wrote on Friday: "Here's one metric by which Ballmer will be judged harshly. On the last day of 1999, the day before he took over as CEO, Microsoft's market capitalization was $600 billion. On the day before he announced his intention to retire, it was less than $270 billion."

That's a damning number, of course, coupled with a widespread sentiment that Ballmer had missed critical trends in tech under his tenure. Despite a strong growth in revenue, investors and others had long concluded that Microsoft had thrived when Gates was CEO and waned under Ballmer's rule.

Still, until recently, there has been no signal from the company indicating any change in top leadership. In fact, the management reorganization backed strongly by the board a month ago had essentially placed Ballmer at the center of the structure under a plan described as "One Microsoft."

And, at the time of the restructuring announcement in July, Ballmer's definite and clear message was that he was there to stay:

"Lots of change. But in all of this, many key things remains the same. Our incredible people, our spirit, our commitment, our belief in the transformative power of technology — our Microsoft technology — to make the world a better place for billions of people and millions of businesses around the world. It's why I come to work inspired every day. It's why we've evolved before, and why we're evolving now. Because we're not done. Let's go."

Though early in its rollout, the changes have been jarring and created a level of chaos at the company that has led to much grumbling internally. It also did not help that the restructuring was quickly followed by a dismal Q4 performance by Microsoft.

As I wrote in mid-July: "Microsoft had a bad fourth quarter, mostly because many people are not using PCs any more. In addition, the tech giant took a $900 million charge related to having to cut the price of its Surface RT tablet, which had — as you might imagine — an impact on results. Missed profit expectations, missed revenue, missed all over the ying-yang."

With the prospect that the next quarter could be weaker still and with numerous reports of late that there has been slowing of adoption from its new flagship Windows 8 offering, Ballmer and the board finally aligned to move his departure date sooner.

Most critical to that decision, source said, were increased board worries that recent pressure from activist investor ValueAct — which has a large stake in the company — had a good chance of succeeding in its efforts to obtain a seat on the board of Microsoft, especially if Ballmer stayed in place.

And even if the software giant was able to thwart that from happening, said several sources, such a public fight is untenable for the company, since it was likely to attract even more scrutiny to Ballmer's performance and perhaps even more investor action.

ValueAct has until August 30 to notify Microsoft if it plans a proxy battle, and sources said it still wants more that Ballmer's retirement. In talks, said sources, it has asked for an aggressive stock buyback and also a dividend increase, which might assuage its efforts to garner a board seat.

Ballmer denied any pressure from ValueAct specifically in his decision in an interview with the Seattle Times, though sources said that was simply bluster.

And, even with mounting pressure on him, Ballmer definitely portrayed the change as his decision in an interview he gave to ZDNet's Mary Jo Foley last week, after his retirement announcement.

"I would say for me, yeah, I've thought about it for a long time, but the timing became more clear to me over the course of the last few months," he insisted.

When asked if Gates asked him to stay or go, he said no, apparently to both. "Bill respects my decision. I mean, it's one of these things when if it's — you know, ultimately these kinds of things have to be one's own personal decision."

That statement also struck many inside the company as a quick shift. Ballmer, said sources, had been jumping enthusiastically into business review meetings, as part of the new structure, over the last month. In addition, he had expressed to many employees his excitement at being part of the changes he had initiated.

But, in meetings after the announcement, numerous sources inside the company said Ballmer seemed uncharacteristically chastened and quiet, in contrast to his usual confident and forceful manner.

"He was definitely not leaving and then he suddenly was," said one source. "Even if today's Steve made the choice, it was a choice yesterday's Steve did not want to."

Another source, close to the board, perhaps explained it best: "If ValueAct got on the board, I think Ballmer finally realized that meant it was going to be the hard way from then on out until he left and he did not want that for a company he clearly loves and has been his life."

Now, those inside the company are turning to what comes next. While not everyone on the board thought that Ballmer should step down without a new CEO in place, it's moot now as Microsoft turbocharges the process — in place for several years now — to select its next leader.

But, though the committee is headed up by John Thompson, CEO of Virtual Instruments and the former CEO of security software giant Symantec, most expect Gates — as usual — to be the key decision maker on that choice, too.

A Microsoft spokesman declined comment.

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The Decline of E-Empires
Paul Krugman – **New York Times**

Steve Ballmer's surprise announcement that he will be resigning as Microsoft's C.E.O. has set off a huge flood of commentary. Being neither a tech geek nor a management guru, I can't add much on those fronts. I do, however, think I know a bit about economics, and I also read a lot of history. So the Ballmer announcement has me thinking about network externalities and Ibn Khaldun. And thinking about these things, I'd argue, can help ensure that we draw the right lessons from this particular corporate upheaval.

First, about network externalities: Consider the state of the computer industry circa 2000, when Microsoft's share price hit its peak and the company seemed utterly dominant. Remember the T-shirts depicting Bill Gates as a Borg (part of the hive mind from "Star Trek"), with the legend, "Resistance is futile. Prepare to be assimilated"? Remember when Microsoft was at the center of concerns about antitrust enforcement?

The odd thing was that nobody seemed to like Microsoft's products. By all accounts, Apple computers were better than PCs using Windows as their operating system. Yet the vast majority of desktop and laptop computers ran Windows. Why?

The answer, basically, is that everyone used Windows because everyone used Windows. If you had a Windows PC and wanted help, you could ask the guy in the next cubicle, or the tech people downstairs, and have a very good chance of getting the answer you needed. Software was designed to run on PCs; peripheral devices were designed to work with PCs.

That's network externalities in action, and it made Microsoft a monopolist.

The story of how that state of affairs arose is tangled, but I don't think it's too unfair to say that Apple mistakenly believed that ordinary buyers would value its superior quality as much as its own people did. So it charged premium prices, and by the time it realized how many people were choosing cheaper machines that weren't insanely great but did the job, Microsoft's dominance was locked in.

Now, any such discussion brings out the Apple faithful, who insist that anything Windows can do Apple can do better and that only idiots buy PCs. They may be right. But it doesn't matter, because there are many such idiots, myself included. And Windows still dominates the personal computer market.

The trouble for Microsoft came with the rise of new devices whose importance it famously failed to grasp. "There's no chance," declared Mr. Ballmer in 2007, "that the iPhone is going to get any significant market share."

How could Microsoft have been so blind? Here's where Ibn Khaldun comes in. He was a 14th-century Islamic philosopher who basically invented what we would now call the social sciences. And one insight he had, based on the history of his native North Africa, was that there was a rhythm to the rise and fall of dynasties.

Desert tribesmen, he argued, always have more courage and social cohesion than settled, civilized folk, so every once in a while they will sweep in and conquer lands whose rulers have become corrupt and complacent. They create a new dynasty — and, over time, become corrupt and complacent themselves, ready to be overrun by a new set of barbarians.

I don't think it's much of a stretch to apply this story to Microsoft, a company that did so well with its operating-system monopoly that it lost focus, while Apple — still wandering in the wilderness after all those years — was alert to new opportunities. And so the barbarians swept in from the desert.

Sometimes, by the way, barbarians are invited in by a domestic faction seeking a shake-up. This may be what's happening at Yahoo: Marissa Mayer doesn't look much like a fierce Bedouin chieftain, but she's arguably filling the same functional role.

Anyway, the funny thing is that Apple's position in mobile devices now bears a strong resemblance to Microsoft's former position in operating systems. True, Apple produces high-quality products. But they are, by most accounts, little if any better than those of rivals, while selling at premium prices.

So why do people buy them? Network externalities: lots of other people use iWhatevers, there are more apps for iOS than for other systems, so Apple becomes the safe and easy choice. Meet the new boss, same as the old boss.

Is there a policy moral here? Let me make at least a negative case: Even though Microsoft did not, in fact, end up taking over the world, those antitrust concerns weren't misplaced. Microsoft was a monopolist, it did extract a lot of monopoly rents, and it did inhibit innovation. Creative destruction means that monopolies aren't forever, but it doesn't mean that they're harmless while they last. This was true for Microsoft yesterday; it may be true for Apple, or Google, or someone not yet on our radar, tomorrow.

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State Budgets and Healthcare costs – Full text articles

How to Charge $546 for Six Liters of Saltwater
Nina Bernstein – **New York Times**

It is one of the most common components of emergency medicine: an intravenous bag of sterile saltwater.

Luckily for anyone who has ever needed an IV bag to replenish lost fluids or to receive medication, it is also one of the least expensive. The average manufacturer's price, according to government data, has fluctuated in recent years from 44 cents to $1.

Yet there is nothing either cheap or simple about its ultimate cost, as I learned when I tried to trace the commercial path of IV bags from the factory to the veins of more than 100 patients struck by a May 2012 outbreak of food poisoning in upstate New York.

Some of the patients' bills would later include markups of 100 to 200 times the manufacturer's price, not counting separate charges for "IV administration." And on other bills, a bundled charge for "IV therapy" was almost 1,000 times the official cost of the solution.

It is no secret that medical care in the United States is overpriced. But as the tale of the humble IV bag shows all too clearly, it is secrecy that helps keep prices high: hidden in the underbrush of transactions among multiple buyers and sellers, and in the hieroglyphics of hospital bills.

At every step from manufacturer to patient, there are confidential deals among the major players, including drug companies, purchasing organizations and distributors, and insurers. These deals so obscure prices and profits that even participants cannot say what the simplest component of care actually costs, let alone what it should cost.

And that leaves taxpayers and patients alike with an inflated bottom line and little or no way to challenge it.

A PRICE IN FLUX

In the food-poisoning case, some of the stricken were affluent, and others barely made ends meet. Some had private insurance; some were covered by government programs like Medicare and Medicaid; and some were uninsured.

In the end, those factors strongly (and sometimes perversely) affected overall charges for treatment, including how much patients were expected to pay out of pocket. But at the beginning, there was the cost of an IV bag of normal saline, one of more than a billion units used in the United States each year.

"People are shocked when they hear that a bag of saline solution costs far less than their cup of coffee in the morning," said Deborah Spak, a spokeswoman for Baxter International, one of three global pharmaceutical companies that make nearly all the IV solutions used in the United States.

It was a rare unguarded comment. Ms. Spak — like a spokesman for Hospira, another giant in the field — later insisted that all information about saline solution prices was private.

In fact, manufacturers are required to report such prices annually to the federal government, which bases Medicare payments on the average national price plus 6 percent. The limit for one liter of normal saline (a little more than a quart) went to $1.07 this year from 46 cents in 2010, an increase manufacturers linked to the cost of raw materials, fuel and transportation. That would seem to make it the rare medical item that is cheaper in the United States than in France, where the price at a typical hospital in Paris last year was 3.62 euros, or $4.73. One-liter IV bags normally contain nine grams of salt, less than two teaspoons. Much of it comes from a major Morton Salt operation in Rittman, Ohio, which uses a subterranean salt deposit formed millions of years ago. The water is local to places like Round Lake, Ill., or Rocky Mount, N.C., where Baxter and Hospira, respectively, run their biggest automated production plants under sterility standards set by the Food and Drug Administration.

But even before the finished product is sold by the case or the truckload, the real cost of a bag of normal saline, like the true

cost of medical supplies from gauze to heart implants, disappears into an opaque realm of byzantine contracts, confidential rebates and fees that would be considered illegal kickbacks in many other industries.

IV bags can function like cheap milk and eggs in a high-priced grocery store, or like the one-cent cellphone locked into an expensive service contract. They serve as loss leaders in exclusive contracts with "preferred manufacturers" that bundle together expensive drugs and basics, or throw in "free" medical equipment with costly consequences.

Few hospitals negotiate these deals themselves. Instead, they rely on two formidable sets of middlemen: a few giant group-purchasing organizations that negotiate high-volume contracts, and a few giant distributors that buy and store medical supplies and deliver them to client hospitals.

Proponents of this system say it saves hospitals billions in economies of scale. Critics say the middlemen not only take their cut, but they have a strong interest in keeping most prices high and competition minimal.

The top three group-purchasing organizations now handle contracts for more than half of all institutional medical supplies sold in the United States, including the IVs used in the food-poisoning case, which were bought and taken by truck to regional warehouses by big distributors.

These contracts proved to be another black box. Debbie Mitchell, a spokeswoman for Cardinal Health, one of the three largest distributors, said she could not discuss costs or prices under "disclosure rules relative to our investor relations."

Distributors match different confidential prices for the same product with each hospital's contract, she said, and sell information about the buyers back to manufacturers.

A huge Cardinal distribution center is in Montgomery, N.Y. — only 30 miles, as it happens, from the landscaped grounds of the Buddhist monastery in Carmel, N.Y., where many of the food-poisoning victims fell ill on Mother's Day 2012.

Among them were families on 10 tour buses that had left Chinatown in Manhattan that morning to watch dragon dances at the monastery. After eating lunch from food stalls there, some traveled on to the designer outlet stores at Woodbury Commons, about 30 miles away, before falling sick.

The symptoms were vicious. "Within two hours of eating that rice that I had bought, I was lying on the ground barely conscious," said Dr. Elizabeth Frost, 73, an anesthesiologist from Purchase in Westchester County who was visiting the monastery gardens with two friends. "I can't believe no one died."

About 100 people were taken to hospitals in the region by ambulance; 5 were admitted and the rest released the same day. The New York State Department of Health later found the cause was a common bacterium, Staphylococcus aureus, from improperly cooked or stored food sold in the stalls.

MYSTERIOUS CHARGES

The sick entered a health care ecosystem under strain, swept by consolidation and past efforts at cost containment.

For more than a decade, hospitals in the Hudson Valley, like those across the country, have scrambled for mergers and alliances to offset economic pressures from all sides. The five hospitals where most of the victims were treated are all part of merged entities jockeying for bargaining power and market share — or worrying that other players will leave them struggling to survive.

The Affordable Care Act encourages these developments as it drives toward a reimbursement system that strives to keep people out of hospitals through more coordinated, cost-efficient care paid on the basis of results, not services. But the billing mysteries in the food poisoning case show how easily cost-cutting can turn into cost-shifting.

A Chinese-American toddler from Brooklyn and her 56-year-old grandmother, treated and released within hours from the emergency room at St. Luke's Cornwall Hospital, ran up charges of more than $4,000 and were billed for $1,400 — the hospital's rate for the uninsured, even though the family is covered by a health maintenance organization under Medicaid, the federal-state program for poor people.

The charges included "IV therapy," billed at $787 for the adult and $393 for the child, which suggests that the difference in the amount of saline infused, typically less than a liter, could alone account for several hundred dollars.

Tricia O'Malley, a spokeswoman for the hospital, would not disclose the price it pays per IV bag or break down the therapy charge, which she called the hospital's "private pay rate," or the sticker price charged to people without insurance. She said she could not explain why patients covered by Medicaid were billed at all.

Eventually the head of the family, an electrician's helper who speaks little English, complained to HealthFirst, the Medicaid H.M.O. It paid $119 to settle the grandmother's $2,168 bill, without specifying how much of the payment was for the IV. It paid $66.50 to the doctor, who had billed $606.

At White Plains Hospital, a patient with private insurance from Aetna was charged $91 for one unit of Hospira IV that cost the hospital 86 cents, according to a hospital spokeswoman, Eliza O'Neill.

Ms. O'Neill defended the markup as "consistent with industry standards." She said it reflected "not only the cost of the solution but a variety of related services and processes," like procurement, biomedical handling and storage, apparently not included in a charge of $127 for administering the IV and $893 for emergency-room services.

The patient, a financial services professional in her 50s, ended up paying $100 for her visit. "Honestly, I don't understand the system at all," said the woman, who shared the information on the condition that she not be named.

Dr. Frost, the anesthesiologist, spent three days in the same hospital and owed only $8, thanks to insurance coverage by United HealthCare. Still, she was baffled by the charges: $6,844, including $546 for six liters of saline that cost the hospital $5.16.

"It's just absolutely absurd." she said. "That's saltwater."

Last fall, I appealed to the New York State Department of Health for help in mapping the charges for rehydrating patients in the food poisoning episode. Deploying software normally used to detect Medicaid fraud, a team compiled a chart of what Medicaid and Medicare were billed in six of the cases.

But the department has yet to release the chart. It is under indefinite review, Bill Schwarz, a department spokesman, said, "to ensure confidential information is not compromised."

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States scramble to get health-care law's insurance marketplaces up and running
Sarah Kliff and Sandhya Somashekhar - **Washington Post**

With a key deadline approaching, state officials across the country are scrambling to get the Affordable Care Act's complex computer systems up and running, reviewing contingency plans and, in some places, preparing for delays.

Oct. 1 is the scheduled launch date for the health-care law's insurance marketplaces — online sites where uninsured people will be able to shop for coverage, sometimes using a government subsidy to purchase a plan. An estimated 7 million people are expected to use these portals to purchase health coverage in 2014.

The task is unprecedented in its complexity, requiring state and federal data systems to transmit reams of information between one another. Some officials in charge of setting up the systems say that the tight deadlines have forced them to take shortcuts when it comes to testing and that some of the bells and whistles will not be ready.

"There's a certain level of panic about how much needs to be accomplished but a general sense that the bare minimum to get the system functional will be done," said Matt Salo, executive director of the National Association of Medicaid Directors. "It will by no means be as smooth and as seamless as people expected."

Oregon announced this month that it will delay consumers' direct access to its marketplace, opening the Web site only to brokers and consumer-assistance agents in order to shield consumers from opening-day glitches.

“Even though we’re testing now, once you actually have the system up, you don’t know what the bugs will be,” said Amy Fauver, spokeswoman for Cover Oregon, the state agency implementing the law there.

In California, which has the nation’s largest uninsured population, health officials have begun hinting that they may have a similar problem.

“It’s a complex system, and there’s a lot of navigation that needs to happen,” said Oscar Hidalgo, a spokesman for Covered California. He said the agency will know by early September whether the system will be ready in time.

If not, he said, customers will still be able to log on to the Web site and peruse insurance plans and view prices. When they get to the final step, however, they will not be able to sign up. They will have to contact a customer service representative to complete the final enrollment step.

Officials with the District of Columbia’s Health Link decided to put off building a Spanish version of its Web site until later this year, giving its staff bandwidth to complete other tasks they see more critical to the launch.

Until then, the District will have bilingual call-center workers and in-person helpers who will be able to help Spanish speakers navigate the site.

The hiccups are troubling to advocates, who worry that there will be mistakes that result in people being erroneously rejected by Medicaid or denied subsidies to which they are entitled. They are concerned that impediments will discourage the uninsured from signing up for coverage.

“There will be something up and running, but there will be serious, serious difficulties with it” that could result in delays and errors initially, said Robert H. Bonthius Jr., a lawyer at the Legal Aid Society of Cleveland. “It’s an extremely ambitious program, well-intentioned, that is going to be very difficult to accomplish, and it’s going to be months and maybe years before it really gets sorted out.”

Much of the difficulty stems from the information the federal government needs to determine who qualifies for which health-law program, including data on citizenship, income, residence and employment. State systems will need to communicate seamlessly with a federal data hub that pulls in information from the Department of Homeland Security and the Internal Revenue Service, among others.

President Obama has predicted “bumps” and “glitches” in the initial launch of the exchanges. Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius has acknowledged a very tight time frame that has required the government to test the hub in imperfect conditions, but she has said it will still launch on time.

“Ideally what you would do if you were building a data hub that needs this kind of information, you’d put a piece together and test that. You test it, if you will, sequentially,” she said in an interview. “We have to build and test simultaneously. . . . It’s a big operational issue, but all systems are a go for the first of October.”

Sixteen states decided to build their own health-insurance marketplaces, with the rest leaving all or much of the task to the federal government. Those states are now in the process of, or have completed, testing to share data back and forth with the data hub.

“There were times when the hub had to be taken offline. . . . So we couldn’t test until they got it back online,” said Jon Hager, executive director of Nevada’s Silver State Health Insurance Exchange. “But I think the end result, and everything I’ve seen, says it will be ready.”

Hager has invested significant time preparing contingency plans for his state, including one for a situation in which the federal data hub does not work, though he said he believes that to be a relatively unlikely scenario.

“If there’s a new rule, that could throw us into a quandary,” Hager said. “You could have, I don’t know, a disaster or a fire. I think we’ve got backup and contingency plans for everything.”

The federal government handles all testing of these connections for states that did not build a portal and chose instead to

rely on the federally facilitated marketplace.

State Medicaid programs, which typically serve low-income individuals, are also undergoing testing with the federal data hub. At least one state, Arizona, has not begun that work. It will start testing in September, a late start that worries the executive director of the state's marketplace.

"It's a concern that we're testing this late," said Tom Betlach, who runs the Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System. "Usually when you do testing, you have to go ahead and address any changes. Given the October 1st start date, I don't know much of it will be an iterative process."

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80 House members: Shutdown better than Obamacare
Charles Babington – **Associated Press**

More than one-third of House Republicans urged their leader Thursday to trigger a government shutdown rather than pay for the implementation of the health-care law they call Obamacare.

A letter from 80 Republicans asked Speaker John Boehner, R-Ohio, to resist any spending bills that would accommodate the new health-care law, which is nearing a critical stage of signing up millions of Americans for health coverage.

Because it's virtually certain that President Obama and the Democrat-controlled Senate would reject such demands, leaders of both parties say the standoff likely would result in a partial shutdown of the federal government, similar to those that occurred in 1995 and 1996.

The letter is mixed news for Boehner and other GOP leaders who view a government shutdown as politically unwise.

The federal 2013 fiscal year ends Sept. 30. New money must be appropriated by then to avoid a shutdown of countless government offices and agencies.

Voters chiefly blamed congressional Republicans for the mid-1990s shutdowns, and the fallout boosted Democratic President Clinton. Ever since, many establishment Republicans have urged the party to avoid using shutdown threats as a bargaining tool.

But a new generation of tea-party-backed conservatives rejects the advice. They say "Obamacare" — officially the Affordable Care Act — is so unpopular and unworkable that it justifies extraordinary tactics to block it.

A possible solution to the budget impasse, often used in past years, would involve a "continuing resolution" to keep funding the government at current levels. Many top Republicans, including Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, say it's impossible to carve out money for Obamacare in any appropriations measure.

The House letter was authored by Rep. Mark Meadows, R-N.C. It urges Boehner "to affirmatively de-fund the implementation and enforcement of Obamacare in any relevant appropriations bill," including "any continuing appropriations bill."

At least a dozen Senate Republicans have signed a similar letter.

In recent years, Democrats and Republicans in Congress repeatedly have failed to reach major compromises on spending.

The impasses led this year to automatic, across-the-board spending cuts known as sequestration, which have hampered some federal agencies and helped shrink the deficit.

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Philanthropy – Full text articles

Philanthropy: the givers club
Cordelia Jenkins – **Livemint and the Wall Street Journal**

On Friday, around 60 prospective philanthropists attended the "First Givers Club" summit in Delhi run by the online philanthropic donation forum GiveIndia. While the club has existed in Mumbai since 2010, said Dhaval Udani, GiveIndia's CEO, this was their first foray into the capital city. Mint was the media partner of the event.

"With this club, we wanted to create a platform for like-minded individuals to build a community of donors who share knowledge and vision; it will also help to facilitate giving effectively," Udani told his audience. "Our aim is to help you get more exposure and awareness of the different aspects of philanthropy; over the last three years this club has helped channel more than Rs.18 crore to the lives of more than 10,000 underprivileged in India."

Rakesh Bharti Mittal, vice-chairman and managing director of Bharti Enterprises, along with speakers Anu Aga of Thermax and Amit Chandra of Bain Capital gave their perspectives on how and where to give effectively and on the future of Indian philanthropy. Edited excerpts:

Rakesh Mittal set up the Satya Bharti school programmes in 2006. The aim was to set up 500 primary and 50 secondary schools of its own with a corpus of Rs.200 crore. After that, state governments began reaching out and Bharti began adopting government schools, creating a public-private partnership in delivering quality education to rural children.

"Given the new companies Bill, which has been passed by Parliament, I assume within the next two three months the rules will be finalized; there is going to be a mad rush for seeking funding. Already, I get a letter every other day for supporting a cause...If I see corporates have been very powerful instruments and drivers of philanthropy, this comes from the wider wealth creation and management role which they do in their businesses. Today they are looking at doing more beyond business, not because the government is forcing them, but because we cannot have islands of wealth. You cannot take this country forward if we are just worried about what I have and what I need for me and my family, and the ecosystem and the society around is crumbling. This country will not move forward."

"If I go back a few centuries giving had been a very rich tradition; it used to be that 10% of your income would be kept aside for a cause. During those times more money went into either building temples or temples of learning, which are the schools and colleges. Pre-1990, Indian corporates were not giving that much, including the individuals, and there was a reason because we did not have sustainable wealth creation opportunities, either for ourselves, our families, or our large stakeholders as we were running the companies.

"This all changed in the post-1991 year of liberalization. In the last two decades, more and more, new age economies moved this country to prosperous economic growth and suddenly you saw people wanting to give back to society because now you have a model which was creating sustainable wealth for yourself."

"There are individuals who may give money and their time, but there are also entrepreneurs, young entrepreneurs who produce products which are low in cost but make a huge impact for the people who use it. This is the brief India is looking at in the landscape today and this will be a stepping stone for the future."

"Giving at Bharti has always been part of our DNA, it was always our endeavour to make a difference. At the beginning, in the mid-70s, we were more interested in creating businesses which could impact society at large. If I look at telecom, retail, agri and food processing we wanted to make a difference and not a buck. In 2000 we set up Bharti Foundation with the sole objective of supporting the youth of India and enabling the underprivileged to come and compete with anyone.

"We started writing cheques and one day I felt that was not the purpose, the fact is there are 320 million children in the age of 6-16, we talk of demographic dividend—absolutely yes, if we nurture this potential, but if we don't do justice to these children there is a disaster which is waiting to happen.

“The way things are going I am not feeling very positive. I am a born optimist; we are spending billions of dollars but is that being delivered efficiently? The answer is no, all of us know that, and that’s why we keep going back to the government; public-private–partnerships is going to be the key to move forward, you have the resources we have the management expertise let’s join hands. And it has started moving.”

Anu Aga led Thermax Ltd from 1996-2004, after retirement she remains on the company’s board of directors. The chairperson of TFI (Teach For India) was nominated to Rajya Sabha in 2012.

“My giving actually started when I lost my son, who was 25 and died in a car accident. Having studied abroad, poverty really bothered him. We who live in India, we become quite insensitive to seeing poor people, but he kept saying a substantial part of our wealth has to go to charity.”

“It started in a very small way, it’s not as if I gave away crores and crores at once. It started with me getting personally involved and I like that model very much, I’m not very happy with just writing a cheque and not getting involved. I was involved with Akansksha and then I was invited to join their board—it ran centres for slum children and I brought it to Pune.

“We have six schools, now this is done by the CSR wing of Thermax, but Shaheen (Mistry) then started Teach For India, which personally I support.

“From the family wealth, it’s my daughter and I who decide on things. The bulk of our giving is to Teach For India and Akanksha, but we also give to an institute called Parivaar in Calcutta, which is for the poorest of the poor. In Bihar we are giving to a school run by an ex-police officer for the rat-eating tribe. The main underlining thing is credibility. Giving without being involved does give me that little fear, but at the same time I would rather make a few mistakes than mistrust everybody.

“There is a lovely body called Caring Friends in Bombay, where a few hundred people meet informally. It’s not an NGO, the two people who started it incubate NGOs which are new from their own money, and after a few years when they become credible, bring it to the others and ask for money from them.”

Amit Chandra is managing director of Bain Capital and responsible for the firm’s India initiative. He is also chairperson of the Akanksha Foundation that works in the field of education for less privileged children.

“Even though I came from a lower middle class family, we were always taught as children to give and share whatever we had. For me the big inflection points were as I was working at DSP Merrill Lynch and I rose through the ranks, I got success relatively early. I was running the firm before I was 35 but there was still a sense of unease that I had with everything I saw around me. I think the unease was on two counts, one was that by virtue of running what was the largest investment bank at that time I got to work with a lot of families and I realized that wealth did not necessarily translate into happiness when you really got to know a lot of these people individually.

“In fact, wealth built a sense of entitlement amongst the next generation, it built a sense of extreme bitterness amongst siblings, and it often was a source of great degree of unhappiness. And another thing, having had the opportunity to study in the West, I realized that when you look at leaders with legacy, a very vast percentage of leaders who had any degree of legacy where the ones who had given back to society. These issues were beginning to bother me.

“My wife and I were inspired by what Chuck Feeney (Irish-American businessman and philanthropist and the founder of The Atlantic Philanthropies) did. We decided to cap the amount of wealth we wanted to have as a family, and so my wife and I walked into a lawyer’s office, and I transferred how much she thought was needed for her, my daughter, and to support my living, and we said from this day onwards everything else basically goes to charity.

“What that did for us was actually incredible because our constraint after that point in time was to find good causes that could be scaled up. That’s where the GiveIndia team came in extremely handy because we’ve set a budget every year for ourselves which is higher than the previous year with the objective really being to effectively give away all our income every year.

“I think giving your time is critical to being able to scale up giving your money. The two things have to go hand in hand. There is no substitute to actually giving time and approaching it the same way you would approach businesses and investments.

The biggest network we use is the GiveIndia network. Working with their team allows us to screen and monitor, before that we were able to support a handful of NGOs. Now we have a reasonable portfolio across all the areas we are interested in. I don't think that scale up would be able to happen if we hadn't leveraged the GiveIndia team."

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Global Health and Development – Full text articles

Pat on the back or force for good: what purpose do development awards serve?
Mark Tran – **Guardian blog**

Divyesh Thakkar has just returned from refugee camps in Ethiopia, where he was surprised to see portable solar lanterns designed by his company still in use three years after their distribution.

The batteries for the prototype lamps were expected to last only two years, but were still functioning at the Jijiga camp near the Somali border.

"It's amazing they're still working and to see them changing lives," said Thakkar, who is based in Leicester. "People are going to university thanks to the lamp."

The solar lantern, which looks like an old-fashioned kerosene hurricane lamp, won an innovation award last year at AidEx, an annual trade show bringing together suppliers and buyers of products for the aid industry. The lamp has a built-in solar panel to charge its four AA-sized batteries.

The lantern has an obvious advantage over kerosone-fuelled equivalents: with no flame or smoke emissions, it is safer and more environmentally friendly. The batteries are made for 500 cycles, or about two years, but the longevity of the lamps in Ethiopia has come as a pleasant surprise. In a novel twist, the lantern, which costs $38 (£24.50), can also be used to charge mobile phones.

The award provided a huge fillip for Thakkar's company, Sunlite. As word spread, relief agencies placed increasingly large orders. About 100,000 of the lamps have been (or are being) used after emergencies in Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and Syria.

Sunlite makes 15,000 lamps a month at two plants in India, including one in a special economic zone in Gujarat state.

Next month, there will be a new winner at AidEx in Brussels, the third year of the award. The innovation award sits alongside a crowded field of honours in the development world, although AidEx is geared more towards humanitarian needs.

Awards seem to be proliferating. Last month, 53 finalists met in Washington to showcase ideas to save the lives of mothers and newborns in developing countries. The award is given by the Saving Lives at Birth partnership, launched in 2011, which includes USAid, Norway, Grand Challenges Canada, backed by the Canadian government, the UK's Department for International Development, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

In October, the Mo Ibrahim foundation will announce its prize for achievement in African leadership, established in 2007. Past winners include presidents Joaquim Chissano and Festus Gontebanye Mogae, of Mozambique and Botswana respectively, although the prize is not awarded if no one meets the criteria.

Sceptics may wonder whether these accolades contribute meaningfully to development, or exist only to make donors feel good while sidestepping more fundamental, structural issues. For instance, the Gates foundation awarded $100,000 to the California Institute of Technology last year for designing a solar-powered toilet that breaks down water and human waste into hydrogen gas for use in fuel cells.

The competition was for "next-generation" toilets to improve sanitation in the developing world. Would that money have been better spent on supporting community-led total sanitation – a project to end open defecation that has had considerable success?

Calestous Juma, international development professor at the Kennedy school of government and a nominator, judge and promoter of new types of prizes, sees awards as part of a complex ecology of financing innovation that includes many other instruments. He believes there should be more prizes for humanitarian work and development.

"Doing humanitarian work may look like a thankless job. Yet it is driven by the instinct of empathy that makes us human," said Juma, author of The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa. "Honouring, rewarding, celebrating and inspiring work in this area is more needed today than ever. This is an area that can use more societal recognition, especially at a time when the whole aid industry is under scrutiny."

However, Juma says prizes need to be carefully thought out. "Many organisations are launching them without thinking carefully about what prizes can do or cannot do."

The AidEx challenge's lead judge, Michael Pritchard, inventor of the Lifesaver water bottle, says the award is not so much about the money – £2,000 – as validation, although the publicity can be a much-needed boost.

"The validation goes an awfully long way to get the product developed and provides a big leg-up into getting it into the market," he said. "It gets written up all over the world and gets the oxygen of publicity."

As for Thakkar, he says winning the AidEx award has been a positive experience: "Winning the award made a huge difference, it increased publicity. People look more favourably on us and [that] gives us an extra edge. We don't have to sell it as much. But we don't want to be just appreciated, we want the lamp to be used extensively."

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Education – Full text articles

A Chance at Learning
Ginia Bellafante – **New York Times**

This year, a study administered by researchers at Harvard and Stanford drew significant attention for what it revealed about how inadequately low-income students are represented at selective colleges and universities. Only 34 percent of the highest-achieving high-school seniors whose families fell in the bottom quarter of income distribution — versus 78 percent in the top quarter — attended one of the country's most selective colleges, based on a list of nearly 250 schools compiled by Barron's.

In New York City, where a neighborhood like Bushwick, in Brooklyn, can seem like a satellite campus of Wesleyan and a prewar apartment building on the Upper East Side can feel like an Ivy League dormitory for 46-year-olds, there has been considerable philanthropic attention, of the kind other cities ought to envy, paid to finding the most gifted low-income students and putting them on a similar path.

In 1978, Gary Simons, a Bronx teacher, founded Prep for Prep with the goal of identifying talented students of color in the city and readying them for attendance at private schools like Dalton and Groton and so on. Hundreds of the program's alumni have gone on to law, medical and business schools, and employment at Goldman Sachs, JPMorgan Chase and Time Warner.

A decade ago, hoping also to advance the best students attending public high schools, Mr. Simons and others founded another organization, Leadership Enterprise for a Diverse America, or LEDA, which draws exceptional children from around the country, regardless of race, almost entirely from families who make less than $55,000 a year. Applicants are required to be in the top 10 percent of their class, having taken the most difficult courses their schools offer. The 60 who gain entry to the program each year spend the summer before 12th grade at Princeton, studying ethics, political theory and public policy, and preparing for standardized college entrance exams.

In a wondrous righting of the current disequilibrium, however small its scale, they are tutored for those tests by the same instructors who work with some of Manhattan's wealthiest teenagers: the staff of Advantage Testing, whose services cost parents up to $795 an hour. Arun Alagappan, the founder and president of Advantage and a major benefactor of LEDA, provides his employees (whose résumés typically resemble those of the people at Google or McKinsey) pro bono.

LEDA has been very successful. Of the 500 or so students who have graduated from the program, three quarters have gone on to top-tier colleges, 30 percent of them to the Ivy League. Among LEDA's 2012 graduates alone, 19 gained admission to Princeton, 11 to Georgetown and 6 to the University of Pennsylvania.

Last week I took a walk around Red Hook, Brooklyn, with Joshua El-Bey, a LEDA graduate who was leaving in a few days for his sophomore year at Yale. His family struggled as he grew up, moving often and ultimately landing in the Red Hook Houses, the borough's largest public housing development. His first memories of book learning, he told me, were the readings his mother delivered from Genesis when he was 2. What was disconcerting about Mr. El-Bey's otherwise incredibly inspiring trajectory was how much of his success had depended on opportunities outside the public education system.

Bullied in middle school for his studiousness, Mr. El-Bey hoped to gain admission to one of the city's elite specialized public high schools, but he did not do well enough on the entrance exam. The free tutoring provided by the city for the test was insufficient, he said.

He ended up at Edward R. Murrow in Midwood, Brooklyn, a good school whose academics were nevertheless surpassed by the supplemental training he received as a scholar at Sponsors for Educational Opportunity, an organization begun 50 years ago by Manhattan lawyers and advertising executives as a mentoring program to get poor minority students into good colleges. Today it essentially provides a shadow education. In school, Mr. El-Bey told me, he simply learned to "regurgitate facts."

Programs like LEDA and S.E.O. are popular with wealthy, supremely educated donors, precisely because of outcomes like Mr. El-Bey's. Just this May, the financier Henry R. Kravis pledged $4 million in matching gifts to S.E.O.

And in a city as dense with talent and money as New York, the effects of such philanthropy can be effortlessly observed. Walking through his neighborhood, Mr. El-Bey ran into another alumnus of S.E.O., Luis Hernandez, who was about to begin his freshman year at the University of Southern California. In a precocious accomplishment more typical in other neighborhoods, Mr. Hernandez had won a screenwriting contest for a film about obesity that had already made its debut on the Showtime cable channel.

As a society we have begun to pay increasing and essential attention to gaining access to the top, but the brightest among us might do well to apply equal focus to how we might enhance the middle.

Most students, rich or poor, will not go to Harvard, while plenty of working-class and poor students will go to colleges that serve them not nearly well enough. Not long ago, our son's caregiver, who is taking classes at LaGuardia Community College in Queens, showed me a paper she had written for a class in English composition taught by a teacher who was consistently late and twice absent. It was on Ibsen's "A Doll's House" and my husband had helped her. It incisively analyzed the play's theme of 19th-century marital oppression and was impeccably written.

When our nanny received her grade, she was shocked not to have done as well as she had expected. Her formatting had been imprecise, the teacher told her. And there was a problem with spacing. Content seemed not to matter much at all.

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Obama goes for college 'datapalooza'
Nick Anderson – **Washington Post**

In President Obama's plan to overhaul higher education, which envisions using new federal ratings of colleges to determine levels of student aid, there is a deep faith in the power of information and innovation to catalyze change in colleges and universities.

Ultimately, the belief is that these forces will make college more affordable.

Yet academia has witnessed and taken part in many waves of innovation in the past half-century, and affordability remains elusive.

The administration's faith is encapsulated in a word the White House used this week in a fact sheet about the plan:

“Datapalooza.” Here’s the reference:

“New college ratings will help students compare the value offered by different colleges,” the fact sheet said. “The Department of Education will enlist entrepreneurs and technology leaders with a ‘Datapalooza’ to catalyze new private-sector tools, services, and apps to help students evaluate and select colleges. The effort will be complemented by earnings information by college that will be released for the first time on [the] administration’s College Scorecard this fall.”

What is a datapalooza? Apparently, it is a festival of, or related to, data. The White House and the Education Department hosted such an event Oct. 9. Students and parents are arguably awash in data now, much of it conflicting and confusing. Some would say more is better.

Few would argue that better data would be best of all for the consumer.

The yen for better data is shared not just by Obama but also by some colleges. Start with graduation rates.

Now, the federal government measures how many students graduate within four years or six years of starting college. But it only measures that for students who are first-timers, who are enrolled full-time and who don’t transfer from one institution to another, omitting a huge share of the college population. Millions of students are part-timers. Community colleges with excellent records of getting students into prestigious four-year schools are not rewarded for their efforts if those students fail to pick up an associate’s degree before they transfer. Nor are four-year colleges that give transfer students or former dropouts a second chance and help them get a bachelor’s degree.

The Association of Public and Land-grant Universities, which represents schools such as the University of Maryland, is spearheading an effort to improve this flawed metric, using not only federal data but also information from the nonprofit National Student Clearinghouse to track degree completion for students who move from one school to another.

One question Education Secretary Arne Duncan will face, as he confers with colleges to create a ratings system within the next two years, is what kind of graduation rate the government will use. Another is what kind of data the government will report on income of college graduates.

All we know about the federal rating metrics at this point are rough sketches from the fact sheet, highlighting these potential factors: “access, such as percentage of students receiving Pell grants; affordability, such as average tuition, scholarships, and loan debt; and outcomes, such as graduation and transfer rates, graduate earnings, and advanced degrees of college graduates.”

The plan envisions that ratings will be tied to student aid formulas by 2018, if Congress agrees. That is a big if. It’s also a year after Obama’s term ends.

There is nothing in the plan that would force states to give more funding to public higher education, one of the key cost drivers in tuition. The president recognized the issue, touting a proposal that he has made before — a “Race to the Top” incentive fund of $1 billion for higher education. This fund would aim to spur state reforms and reward states that maintain strong higher education funding, much as an identically named fund for K-12 education did in 2009 and 2010. But it is unlikely to win congressional approval.

Obama’s plan highlights innovation. The president gave a major shout-out to a movement to award degrees based not on how much time students spend in class but on how well they master their material, citing an experiment under way at Southern New Hampshire University and one that is about to launch at the University of Wisconsin.

“So the idea would be if you’re learning the material faster, you can finish faster, which means you pay less and you save money,” Obama said Thursday in a speech at the University at Buffalo. This notion is indeed revolutionary in academia because most degrees are awarded based on the concept of a credit hour — which is a rough measure of the time a student spends doing work in and for a course.

Obama also underscored the online learning movement, which has gained steam in recent years, saying that it holds out the promise of reducing costs. Carnegie Mellon, Arizona State and Georgia Tech universities won coveted presidential mentions in the speech. So did the University of Maryland, in the fact sheet. Fans of massive open online courses, or

MOOCs, took heart from this.

What exactly can the administration do to hasten technological innovation besides hosting datapaloozas? The fact sheet points to two proposals: one that requires money, and one that doesn't. A "First in the World" fund of $260 million, presumably requiring congressional approval, would "test and evaluate innovative approaches to higher education that yield dramatically better outcomes." Education officials liken this to a $650 million "Investing in Innovation" fund created under the 2009 stimulus law that has been used as seed money for experiments in K-12 education.

And the Education Department could cut regulatory barriers to innovation, whatever those might be. Education officials said Friday that they plan to solicit ideas from colleges on what government rules are hindering innovation. Many educators might say that red tape gets in the way of experiments in distance learning and degree programs not organized around the traditional credit hour.

The fact sheet asserts: "The Department will use its authority to issue regulatory waivers for 'experimental sites' that promote high-quality, low-cost innovations in higher education, such as making it possible for students to get financial aid based on how much they learn, rather than the amount of time they spend in class."

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Massively Online And Offline Too: How MOOCs Will Evolve In The Physical World
Giovanni Rodriguez – **Forbes**

I was at the airport about this time last Sunday, when I overheard a conversation that's becoming quite commonplace. One person was explaining to another what a MOOC was, but he couldn't remember what the letters stood for. As someone who regards himself as an amateur, ad-hoc, in-the-moment teacher, I felt compelled to help him out: "Massive. Open. Online. Course." He thanked me. He had been struggling to remember the "open" part of the MOOC message. And, even more interesting, he had been struggling to remember the word "course."

Over the past few months, more and more clients and partners have been coming to me to deconstruct not just the acronym but also the attributes of MOOCs. So often in fact that I have decided to write a short series on the subject. There are many things to say about both the true impact and hype about MOOCs in the larger narrative that's emerging about disruption in education. But from where I sit, what's most important to note about MOOCs in 2013 is something that the acronym does not yet capture: the massive disruption we're seeing in education will be online and offline, too.

Experience

There are at least three reasons for this. And each of these reasons deserves at least one post, but I'll be super brief here. The first is that the online experience of MOOCs will almost certainly evolve in a way that teachers, students, and staff will look to find ways to meet with one another. This will either happen by design (by intent and with care) or it will happen organically. Almost certainly, the producers of MOOCs will look to do this with some sense of design, while leveraging the organic power of networks to grow by themselves. And if you have been following the evolution of MOOCs, you already know that the online experience is still a work in progress. My business colleague, Chris Bennett — a behavior designer and gamification expert — and I recently spoke about this: many are stuck in the old paradigm of delivering education to the consumer, rather than leveraging the greatest assets of the new medium (co-creation, crowdsourcing, collaboration). By redesigning the online experience to become more interactive, innovators in the MOOC world will see the possibilities for offline experience.

Inventory

Another reason for thinking about physical space: while the world ponders the impact that the costs of higher education will have on schools that are struggling to compete, the inventory of quality physical space that becomes available will appeal to organizations that need it. A couple of years ago, I had the privilege of serving as an advisor to a White House initiative that traveled the country meeting with leaders in large spaces in a network of state and community colleges. As a former theater producer, I was impressed with the availability and quality of these spaces. In theater — and other kinds of shared, quasi-spiritual, transformative experience — physical space is everything. Innovators in the MOOC world will get wise — if they haven't already — to the existence of networks of spaces (there are many different networks, as I will show in a later

article) and make them come alive for their clientele.

Opportunity

And I use the word clientele to make a final point: innovation in the MOOC world will not just come from educators, but from any organization that sees the value of massive online and offline courseware. As my own clientele have come to realize, education in the 21st century is not just something you do before you become an adult but a modality of experience that empowers you throughout your entire life. No reason for schools to own the entire market for those kinds of experiences. But I expect the most enterprising schools — especially those with great or underused physical inventory — to partner with organizations that now have the opportunity to rethink themselves for the education market. In the meantime, it may be time to reassess the MOOC acronym to make the opportunities more obvious. "Massive Online Offline Communities" seems more like it. And unlike the online communities of the past, these communities are learning communities, driven by the new lifelong modality of transformative experience. Expect a land grab for branding and positioning. The disruption in education is just beginning, and the players are just becoming visible.

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Women and Children – Full text articles

Indian Police Arrest Suspects in Two Gang Rapes
Sean Mclain and Khushita Vasan – **Wall Street Journal**

Indian police Sunday were holding 10 men suspected of involvement in two highly publicized gang-rape cases—one in urban Mumbai, the other in rural Jharkhand state—highlighting India's struggles with sexual violence.

In Jharkhand in eastern India, police said they had detained five suspects in connection with the rape of a policewoman by a group of men who had set up a roadblock on a highway. The attack occurred Thursday, but wasn't reported to police until Friday, they said.

Five other men were in custody Sunday in the Mumbai case, in which a 22-year-old magazine intern taking photographs of dilapidated buildings was assaulted Thursday in an abandoned textile mill in the city, police said.

The attacks come as the trial of five people accused in the December gang rape and murder of a 23-year-old student on a Delhi bus entered its final phase. That crime sparked nationwide demonstrations and prompted the government to introduce harsher penalties for crimes against women.

Protesters took to the streets of Mumbai on Friday to decry the assault on the magazine intern in a city that has a reputation as a relatively safe place for women. In 2012, the incidence of rape in the Western Indian metropolis was about half the national rate, according to the National Crime Records Bureau.

"I've always felt much safer in Mumbai compared to other Indian cities," said Sanika Prabhu, a television producer from Mumbai. "After this incident, I feel like I don't recognize this city anymore."

Mumbai police said the magazine intern was with a 21-year-old male companion when she was attacked Thursday. The assailants tied his hands with his belt and raped the woman from 5:30 p.m. to 7 p.m., an official at N.M. Joshi police station said. Medical tests confirmed the rape, he said.

Under Indian law, rape victims cannot be named in media accounts.

There were 24,915 reported rapes in India in 2012, according to the National Crime Records Bureau, including 233 in Mumbai. The victims in almost half the Mumbai cases were between 14 and 18 years old.

Activists say the number of rapes is much higher, as many go unreported. India also has a poor record on convictions, with only around a quarter of alleged rapists convicted in 2010.

In Jharkhand, police said the rape of the police constable occurred at around 1:30 a.m. on Thursday, as she and her

relatives were transporting the corpse of her brother-in-law for cremation.

"They were accosted by five or six young men who had set up a roadblock," said S.N. Pradhan, a police official in Jharkhand. According to the criminal complaint, the men stole 40,000 rupees ($625) and then ordered the woman out of the vehicle. "Then they took her to the bush and raped her one by one while others stood watch," he said.

The rape wasn't reported until Friday, when police—investigating reports of highway robbery—discovered a photo of a policewoman near where the thefts occurred. "The superintendent of police asked her why her photo was there and only then did she report the rape," Mr. Pradhan said.

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Is there any space in the development debate for African experts?
Andrew Quinn – **Guardian blog**

At a 2012 TEDxChange conference in Berlin, African women's development fund CEO Theo Sowa turned the spotlight on an uncomfortable truth: African women may be the focus of many development campaigns, but they are rarely represented as drivers of the discussion.

"When people portray us as victims, they don't want to ask us about solutions. Because people don't ask victims for solutions," Sowa told the audience.

Of course, experts from Africa and other parts of the developing world are pioneering solutions to a vast range of development challenges on everything from improving maternal health to boosting sustainable crop output. Bringing their perspectives to light should be an integral part of development work, particularly as the international community contemplates the next steps in the global development agenda beyond the 2015 MDGs.

Celebrity advocates, government officials and major funders all have ready-made platforms for spreading their views – the power of their brand is often enough to build an audience.

But for those without immediate recognition, the task is harder. The Aspen Institute's New Voices Fellowship, launched this year with support from the Bill & Melinda Gates foundation, is one attempt to start figuring out an answer by providing both media coaching and contacts for development experts from Africa and, eventually, other parts of the developing world.

Development experts, so focused on their endless and crucial work, often neglect this area. Yet finding ways to leverage yours or your colleagues' public visibility is not as difficult as it sounds. Media training can be expensive, but enormously beneficial. Persistence pays off. And above all, helping people to think like "thought leaders" can bring real results.

Our fellows represents a cross-section of the work under way in Africa today, from a Congolese doctor seeking to build a health system in one of the remotest parts of his country to a Ghanaian tech entrepreneur devising new strategies for expanding math and science education in rural communities. Each one is an expert, and each one has a story to tell. Helping them to craft their stories, and find an audience, have been our challenges.

The audience, at least initially, has been the easy part. The explosion of online and issue-driven media over the past decade has created a wide range of outlets, many of which are eager to bring new voices to light. Development-focused media such as the Guardian's Global Development section, general interest aggregators such as the Huffington Post, and geographic specialists such as AllAfrica.com and Think Africa Press all represent potential platforms for fresh writing about development issues. Even mainstream outlets such as CNN and Al Jazeera are welcoming new contributors for their opinion sections, while professional community portals such as Business Fights Poverty and the Guardian Global Development Professionals Network can open the door to engaged specialists who care deeply about the challenges ahead.

Add to this the increasingly crowded schedule of conferences and meetings ranging from the Clinton Global Initiative and Skoll World Forum to TEDx events held around the world and it's clear that there are a wealth of opportunities to reach important audiences with new stories.

Crafting those stories has proved a little trickier. While the development-focused media has expanded, the standard for what makes a compelling blog, speech or opinion piece have not: clear writing and cogent argument backed up by solid evidence and examples. Putting the pieces together, and injecting the right personal note to make for a truly memorable piece, takes work, self-confidence and practice.

For our first New Voices Fellowship meeting in Johannesburg in June, we set up a series of training sessions on how to handle media interviews, how to behave on camera, and how to build an online presence. But the most important part of the curriculum turned out to be a crash course in confidence: how to believe in the importance of what you have to say. For many of our fellows, unused to thinking of themselves as "thought leaders", the leadership component was new territory. We learned that helping the fellows define their specific areas of expertise, and to understand how that personal expertise can translate into important contributions to the global development discussion, was an essential starting point. One fellow, an expert on maternal health from Tanzania, found new confidence in the fact that alongside her medical degrees she has personal experience as an African mother. Another, who specialises in poverty alleviation in Nairobi's slums, began to harness his own stories about growing up in those slums to buttress his points about development in informal settlements.

These are exactly the types of new perspectives that will inform and enrich development policy discussions. At Aspen, we will be recruiting our next class of New Voices fellows starting mid-September, and look forward to learning from and working with other organisations which are committed to expanding the dialogue about what works – and what doesn't – in global development.

Andrew Quinn is director of the New Voices Fellowship at the Aspen Institute.

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Child marriage campaigners in south Asia receive $23m cash injection
Mark Tran – **Guardian blog**

By the age of 17, Zeenat had been divorced three times after forced marriages. She first wed shortly after puberty to a man who abused her, an experience that recurred in her subsequent marriages.

She became so isolated that she did not go to the hospital or ask for help. Neither had she heard of India's Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act of 2005, which made her husband's violent outbursts not just wrong, but illegal.

Sadly, her story is all too common. Every year about 10 million girls become child brides, and one in seven girls in the developing world marries before the age of 15.

Bangladesh, Nepal and India have three of the highest rates of child marriage, with 68.7%, 56.1% and 50% respectively of girls married before the age of 18. Child marriage is not just a question of poverty – although that is a critical issue – but also of how girls are viewed in society.

"Even with higher levels of income, there is the practice of child marriage," said Care International's gender director, Theresa Hwang. "It is an issue of status; girls are valued in a lesser way. In India, girls are not seen as 'added value'. The issue is squarely tied to gender equality and social norms."

Care USA, the US arm of the anti-poverty NGO, and the American Jewish World Service (AJWS) this week received grants of $7.7m (£4.9m) and $15.3m respectively from the Kendeda fund to tackle child marriage in south Asia. Both organisations will use the money to support local NGOs.

Founded 10 years ago, the Kendeda fund worked initially on environmental sustainability in the US, but last year created a girls' rights portfolio. AJWS will focus on India, Care on Nepal and Bangladesh.

All three countries have laws against child marriage, but implementation has proved difficult. Civil child marriage laws are not enforced, and religious or social customs prevail.

In Nepal, Care supports groups such as Chunauti, which seeks to spread its message against child marriage among schools and local businesses. The local NGO persuaded factories to put anti-child marriage slogans in their production

materials. It also convinced a food catering business not to cater for child marriage ceremonies.

For Care and AJWS, the logical route is to work through local partners familiar with regional conditions and practices, and based where the pressure points are. For the local NGOs, it shows they are not working alone on a difficult problem only now receiving the attention it merits.

The UN high-level panel appointed by Ban Ki-moon, the UN secretary general, to look at development targets to replace the millennium development goals when they expire in 2015, has urged the recognition of child marriage as a key indicator of female empowerment. In another sign that child marriage is moving up the development agenda, Girls Not Brides, the global partnership to end child marriage, was formed in September 2011 to tackle the problem.

Empowerment can come through that catch-all term, livelihoods training. Groups such as Brac, the Bangladeshi NGO, for example, have created clubs in Uganda where young girls learn to develop confidence through storytelling and songwriting. They also learn more practical skills, from financial literacy and tailoring to agricultural work.

Backed by AJWS, Mohammad Bazar Backward Classes Development Society in West Bengal takes a similar approach. The organisation, which works with marginalised Muslim and tribal women and children in urban Kolkata, runs a school for girls as well as vocational training for women in the rural area of Birbhum.

"We work to build girls' aspirations, promote girls' ideas of themselves when they don't have aspirations, and engage with key decisionmakers – parents, teachers and religious leaders," said Javid Syed, Asia programme officer for AJWS.

AJWS helped change Zeenat's life. It provided her with vocational training, allowing her to become financially independent and diminishing the likelihood that economic need will turn her towards another abusive marriage. If Zeenat does marry again, the hope is that she will have the support of her family and the ability to leave the marriage if she chooses, in full knowledge of her rights.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/15/2013 4:52:58 PM
To: Larry Summers [redacted]

take-it-or-leave-it deal by the U.S. on the nuclear issue is the wrong strategy

Ray Takeyh

February 14, 2013 -- On Feb. 26, the United States and Iran will once more resume their diplomatic ritual, in the so-called six-party talks, over Iran's disputed nuclear program. As the two perennial adversaries eye one another, there are competing paradigms about how to deal with Tehran.

An emerging school of thought suggests that the best means of "testing" Iran is to offer it a final nuclear agreement that presumably promises measurable relief from sanctions for significant Iranian concessions. Iran's failure to grasp such an offer would then conclusively demonstrate to both domestic and international audiences that the cause of the impasse is not American belligerence but Iranian truculence.

But this approach fails to recognize that an arms-control process is necessarily an incremental one, nor does it offer a practical substitute to the existing step-by-step diplomacy.

Iran's nuclear program encompasses a vast complex of enrichment facilities, centrifuge construction plants, uranium extraction companies and thousands of scientists working in university and government laboratories. Iran is enriching uranium at both 5% and 20% levels, experimenting with high-velocity centrifuges and seemingly in the process of constructing additional enrichment facilities.

Such a multilayered, multifaceted program can be dealt with only on a piecemeal basis, as the technical details and rules for inspections are too complex to be addressed in a single agreement.

Moreover, should the United States offer Iran a final deal, Tehran still has a right to contest and negotiate its provisions and offer counterproposals.

The international community is unlikely to concede to either more sanctions or the use of force until Iran's objections are taken into full consideration. As such, a grand deal that is supposed to provoke a moment of clarity is likely to be enmeshed in the existing, protracted arms-control process.

Another complication is the advent of public opinion and critical constituencies in Iran devoted to the perpetuation of the program. The growing public sentiment is that Iran has a right to acquire a nuclear capability. As the program matures, it is becoming a source of pride for a citizenry accustomed to the revolution's setbacks and failures.

Also emerging is a bureaucratic and scientific establishment with its own parochial considerations for sustaining the nuclear investment. A clerical leadership that is dealing with a restive population and empowered security services cannot easily dispense with its nuclear trump card.

All this suggests that the best means of addressing Iran's nuclear challenge is to mitigate its most dangerous dimensions. The focus should remain on Iran's high-grade enrichment and its underground nuclear facility nestled in mountains outside Qom. Tehran seems to have conceived an ingenious path to nuclear advancement, one that involves increasing the size and sophistication of its civilian atomic apparatus to the point where it can quickly surge into a bomb. While staying within the rules of the International Atomic Energy Agency's inspection process, Iran is essentially expanding its capabilities while shielding them under the veneer of legality. Given the fact that much of civilian nuclear technology can easily be misappropriated for military purposes, Iran can construct an elaborate nuclear infrastructure while remaining within IAEA guidelines.

The diplomatic challenge is to derail this path to a nuclear weapon by imposing significant restraints on its program. And this can still be done through a process that proceeds incrementally and sequentially.

U.S. officials would be wise to get out of the crisis mode and put some time back on the clock. The Iran issue always seems urgent, and yet somehow there is always time to deal with it. Washington should acknowledge the obvious, namely, that given Iran's gradualist approach, it

is still years from completing an efficient enrichment infrastructure, constructing a nuclear arsenal and developing a reliable means of delivery. By agreeing to a compressed timeline, the U.S. only narrows its options and makes a solution even more elusive.

As the United States again contemplates its Iran conundrum, it should eschew calls for a take-it-or-leave-it deal. The history of Iran's confrontation with the international community suggests that keeping it a crisis situation benefits the Islamic Republic. Ironically, it is the Western powers that have generated alarmist conditions. And then to escape the predicament of their own making, they offer Iran more concessions and further incentives.

To avoid a repeat of that outcome, it would be prudent to have a sense of proportionality and appreciate that, in the end, time works best for the United States and not the economically beleaguered theocracy.

Ray Takeyh is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Article 2.

The Guardian

Whether it's North Korea or Iran, sanctions won't work

Simon Jenkins

13 February 2013 -- Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. 'Threats and sanctions have not weakened the regime's determination to proceed [with nuclear weapons], but rather weakened opposition to it'. Photograph: Sven Hoppe/EPA

North Korea has set off a third nuclear test explosion. It has done so in defiance of the UN, America, Japan and even, reportedly, its sponsor, China. It has said to hell with everyone, in a brutal comment on western economic sanctions.

The UN security council met yesterday and Washington threatened "significant consequences" – code nowadays for "tighter sanctions". Every shred of evidence suggests that these will not achieve the declared goal. They will merely add to the impoverishment of North Korea's people by its own government. Sanctions are the most counter-productive tool known to diplomacy. Yet we keep imposing them. Why?

Sanctions assume that all countries react to external pressure as might a capitalist democracy. They assume a misguided regime will change its mind and put financial advantage above its definition of national interest. "Smart sanctions" (really dumb sanctions) further assume the rich can be punished without punishing the poor, and that all dictators' wives want to fly abroad and shop at Harrods. They assume that trade guides political action and political action trumps dictatorship.

Economic sanctions are hugely popular to western politicians, not because of their effect but because of their cause: the desire to stand on an international stage and being seen to "do something". They are the least-cost first resort of the laptop bombardiers of global intervention. They sound punitive and aggressive without inflicting any hardship on the imposer.

After North Korea the other target in the sanctions frame is Iran. Everything at present suggests that ever-tighter sanctions have done nothing to curb Iran's nuclear programme. Indeed, by inducing paranoia, probably the reverse. Sanctions have certainly "bitten", to the glee of their advocates. They have brought inflation and a collapse in the currency, the rial. They have harmed ordinary people and solidified sentiment against the west and the "great Satan" of the US. Assassination and cyber-weapons have wiped out a few scientists and scrambled a few computers.

What sanctions have not done is weakened the power of the ayatollahs or their private army, the Revolutionary Guards. Both seem as secure as ever,

while (relatively) moderate civilian politicians are reduced to feuding and arresting each others' children. Iran's nuclear programme appears to proceed independent even of the organs of its own state.

A spoof article in the Economist last year portrayed Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, ruminating on western nations' obsessive posturing towards his country. He mused that these were unstable, unreliable places, dangerous though probably not all mad. But since it was hard to be sure, "I would feel a lot safer if we already had that bomb". Similar insecurity drove sanctioned Cuba to accept Russian missiles in the 1960s, and sanctioned Iraq and Libya to pretend to build weapons of mass destruction in the 1990s.

Sanctions never stop bad things happening. Rather they entrench dictators, build up siege economies and debilitate the urban middle class from which opposition to dictatorship grows. As Khamenei said in a speech a year ago, sanctions were "painful … but make us more self-reliant". Indeed, for a regime to be sanctioned is to receive an elixir: witness Castro, Gaddafi, the ayatollahs and the ruling cliques of Burma, Afghanistan and North Korea. That sanctioned regimes sometimes come to an end is not proof that sanctions work, rather that they take a long time and usually require war to "work".

This is a rarely researched topic because sanctions are diplomatic ideology rather than science. A debate in 1998 in International Security magazine saw the Chicago academic, Robert Pape, barely challenged in his view that only around five of the 115 cases of sanctions imposed since the war could claim any plausible efficacy. Most merely inflicted "significant human costs on the populations of target states, including on innocent civilians who have little influence on their government's behaviour". They are a ready invitation to war.

When I was reporting on South Africa in the 1980s I became convinced that sanctions were aiding import substitution and benefiting the Afrikaner economy, probably giving apartheid an extra decade of life. They likewise prolonged Ian Smith's regime in Rhodesia. Sanctions made Libya's Gaddafi so rich he could spoon money into the London School of

Economics. They made Saddam Hussein one of the 10 wealthiest people in the world. Besides, sanctions create sanctions-busting which, like drugs, is a global criminal industry born entirely of the idiocy of western diplomacy.

A year ago the Foreign Office defended yet another round of sanctions against Tehran on the grounds they would "hasten Iran's economic collapse and deepen rifts within the regime, in the hope that saner voices will deem the price of pursuing nuclear weapons too high". Economies don't collapse, any more than poverty changes governments. Even Greece, now the most "sanctioned" nation in Europe, has not collapsed. Places just get poorer. As for "saner voices", they go into exile, hiding or prison. That's where sanctions send them.

Iran is a proud nation of 80 million mostly Muslim people, one of many Asian and African states struggling between theocracy and democracy, tradition and modernity. These are agonising struggles among and within peoples, to which the west has contributed nothing but hostility and belligerence. Under the cloak of "counter-terror", it has been as crass as it was during the Crusades. Of course no one wants to see nuclear weapons spread. Russia tried to stop China getting them. China tried to stop North Korea. The west tried to stop India and Pakistan, while hypocritically tolerating Israel and the replenished arsenals of France and Britain. No pressure made the slightest difference to anyone.

If Iran really wants a nuclear weapon, it will get one – the more so when it is threatened with dire retribution if it does. That is how such states react to pressure. Ever since the dodgy election of 2009, threats and sanctions have not weakened the regime's determination to proceed, but rather weakened opposition to it. If ever there was a country unlikely to respond to diplomatic bullying, it is Iran. If ever there was a country that might respond to constructive engagement, to commercial, governmental and cultural intercourse, it is also Iran. Why the west should want to make it another North Korea passes comprehension.

Article 3.

The Washington Institute

Year of Decision: U.S. Policy toward Iran in 2013

James F. Jeffrey and Thomas Pickering

February 12, 2013 -- *On February 7, 2013, James F. Jeffrey and Thomas Pickering addressed a Policy Forum at The Washington Institute. Ambassador Jeffrey, a former assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor, is author of the new Institute study Moving to Decision: U.S. Policy toward Iran. Ambassador Pickering served in numerous key posts at home and abroad over a five-decade career, including undersecretary of state for political affairs. The following is a rapporteur's summary of their remarks.*

JAMES F. JEFFREY

The move to decision on Iran is the most pressing and dangerous issue on the U.S. and international agenda in 2013. The year ahead will largely define the longstanding struggle between Washington and Tehran, and the considerable stakes involved make it absolutely crucial that a swift and decisive resolution be achieved. Regardless of the outcome of the nuclear issue, however, Iran will continue to present a long-term challenge to the United States because of clashing ideologies, conflicting foreign policy goals, and Iran's claim to regional hegemony.

There are four likely outcomes to the nuclear issue: a unilateral Iranian decision to halt or dramatically slow its progress toward a nuclear weapon; a negotiated outcome, whether through the P5+1 (i.e., the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany) or bilateral negotiations; a military strike, as threatened by President Obama and Israeli prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu; and an explicit or implicit shift to containment, indicating that Washington would be prepared to coexist with a nuclear-armed Iran.

The most effective resolution would be a negotiated outcome -- to achieve it, Washington will need to take preliminary steps on several fronts. A serious compromise needs to be put on the table, including an offer to suspend crippling oil sanctions in return for specific, verifiable Iranian steps to eliminate any nuclear breakout capabilities. Equally significant is establishing a credible military threat, given that Tehran has been willing to endure increasing economic pressure in order to continue its nuclear program. The regime is unlikely to concede anything during negotiations if it does not believe that Washington will actually follow through on such threats. Although specific public redlines are often unpalatable, the Obama administration must clarify internally when it would take military steps, and these intentions must be made clear to the Iranians.

In the same vein, the military option requires a credible negotiating complement, as seen in the early 1990s with Iraq. To legitimize military action against Saddam Hussein's regime, Washington had to prove that all other options had been exhausted. Similarly, the only way to set the predicate for military action against Iran is to show the regime and the international community that everything has been tried, and that Washington has left Tehran with a way out. Failure to do so would undermine the legitimacy of any strikes.

It is also important to understand that curtailing Iran's nuclear progress will not by itself alter the regime's regional agenda -- nuclear ambitions are but an extension of Tehran's wider aspirations toward hegemony in the Middle East. Unfortunately, none of the longer-term proposals for addressing that issue seem feasible at the moment (e.g., regime change by internal or external means; a shift in Tehran's views on the Supreme Leader and succession; a "grand deal" between Washington, Iran, and the international community).

One lesson to be learned from past interactions with Tehran (or lack thereof) is that when the United States proactively opposes Iranian aggression in the Middle East, the regime relents, but when Washington offers a more passive response, Iranian aggression increases. With respect to Syria, for example, it cannot be assumed that Bashar al-Assad will fall at all, let alone quickly, without active U.S. engagement. If the Assad

regime does in fact survive, Iran would become increasingly emboldened, with potentially disastrous consequences for the United States and its allies and interests in the Middle East.

Denuding U.S. forces in the region to enable a pivot to Asia is also risky. Nowhere else in the world is America more likely to deploy forces than in the Persian Gulf in opposition to Iran, and nowhere else is it of utmost importance that any potential confrontation be won decisively in the next five to ten years than with the Islamic Republic.

Going forward, Washington must discriminate between Iranian behaviors it considers unacceptable -- such as support for terrorism, hegemonic ambitions, and progress toward nuclear weapons -- and those it can tolerate. U.S. officials could open the door for negotiations by making clear to Tehran that they do not seek regime change; the first step in that regard would be to let Iran know that Washington respects it as a nation-state and not a transnational revolutionary movement.

Finally, disorganization within the U.S. government and a "go it alone" mentality have accounted for many of Washington's internal difficulties in responding to the Iranian challenge. To alleviate this problem, all cabinet-level officials must be in constant and complete coordination, devoid of routine bureaucratic obstacles. In addition, the appointment of a senior subcabinet official whose sole responsibility is Iran (or, alternatively, a small group of officials in constant coordination) could allow the administration to reorganize bureaucratically in preparation for this year of decision.

THOMAS PICKERING

Discussions of containment policy typically imply accepting the Islamic Republic as an inevitable nuclear power and using deterrence to deal with a nuclear-armed Iran. Yet such an outcome would be disastrous for U.S. nonproliferation policy, which is based on the notion that fewer nuclear states means less chance of miscalculated use. If Iran attains a nuclear weapon, other regional powers would likely follow suit -- clearly an undesirable outcome for the international community.

At the other end of the spectrum, using military means in the short term to guarantee prevention would entail a vast use of force -- essentially an unofficial, semipermanent occupation of Iran. This is not a viable path, particularly since other diplomatic possibilities have not yet been exhausted.

Similarly, sanctions, while effective, are not sufficient by themselves. They must be intertwined with negotiations -- as Washington and its allies increase the pressure, cohesive and meaningful talks with equivalent concessions should follow suit. Some have argued that negotiations should expand to a "big for big" format, but decades of mistrust between the United States and Iran make smaller deals more practical. Such an approach would have to focus on ending Iran's most problematic enrichment activity: processing uranium to the 20 percent threshold, which makes the leap to weapons-grade material much easier. Instead, the regime could limit itself to 5 percent enrichment, and under strict supervision by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The intelligence community widely believes that although Iran has not yet decided to make a nuclear weapon, it is still moving to acquire all the necessary capabilities in case it chooses that path. Accordingly, Washington will need to obtain a concrete Iranian commitment to convert its stocks of readily upgradeable gaseous uranium into metallic fuel elements, which pose significantly less of a threat. A serious inspection system would need to be implemented in order to monitor these requirements. In return, the Iranians would expect the lifting of nuclear-related sanctions. They would also likely ask for acknowledgement that they have the right to continue their civil enrichment program, whether for supposed use in cancer treatment or to safeguard against a potential Russian decision to cease fueling the Bushehr reactor.

Thus far, President Obama has been frustrated at the lack of progress in response to his openness toward the Iranian regime, and his new cabinet has an obligation to help him solidify a negotiating position that improves the situation. If the Iranians continue to reject U.S. positions that seemingly respond to some of their demands, then the administration should begin applying other pressures. These steps should be taken sooner

rather than later so that the parties can move toward a mutually acceptable conclusion.

Washington must also keep in mind that Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei has the last word on all matters in Iran, and that negotiations will go only as far as he allows them to go. In years past, he issued a fatwa condemning nuclear weapons -- Washington could take advantage of this fact by drafting a UN Security Council resolution endorsing the fatwa. This could be a small step toward boosting Khamenei's international profile while simultaneously pressuring Iran to follow its own religious decree.

To be sure, regime change remains an attractive alternative on paper, and some in Washington view it as an insurance policy. Historically, however, regime change has not been a successful option for the United States, and internal attempts at toppling Iran's leadership have thus far been crushed by Stalinesque suppression, including the 2009 uprising. Despite such failures and Washington's limited influence in Iranian domestic affairs, U.S. policy should be to demonstratively support popular democratic movements.

Article 4.

TIME

Spy Fail: Why Iran Is Losing Its Covert War with Israel

Karl Vick

Feb. 13, 2013 -- Slumped in a Nairobi courtroom, suit coats rumpled and reading glasses dangling from librarian chains, the defendants made a poor showing for the notorious Quds Force of the elite Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. Ahmad Abolafathi Mohammed and Sayed Mansour Mousa had been caught red-handed and middle-aged. And if the latter did them a certain credit — blandly forgettable always having been a good look for a

secret agent — the prisoners still had to explain why they had hidden 15 kg of the military explosive RDX under bushes on a Mombasa golf course.

Created to advance Iran's interests clandestinely overseas, the Quds Force has lately provided mostly embarrassment, stumbling in Azerbaijan, Georgia, India, Kenya and most spectacularly in Thailand, where before accidentally blowing up their Bangkok safe house, Iran's secret agents were photographed in the sex-tourism mecca of Pattaya, one arm around a hookah, the other around a hooker. In its ongoing shadow war with Israel, the Iranian side's lone "success" was the July 18 bombing of a Bulgarian bus carrying Israeli tourists — though European investigators last week officially attributed that attack to Iran's Lebanese proxy, Hizballah. That leaves the Islamic Republic itself with a failure rate hovering near 100% abroad and an operational tempo — nine overseas plots uncovered in nine months — that carries a whiff of desperation. A Tehran government long branded by U.S. officials as the globe's leading exporter of terrorism may be cornering the market on haplessness.

Within Iran's own borders, however, the story is different. Twice in the past two years Iranian intelligence has cracked espionage rings working with Israel's Mossad, Western intelligence officials tell TIME. In both cases, the arrests were the furthest thing from secret: announced at a news conference, each was later followed up by televised confessions broadcast on Iranian state television in prime time. Given Iran's history of trumped-up confessions, skepticism is more than justified. But the arrests appear to be solid. One intelligence official said the captured Iranians provided "support and logistics" to the Mossad operatives who carried out the assassinations of Iranian nuclear scientists.

At least four scientists were killed on Tehran's streets from 2010 to 2012, when, as TIME has reported, Israel ratcheted back on covert operations inside Iran. Officially, Israel has remained silent on the killings, though government officials will coyly say they welcome the deaths. The Jewish state maintains the same ambiguous posture on other "setbacks" to Iran's nuclear program widely — and correctly, Western intelligence officials say — attributed to Mossad, from the Stuxnet computer virus, to

mysterious explosions like the massive blast at a missile base, which destroyed ballistic missiles that could reach Israel.

The covert onslaught dovetails with Israel's history of reaching "over the horizon" to disarm perceived threats at a distance. To keep advanced arms from reaching Hamas and Hizballah, Israel in the past year sent warplanes to bomb convoys and arms depots in Sudan and Syria, respectively, without apparent retribution. In the case of Iran, however, experts say the audacity of Israel's covert campaign stirred Tehran to revive an espionage effort that lay largely fallow since 9/11. The Spy vs. Spy contest that ensued would prove woefully one-sided, even in the third-world countries where Iran chose to strike, hoping to avoid heightened security awareness in the developed world. In the end, its only success came inside Iran, where the secret police operate without inhibition.

The shadow war may have started on Jan. 15, 2007, the day Ardeshir Hosseinpour passed away. Hosseinpour was a specialist in electromagnetics at the Nuclear Technology Center in the city of Isfahan, Iran, but his death might have escaped notice had Iran's government not kept it under wraps for almost a week, finally attributing it to fumes from a faulty heater. An online report by the American private intelligence firm Stratfor suggested another cause — radioactive poisoning — and hinted that Mossad's Caesarea section was back in business. Caesarea, named for an Israeli beach town that dates back to Roman times, is the operations branch of Israel's secret service, most notoriously responsible for the assassinations of some two dozen Palestinians (and an innocent waiter) after the 1972 Munich Olympics. Assassinations are carried out by a very small unit dubbed Kidon, the Hebrew word for "tip of the spear." Kidon operates at a remove from the legions of Mossad employees working in less lethal fields.

It would have been a unit called Hatzomet, or "The Junction," that recruited Majid Fashi, a handsome young Iranian who dropped out of high school to pursue a career in kickboxing. By the account he gave on Iranian state television early in 2011, Fashi presented himself at the Israeli consulate in Istanbul in 2007 and was vetted for a solid year before being shown any trust. Two years later, on Jan. 12, 2010, he would place a bomb

on a motorbike parked on the sidewalk outside the Tehran home of Masoud Alimohammadi; the nuclear physicist was killed when it was detonated by remote control.

In the broadcast, Fashi accurately described the Mossad campus north of Tel Aviv. He said he had been given a laptop equipped with a second operating system and used it to communicate through online drop boxes. He was impressed by his handlers' thoroughness. At one point Fashi described studying a scale model of Alimohammadi's street. "It was an exact copy of the real one," Fashi said. "The tree next it, the street curb, the bridge." In a later broadcast, he was seated across from Alimohammadi's widow, who glared at him as he bowed his head and wept. Mossad officials were "pissed off and shocked" seeing their agent on television, the intelligence official said.

Fashi was executed in May 2012. About the same time, Iran's intelligence minister announced the arrest of 14 more Iranians, eight men and six women dubbed members of the "Terror Club" in the subsequent prime-time broadcast of that name. Filmed in shadow, and rich in atmospherics, the Aug. 5 program recreated Alimohammadi's death and four subsequent attacks: they started with the Nov. 29, 2010 nearly simultaneous attempts on Majid Shariari and Fereydoun Abbasi, nuclear scientists driving to work when magnetic "sticky bombs" were attached to the side of their cars from passing motorcycles. Abbasi managed to escape before it detonated, saving his wife as well. Shariari was killed — a significant setback for the Iranian nuclear program where he was the top scientist, according to a Western intelligence official.

The confessed agents offered absorbing detail — they were aboard a Bajaj Pulsar, wearing helmets, when the magnet bomb stuck on the right front panel of Shariari's car exploded. The riders scrambled into the "trail car" assigned to follow the target and disappeared into the traffic of the Imam Ali Autobahn. Already gone was the car assigned to cut off and slow the car carrying the scientist. They claimed to have rehearsed on a practice track inside Israel. None of the details could be confirmed, but an intelligence official acknowledged: "Another network was taken."

The third scientist, Dariush Rezaeinejad was shot on July 23, 2011 after picking up his child at a day care; his wife described hearing shots whiz by as she chased the assailants. The most recent assassination was the Jan. 11, 2012 death of Mustafa Ahmadi-Roshan, an expert on uranium enrichment, also by a magnet bomb slapped on his car during his morning commute.

By then, Iran was trying to strike back. The task of avenging the scientists fell to the sprawling Quds Force's own covert-operations division, known as Unit 400. It took a shotgun approach, targeting Israeli diplomatic missions in a variety of countries, mostly in the developing world where the global antiterrorism mesh is not so fine. Exposed in Baku, Tbilisi, Johannesburg, Mombasa and Bangkok, the failures mounted at a pace that was itself one of the problems. In the world of espionage, a quality covert operation can take years to pull together. Yet in the 15 months from May 2011 to July 2012, the Quds Force and Hizballah attempted 20 attacks, by the count of Matthew Levitt, a former State Department counterterrorism official. "Hizballah and the Quds Force traded speed for tradecraft and reaped what they sowed," Levitt writes in a January report for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "Quds Force planners were stretched thin by the rapid tempo of their new attack plan, and were forced to throw together random teams of operatives who had not trained together."

The decline in quality was so striking it initially inspired disbelief. Recall the preposterous-sounding plot weaving together a former used-car salesman, Mexico's Zetas drug gang and a bank transfer from a Revolutionary Guard account to assassinate Saudi Arabia's ambassador — by bombing a Washington restaurant? A year on it looks like the new normal. In Bangkok last month, an Iranian agent entered a courtroom in a wheelchair, having accidentally blown his legs off while fleeing police. A January alert issued by Turkish intelligence was light on specifics but quite certain the Quds operatives would be staying in five-star hotels.

"There's a number of reasons that Iranian intelligence has suffered," says Meir Javedanfar, an Iranian-born analyst who lectures at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel. "No. 1," he says, "is the 2009 uprisings in Iran." The street protests over a fraudulent election

undermined the perceived legitimacy of the state among people who once would work for it, including in its secret services. “People less and less see it as a nationalist endeavor and more as a Khamenei-related project to strengthen himself,” Javedanfar says, referring to Iran’s Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, who by some published accounts personally authorizes all overseas attacks.

Hard-liners further aggravated the situation by purging competent reformists from both the secret services and from Iran’s embassies — crucial to a force expected to work undetected abroad. “Basically the Quds Force doesn’t cooperate with the Foreign Ministry, and the Foreign Ministry isn’t what it used to be either,” says Javedanfar. Under President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, 42% of ministry employees have only high school degrees. “The regime is a bigger threat to itself than Israel,” he says.

Karl Vick has been TIME's Jerusalem bureau chief since 2010, covering Israel,the Palestine territories and nearby sovereignties. He worked 16 years at the Washington Post in Nairobi, Istanbul, Baghdad, Los Angeles and Rockville, MD.

Article 5.

YaleGlobal

Is the US Ready To Be Number Two?

Kishore Mahbubani

11 February 2013 -- SINGAPORE: Long before anyone did, former US president Bill Clinton saw that America would have to prepare for the time

when it would no longer be the number one power in the world. In his 2003 Yale University address on "Global Challenges," he said:

If you believe that maintaining power and control and absolute freedom of movement and sovereignty is important to your country's future, there's nothing inconsistent in that [the US continuing to behaving unilaterally]. [The US is] the biggest, most powerful country in the world now. . . . But if you believe that we should be trying to create a world with rules and partnerships and habits of behavior that we would like to live in when we're no longer the military political economic superpower in the world, then you wouldn't do that. It just depends on what you believe.

Long before 2003, Clinton wanted to begin preparing Americans for this new world. "Clinton believed […] what we had in the wake of the cold war was a multilateral moment – an opportunity to shape the world through our active leadership of the institutions Clinton admired and [Charles] Krauthammer disdained," writes Strobe Talbott, former deputy secretary of state in his book The Great Experiment: The Story of Ancient Empires, Modern States, and the Quest for a Global Nation. "But Clinton kept that belief largely to himself while he was in office…. political instincts told him it would be inviting trouble to suggest that the sun would someday set on American preeminence." Sadly, few Americans have heeded Clinton's wisdom. Few dare to mention that America could well be number two. I discovered this when I chaired a panel on "the future of American power" at the 2012 World Economic Forum in Davos. After citing projections that America would have the second largest economy in just a few years, I asked the American panelists – two senators, a congresswoman and a former deputy national security advisor – whether Americans are ready to become number two. To my shock, none could acknowledge publically this possibility.

America may well become number two faster than anyone has anticipated. According to the most recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) projections, China will have larger share of global GDP than the United States by 2017. In 1980, in PPP terms, the US share of the global economy was 25 percent, while China's was 2.2 percent. By 2017, the US share will decline to 17.9 percent, and China's will rise to 18.3 percent. Even if

America becomes number two, we will still have a better world. In many ways, the world is "converging" to American values and standards, as I explain in The Great Convergence. The global middle class is booming, interstate war is waning, and never before have people traveled and communicated across the world so easily. These changes are creating common values and norms across the world. Education and scientific reasoning, for example, are enabling people the world over to speak with a common language. However, while humanity is well on its way to combating absolute poverty and interstate warfare, other problems are surfacing. Preventing and curtailing transnational issues like climate change, human and drug trafficking, and financial crises require cooperation among nation states, yet this is not happening. A simple analogy illustrates this. Before the era of modern globalization, humankind was like a flotilla of more than 100 separate boats in their separate countries. The world needed a set of rules then to ensure that the many boats did not collide and facilitate their cooperation on the high seas if they chose to do so. The 1945 rules-based order strived to do this, and despite some obvious failures, it succeeded in producing a relatively stable global order for more than 50 years. Today, the 7 billion people who inhabit planet earth no longer live in more than 100 separate boats. Instead, they live in 193 separate cabins on the same boat. But this boat has a problem. It has 193 captains and crews, each claiming exclusive responsibility for one cabin. No captain or crew cares for the boat as a whole. The world is now sailing into increasingly turbulent waters with no captain or crew at the helm. The Great Convergence echoes the themes of Clinton's 2003 Yale speech. It's in the interest of all – particularly great powers – to strengthen institutions of global governance so that we're not sailing blindly into choppy waters without a captain. The National Intelligence Council recently projected that in 2030 Asia would overtake the Western world economically, technologically and militarily. When China becomes a world superpower in a matter of decades, the United States and Europe will want to ensure that China plays by the rules.

But in order to make international organizations like the United Nations, the IMF and the World Bank more credible and effective, they must

undergo serious reform. It is manifestly absurd that the West makes up 12 percent of the world's population but takes up 60 percent of UN Security Council permanent seats. It's nonsensical that the head of the IMF is always a European and the head of the World Bank is always an American as the West's share of global GDP diminishes every year. This concentration of clout in the hands of a relative few has grave implications for these institutions' effectiveness and independence, making them instruments of the West. No other organization, not even huge global NGOs like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation or the Clinton Foundation, has the scope and legitimacy that the UN currently enjoys. For example, the United States for years has been trying to pressure China to take a more proactive role in fighting climate change. Predictably, China has resisted these pressures because they saw them as a clever yet transparent American ruse to curtail Chinese economic growth. Only when the United Nations Development Programme raised the issue with China did the Chinese government take heed, as the UNDP is seen as a neutral party in China. The UN and its many agencies may soon lose invaluable credibility if the West insists on monopolizing its power over these institutions.

Any reform of the UN should take into account three principles: democracy, recognition of power balances and the rule of law. Institutions of global governance can be made more democratic by ensuring that their leadership accurately reflects the composition of world's population. At the same time, we must also take into account geopolitical relationships among emerging and middle powers. Finally, the rule of law is essential to the mediation and resolution of thorny international issues and to governing the conduct of states on the international stage so as to prevent escalation of conflict.

In this rapidly changing world, it's a mistake to allow institutions of global governance to stay as they are. The 1945 rules-based order is no longer appropriate for 21st century circumstances. Global leaders must better prepare us for the challenges to come and equip our international organizations to deal with them. Leaders must find the courage to continue advocating for stronger multilateral cooperation. It is time for our captains

and crews to emerge from their cabins and start steering the boat.

Kishore Mahbubani is dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS, and author of the forthcoming book The Great Convergence: Asia, the West, and the Logic of One World.

Article 6.

Foreign affairs

Pyongyang's Nuclear Logic

Jennifer Lind, Keir A. Lieber, and Daryl G. Press

February 14, 2013 -- In his State of the Union address, U.S. President Barack Obama described North Korea's recent nuclear test as a provocation that required a firm response. The intended audience for that provocation, though, is up for debate. Some commentators have posited that the test was a signal aimed at China, designed to demonstrate North Korea's independence from its great-power patron. Others think that Kim Jong-un was sending a message to the newly elected president of South Korea, Park Geun-hye. Still other North Korea experts have suggested that the test was actually meant for domestic consumption, to lift the sagging morale of a deprived public or for the regime to curry favor with the military. The intended North Korean signal is being analyzed and debated by U.S. government officials, who hold views across the spectrum.

A much simpler explanation exists. Pyongyang tested a nuclear device for the same reason it has been testing long-range missile designs: to see what works. In truth, the effort was less a signal than an attempt to master the technical capabilities that are vital to its nuclear deterrent.

This rationale should come as no surprise to those steeped in Cold War history. Between 1945 and 1992, the United States conducted 1,054 nuclear tests and fired an untold number of missiles. If the goal had merely

been to show the Soviets that the United States meant business, testing nearly twice a month throughout the entire Cold War would have been overkill. In fact, Operation Sandstone -- a series of three tests at Enewetak Atoll in 1948 -- was not intended to warn off the Soviets as tensions rose over Berlin. Nor was the series of 48 underground tests launched in the summer of 1964 designed to impress the newly installed premier, Leonid Brezhnev. And the United States would not have conducted a dozen atomic blasts at its Nevada test site in the first half of 1977 -- including the Cove, Dofino, Marsilly, Bulkhead, Crewline, Forefoot, Carnelian, Strake, Flotost, Gruyere, Scantling, and Scupper detonations -- just because new President Jimmy Carter was vulnerable to right-wing criticism.

The United States did what it did because it needed its ultimate deterrent to actually work, and because the technical requirements of the nuclear mission continually changed. The ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were evidence enough that the United States could destroy cities, but deterring the Soviet Union was a far greater challenge. If the Soviets had invaded Western Europe, for example, U.S. bombers would have had to penetrate alerted Soviet air defenses, identify Soviet ground forces and industrial centers, and attack them. Accordingly, U.S. bombers had to be highly maneuverable and able to carry multiple weapons, so the bombs themselves had to be lighter and smaller than the ones the United States used against Japan. The Soviets put another wrinkle in Washington's plans when they began to deploy large numbers of their own nuclear weapons. The United States needed to find a way to potentially destroy the Soviet arsenal on the ground. Eliminating those targets -- numerous and often hardened -- required even greater numbers of bombs, even lighter designs, and more accurate delivery systems. So the United States updated its designs and tested. And tested. And tested again.

Like the United States during the Cold War, North Korea has apparently decided that nuclear weapons are central to its national security strategy. With few friends, its conventional military forces outgunned, an economy in tatters, and facing off against a superpower prone to deposing dictatorships across the globe, the Kim regime set about building an operational nuclear arsenal. And just as NATO planned to thwart a Soviet

invasion by striking targets in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, North Korea presumably plans to defend itself, should war erupt on the peninsula, by threatening U.S. regional allies and targets in the United States.

North Korea's mission requires small, lightweight warheads, and missiles that work -- and the only way to know that they work is to test them. So far, the weapons have proved unspectacular. The country's first nuclear test, conducted in 2006, was an embarrassment. Pyongyang had told the Chinese that the device would generate four kilotons of explosive power, but it ended up producing less than one. The second test in 2009 fared slightly better, producing between one and eight kilotons, although it is not known what size of a blast the North Koreans had sought. Moreover, Pyongyang has much more work to do before it can boast weapons that will actually fit on its missiles (which have been, themselves, a series of humiliating failures).

Observers in the West who presume that North Korea's behavior must be about signaling should remember NATO and the United States' own experience during the Cold War. The United States understood then that the ability to conduct nuclear operations was the very foundation of a credible deterrence strategy. Today, a sound strategy for dealing with North Korea should not ascribe ulterior motives to acts that the United States once considered rational and routine.

The view that nuclear weapons are merely political instruments -- suitable for sending signals, but not waging wars -- is now so common in Washington, London, and Berlin that it is hard to find anyone who disagrees. Yet those comforting assumptions are not shared by leaders everywhere. Beyond North Korea, Russia is cutting down its arsenal, modernizing the nuclear forces it plans to keep, and increasing its reliance on nuclear weapons in national defense strategy. China is slowly expanding its own arsenal, while substantially improving its weapons. And Iran seems so committed to going nuclear that it has been ready to endure crippling sanctions and risk foreign attack.

It is unfortunate that U.S. policymakers are so convinced of nuclear obsolescence that they have difficulty understanding the motivations of potential adversaries. It would be tragic, however, if their questionable assumptions prevent them from recognizing the deterrence problems that lie ahead and the grave difficulties that will be posed by adversaries, such as North Korea, that still cling to nuclear weapons.

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Article 7.

Foreign Policy in Focus (FPIF)

The Depths of Malaise in Palestine

Daniel DePetris

February 12, 2013 -- When talking about peace in Israel-Palestine, it is easy to narrow the conversation to the leaders who are responsible for making it. Over the past few years, there have been numerous profiles in newspapers and profiles in magazines attempting to document the two men who are supposed to make the effort—Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas.

Delving into the lives and minds of world leaders is an undoubtedly helpful, exciting, and informative way to find answers, but a conflict as multifaceted and complicated as the Israeli-Palestinian dispute cannot be fully explained without taking into account the opinions of the ordinary people who live the reality every single day. Millions of Israelis and Palestinians on both sides of the green line have had their voices drowned out by the very politicians, lawmakers, and personalities who purport to represent them.

The result is a host of unanswered questions. What does the average Israeli or Palestinian think about the chances for a lasting and comprehensive peace agreement? What types of concessions need to be given for a deal to be struck? Do Israelis have the political courage to sacrifice on settlements and Jerusalem so the conflict can finally be resolved? Can the Palestinians negotiate in good faith?

Luckily, polling organizations in Israel and Palestine have spent years trying to answer these very questions, often working together and sharing their resources during the hunt.

Two of the latest polls, one from the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC) and the other from the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR), are particularly telling. Unlike other surveys that confirm what most in the international community already think, the results of these polls are unprecedented, revealing a stark and disturbing malaise in the Palestinian territories.

The message is clear: frustration with the conflict is at a high point, the two-state solution is steadily losing credibility in the eyes of the people, and ordinary citizens in the Holy Land are starting to wonder whether a settlement can be achieved without another round of bloodshed.

Oslo Fatigue

When asked by the PSPSR whether Mahmoud Abbas's policy of peace talks or armed resistance by Hamas is the best way to achieve a Palestinian state, an alarming 60 percent of Palestinians surveyed threw in their lot with armed resistance (compared to 28 percent who favored negotiations). With the eight-day Israel-Hamas war having ended with a

ceasefire that many view as a victory for the Islamist group, Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh finds his popularity having soared. Forty-eight percent of Palestinians say that they would rather pick Haniyeh as Palestine's next president instead of Abbas, who has struggled to secure the freedom of movement and self-determination that so many Palestinians once expected from his government.

The JMCC issued similar findings. By far the most disturbing figure in the poll is the exponential rise in support among the Palestinian public for armed operations against Israel—50.9 percent now view attacking Israeli positions in the current climate as a credible way to express their grievances and pressure the Israeli government to compromise. This is a 20-percent increase from the previous year.

The numbers can perhaps best be summarized by Ali Najjar, an 18-year-old Palestinian who lives in a refugee camp. "In my view," he said, "what was taken by force will only be returned by force. Twenty years after Oslo, we haven't gained one inch of Palestine."

Many young Palestinians agree. Indeed, the words summarize the how dire the situation has become for an entire generation of Palestinians, most of whom are too young to remember the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. Most have not seen any benefit from peace agreements or negotiations, and all of them have grown tired of the settlement construction in the West Bank, the killing of Palestinian civilians, and the internal fighting among Palestinian politicians that never seems to dissipate.

The Corrosive Status Quo

One cannot blame Palestinian civilians for feeling this way. The previous year was a terrible one for Abbas and his government. Settlement tenders and approvals in the West Bank rose to such an extent that the anti-settlement organization Peace Now named 2012 "the year of the settlement," with the Ministry of Defense authorizing an additional 6,000 housing units and Netanyahu pushing for the construction of 11,000 homes in the month of December alone.

The lack of economic support from donor nations and the restrictions that impede the Palestinian economy from functioning at anywhere near its full potential have also made for a deadly cocktail for Abbas' Palestinian Authority. Combined with the occasional holding of Palestinian tax revenue by the Israelis, the PA is finding it incredibly difficult to pay the tens of thousands of employees on its payroll.

The recent Israeli parliamentary elections perhaps best illustrate where the Palestinian issue is today: at the bottom of the barrel. Israeli politicians chose to focus their campaigning on social and economic issues, from the price of housing and cost of living to whether religious students should be drafted into the Israeli military like everyone else. The only Israeli candidate who spoke about the need to reengage the Palestinians in peace talks was the former foreign minister Tzipi Livni, whose party failed to reach double-digits in the incoming parliament.

The overall message is depressingly familiar to Palestinians: creating a Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem is simply not on the list of priorities for Israel at the current time. And the Palestinian Authority is proving itself to be an increasingly fragile governing body without the constant generosity of foreign countries; it's an institution that cannot adequately care for its people, let alone its employees who go months without pay. The average Palestinian is losing hope that peace is possible in his or her lifetime. Palestinian leaders may speak of ending the occupation, but for those who live under it, the occupation is so ingrained that escaping it has become a violation of the normal.

Some may take the more militant attitudes of Palestinians as confirmation that Israel does not have a partner for peace. Yet those attitudes can also be viewed differently: without a renewed effort at peacemaking, however frustrating and difficult it will be, the conflict will reach a nadir where searching for a peace partner will be irrelevant.

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rticle 1.

The Washington Post

In State of the Union address, Obama lays out his second-term agenda

Editorial

February 13, 2013 -- TWO DOMESTIC concerns towered above all others as President Obama addressed a joint session of Congress on Tuesday night on the state of the union. One was stubbornly slow economic growth. The other was the long-term threat to prosperity posed by the structural mismatch between the federal government's projected revenue and its spending commitments. A successful second term for Mr. Obama will require both credible proposals for overcoming those related challenges and the determination to carry them through.

The president addressed the deficit and debt first, and at some length. This was fitting, giving that the most pressing piece of business facing Washington is what to do about the impending $85 billion across-the-board spending cut. He was forthright

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in declaring that this so-called sequester threatens the military as well as domestic programs. But his plan to avoid it basically repeated the offer of a "balanced approach" — unspecified tax hikes and spending cuts — which Republicans have already rejected.

Somewhat more substantively, he called for a larger deficit-reduction deal built around loophole-closing tax reform and what he called "modest" reforms to Medicare and entitlements. In an apparent effort to rally Democrats to this cause, he called on "those of us who care deeply about programs like Medicare" to "embrace" reform.

Yet in promising the same amount of Medicare savings as the Simpson-Bowles commision proposed, Mr. Obama did not mention that this would be a mere $341 billion over 10 years. All told, he envisions shaving an additional $1.5 trillion off projected deficits over 10 years, which would leave the national debt at a historically aberrant 70-odd percent of gross domestic product. In short, he declined to push back against the mind-set within his party that considers acceptable "stabilizing" the debt at this level by the time Mr. Obama's second term ends. At best, that would buy a respite of a few years before the debt resumed its upward climb.

As for raising the economy's growth potential, the president was more persuasive. His emphasis on reforming the tangled and counterproductive corporate tax code was especially welcome, and relatively likely to draw GOP support. He offered several promising ideas on education, including a promise of "high-quality preschool" for all children, though how that would square with his promise not to increase the deficit by a single dime went unexplained. He sounded a ringing call for greater federal attention to college cost containment. "Taxpayers can't keep on subsidizing" spiraling tuition, he said, candidly and correctly.

As European trading partners had hoped, the president endorsed negotiations for a transatlantic free-trade zone, which would help America's export industries and the jobs that depend on them. Coupled with an agreement that Obama is promoting for the Pacific region, the proposal has the potential to make his second term fruitful for global trade. He also suggested raising the federal minimum wage, from $7.25 per hour to $9 — although the precise amount is less important, in our view, than the president's call for annual cost-of-living adjustments.

In keeping with Mr. Obama's theme of nation-building at home, foreign policy played a secondary role in his speech. He promised to bring home half of the

remaining U.S. troops in Afghanistan within the next year. But officials said the withdrawal would be weighted toward year's end, leaving most of the troops to partner with Afghan troops for much of this year. The president said the United States would support democratic transitions in the Middle East, "keep the pressure on [the] Syrian regime" and "do what is necessary to prevent" Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon — but he offered no specifics.

Mr. Obama pressed his case for reform of immigration laws and for action to slow global warming — and, in especially moving terms, tougher gun laws. In each case, there may be measures he can take through executive action, but new laws will be needed for substantial progress.

Mr. Obama was right when he pointed to the survivors and grieving relatives of gun violence victims and insisted, "They deserve a vote."

Article 2.

Foreign Policy

The world is no longer America's problem

Aaron David Miller

February 13, 2013 -- If you want to know what an American president's foreign policy is likely to be, particularly in a second term, don't listen to his State of the Union speech. You'd probably have more luck playing with Tarot cards, or reading tea leaves or goat entrails. But not this year. Barack Obama's fourth such address left a trail of foreign-policy cookie crumbs that lead directly to some pretty clear, if hardly surprising or revolutionary, conclusions. His first term contained no spectacular successes (save killing Osama bin Laden), but no spectacular failures either. And more than likely, that's what the president will settle for in a second, even as the Arab world burns and rogues like Iran and North Korea brandish new weapons. He's nothing if not a cautious man.

Behold: I am the Extricator in Chief

Afghanistan -- the "good war" -- has been pretty much MIA in Obama's speeches since he became president. He's alternated between spending a few words on the mission there (2009) or a paragraph (2010, 2011, 2012). If his words have been brief, the message has been stunningly clear: It's about the leaving. And tonight was no exception. Not more than two minutes in, the president spoke about America's men and women coming home from Afghanistan.

Obama's signature is indeed that of the extricator. And he broke the code early (the 2009 surge was designed politically to get in so that he could get out with a clearer conscience). He is the president who has wound down the longest and among the most profitless wars in American history, where victory was never defined by whether we can win, but by when can we leave. It is his legacy, and one about which he has reason to be proud. Obama has left himself and his military commanders plenty of discretion about the pace of extrication. But that's fine with the president so long as they're heading for the exits.

Not the Destroyer and Rebuilder of Worlds

Surprise, surprise: There was scant mention of Syria in the president's speech -- just one throwaway line about supporting Syria's opposition. Obama did not disengage from Iraq and Afghanistan only to plunge America into new black holes in the Middle East.

Obama isn't worried about boots on the ground in Syria. That was never on the table. Instead the question is this: Given the uncertainty about the end state in Syria and the risks of providing serious weapons to the rebels (and a no-fly zone) that might alter the arc of the fight against the regime, the president saw and continues to see no purpose in America providing arms of

marginal utility. That course would either expose him to be truly weak and ineffectual or lead to calls to do more. So he's going to provide non-lethal support and is apparently prepared to take the hits from critics who see the president's policy as passive, cruel, and unforgiving, particularly now that we know that members of his own cabinet clearly wanted to do more. The Iranian nuclear issue, the other potential tar baby in the SOTU, followed a pretty predictable rising arc of concern in the list of presidential foreign-policy worries. In 2009, in Obama's address to a joint session of Congress (a speech some regard as a SOTU), Iran wasn't even mentioned. In the 2010 SOTU, Obama threatened that if Iran ignored its international obligations, there would be consequences; in 2011, he did the same; and in 2012, he made it clear that he would prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon and take no option off the table. Obama repeated half of what he said in 2012 about preventing Iran from getting a nuclear weapon, but instead of saying all options were on the table, he spoke of the importance of diplomacy. I suspect he'll go to extreme lengths to avoid war, and won't greenlight an Israeli attack either until the arc of diplomacy has run its course. And then Obama would likely act only if the mullahs push the envelope by accelerating their uranium enrichment program and

other military aspects of the nuclear enterprise.

Seizing the Nuclear High Road with Little to Lose

Even as he confronts a real bomb in North Korea (very bad options there) and a potential one in Iran (bad options there too), Obama is trying to make good on a longstanding commitment to reduce America's own nuclear arsenal. Backed by the military chiefs and likely by the public too (getting rid of nukes equals saving money), but opposed by Republicans in Congress, Obama will try to work around the political obstacles by seeking a deal with yes ... you got it ... his old friend Vlad Putin. It's worth a try. If Putin balks or Republicans get in the way, the president can always advocate unilateral cuts -- not something he wants to do. But if he can't have his way on nukes, he can always blame it on the Russians and the Republicans with little to lose. The road to getting rid of nukes is a long one. Let the next guy (or gal) worry about it.

A Little Leg on Palestine?

Obama hasn't mentioned the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a SOTU speech since 2009. And that's no coincidence. His own poorly thought-through initial effort crashed and burned, leaving the president pretty frustrated and annoyed with both

Israelis and Palestinians, particularly Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

But hey, that was then. A second-term president has committed himself early in 2013 to a trip to Israel and has an Energizer bunny in Secretary of State John Kerry, who wants to do the right thing and keep the two-state solution alive. Obama clearly kept his distance from the issue again on Tuesday night. He spoke of standing with Israel to pursue peace, but didn't mention Palestinians or the peace process. He mentioned his own trip to the Middle East, but missed an opportunity to give what might be a trip to the region by his new secretary of state higher profile. It's just as well. The paradox of the Israeli-Palestinian issue is that it's too complicated to implement right now and too important to abandon. It's in this space that Obama will be forced to operate. And while the odds of success are low, Obama will be tempted in his final term to do something bold, perhaps laying out a U.S. plan of parameters on the key final-status issues.

It's the Middle Class, Not the Middle East

Spoiler alert: Barack Obama might still be a consequential foreign-policy president if he's lucky, willful, and skillful. But it's his domestic legacy that will make or break his presidency. Health care -- his signature legacy issue -- will look much better if the economy improves, driven by a revived

housing market and rising employment, and of course if some broader deal can be struck on entitlements and taxes. Immigration reform and gun-control legislation driven by a functional bipartisanship would cement that legacy. He'd be an historic rather than a great president.

Two clocks tick down in a president's second term: the drive for legacy and the reality of lame duckery. Obama's political capital will diminish quickly. Where, how, and on what he wants to spend it is critical. The Middle East is violent and volatile and may yet suck him in, but if he can avoid it, he'll try. This was a State of the Union address that stressed fixing America's broken house, not chasing around the world trying to fix everyone else's. The future of America isn't Cairo or Damascus; it's Chicago and Detroit.

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Article 3.

Agence Global

Can the United States Strike a Deal with Iran?

Patrick Seale

12 Feb 2013 -- Negotiations with Iran are once more on the international agenda. After an eight-month break, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany -- the so-called P5+1 -- are due to hold a meeting with Iran on 25 February in Kazakhstan. What are the prospects of success? In a nutshell, that would seem to depend more on the climate in Washington than in Tehran. Iran is gesturing that it wants to negotiate, but Washington has not yet signalled any greater flexibility than in the past.

In a major speech in Tehran last Sunday, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad addressed the United States: "Take your guns out of the face of the Iranian nation and I myself will negotiate with you," he declared. Meanwhile, the Iranian ambassador to Paris told French officials that, provided a work plan was agreed, Iran was ready to allow inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to visit Parchin, a military facility where Iran is suspected of having done work on atomic weapons. Ahmadinejad himself has said repeatedly that Iran was ready to stop enriching uranium to 20% if the international community agreed to supply it instead to the Tehran research reactor for the production of isotopes needed to treat cancer patients.

The only recent encouraging word from the United States was a hint by Vice-President Joe Biden at last week's Munich security conference that the time may have come for bilateral U.S.-Iranian talks. Iran's Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi responded positively to Biden's offer, although he added that Iran would look for evidence that Biden's offer was 'authentic' and not 'devious'.

The road to a U.S.-Iranian agreement is littered with obstacles -- grave mutual distrust being one of them. There is little optimism among experts that a breakthrough is imminent. For one thing, Iran is almost certain to want to defer any major strategic decision until a new President is elected next June to replace the sharp-tongued Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. To strike a deal with Iran, the United States would also need to assure its Arab allies in the Gulf that they would not fall under Iranian hegemony or lose American protection. Guarantees would no doubt have to be given.

Israel, America's close ally, poses a more substantial obstacle. It is totally opposed to any deal which would allow Iran to enrich uranium, even at the low level of 3.5%. Wanting no challenge to its own formidable nuclear arsenal, Israel's long-standing aim has been to halt Iran's nuclear programme altogether. To this end it has assassinated several Iranian nuclear

scientists and joined the United States in waging cyber warfare against Iranian nuclear facilities. Its belligerent prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, has for years been pressing Obama to destroy Iran's nuclear programme and -- better still -- bring down the Islamic regime altogether.

Faced with these obstacles, it is clear that any U.S. deal with Iran would require careful preparation. Obama would need to mobilize strong domestic support if he is to confront America's vast array of pro-Israeli forces. They include Congressmen eager to defend Israeli interests at all costs (as was vividly illustrated by the recent Chuck Hagel confirmation hearings), powerful lobbies such as AIPAC, media barons, high-profile Jewish financiers like Sheldon Adelson, a phalanx of neo-con strategists in right-wing think tanks, influential pro-Israelis within the Administration, and many, many others. The cost in political capital of challenging them could be very substantial. Nevertheless, elected for a second term, he now has greater freedom and authority than before.

Obama is due to visit Israel on March 20-21, something he did not do in his first term. This visit will be the first foreign trip of his second term -- in itself a sign of its importance. Although the White House is anxious to play down suggestions that he will announce a major initiative, either on

the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or on Iran, there are issues he cannot avoid. He may, however, choose to raise them in private talks with Israeli leaders rather than in public. His message is expected to be twofold: Israel should not delay in granting statehood to the Palestinians, however painful that choice may be, and it should be careful not to make an eternal enemy of Iran. Both conflicts have the potential to isolate Israel internationally and threaten its long-term interests, if not its actual existence.

In his first term of office, Obama resisted Netanyahu's pressure to wage war on Iran. This was no more than a semi-success, however, since he managed to blunt Netanyahu's belligerence only by imposing on Iran a raft of sanctions of unprecedented severity. They have halved Iran's oil exports, caused its currency to plummet and inflation to gallop, severed its relations with the world's banks and inflicted severe hardship on its population.

The key question today is this: What are Obama's intentions? Is he seeking to bring down Iran's Islamic regime, as Israel would like, or is he simply seeking to limit its nuclear ambitions? If 'regime change' is his aim then sanctions will have to be tightened even further and extended indefinitely. But if Obama's aim is to strike a deal with Iran over its nuclear programme then he must give it at least some of what it

wants: such as sanctions relief; acceptance of its right under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to enrich uranium to a low level for peaceful purposes; recognition of its security interests, of the legitimacy of its Islamic regime born out of the 1979 revolution, and of its place in the region as a major power.

The P5+1, which are due to meet Iran later this month, remain so divided that they are unlikely to improve substantially on their previous miserly offer, which was to provide Iran with some airplane spare parts if it gave up uranium enrichment to 20% -- its trump card. It is the paralysis of Iran's dealings with the P5+1 that has lent credence to the idea that the best hope of a breakthrough may lie in bilateral U.S.-Iranian talks -- perhaps even a summit meeting between President Obama and Ayatollah Khomeini.

For such a summit to be successful the United States would have to change its approach. Iran's supreme leader has made clear that Iran will not negotiate under threat of attack. There would have to be give and take. Above all, Iran wants to be treated with respect. This is the challenge facing Obama.

It is worth remembering that there is as yet no evidence whatsoever that Iran has decided to build nuclear weapons. Nor has it developed a reliable delivery system. Instead, it has focussed its efforts on

medium-range missiles unable to reach Israel. It has no second strike capability. As President Ahmadinejad stressed during his visit to Cairo last week, Iran has no intention of attacking Israel. Its posture is purely defensive.

If Obama were to act with boldness and vision, he could defuse a nagging problem which has plagued the region for years. It is surely time for the United States to draw Iran into the regional community of nations and put an end to 34 years of unremitting hostility.

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Article 4.

The Washington Post

What path now for Syria?

David Ignatius

February 12, 2013 -- Syrian opposition fighters appear to be making significant gains on the battlefield this week, following an offer by their top political leader for negotiations with the regime of President Bashar al-Assad.

This military and diplomatic news may appear positive. But Syrian sources caution that the battlefield advances may accelerate movement toward a breakup of the country, as Alawite supporters of the regime retreat to their ancestral homeland in the northwestern region around Latakia. And there's no sign that either Assad or his Russian patrons are paying any more than lip service to a political settlement.

One potential game-changer is a request for U.S. help in training elite rebel units, which has been drafted by Brig. Gen. Salim Idriss, the new commander of the opposition Free Syrian Army. In a letter dated Feb. 4, he seeks U.S. assistance in "training for: (1) special operations; (2) international humanitarian law; and (3) . . . in chemical weapons security."

Idriss requested various supplies for these elite units, including: "(1) combat armor; (2) night vision goggles; (3) hand held monocular and longer range spotting equipment; (4) strategic communications; (5) winterization packs; and (6) tactical communications."

This request for assistance was made just after the Assad regime had rebuffed an offer by Sheik Ahmad Moaz al-Khatib, the head of a new opposition coalition, to negotiate with government representatives.

The rebels' recent military successes have come mostly in northern Syria; the attacks

were made by different battalions that appear to operate with little central command and control. The gains include:

- The al-Jarrah air base, about 30 miles east of Aleppo, which appears to have been overrun by fighters from Ahrar al-Sham, a battalion based in Idlib. Videos posted Tuesday by the rebels showed them walking past derelict Syrian warplanes and inside a fortified hangar containing what appeared to be two Czech-built ground assault planes. On camera, the rebels displayed dozens of bombs racked in a warehouse, and other ammunition and spoils of war.
- The Thawra hydroelectric dam on the Euphrates, which is one of Syria's biggest power-generating facilities. Rebel sources said the Syrian army gave up the strategic dam after army positions there were overrun. The rebels negotiated a surrender with regime loyalists who remained. These sources said the dam continues to operate and provide power — a positive sign for those who worry that Syria's infrastructure would collapse if the rebels took over.
- The Aleppo International Airport, southeast of the city, is close to falling. Free Syrian Army sources said Tuesday that their fighters, including allies in the extremist al-Nusra Front, had captured an access point near the airport known as "Liwa 80." Syrian sources said rebels there

had seized large amounts of ammunition, including some shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles.

- Damascus and its suburbs, where the rebels are tightening their squeeze on access points to the capital. Syrian sources said fighters are converging on Damascus from different parts of the country, expecting a decisive battle there soon. "Regime forces are suffering from very low morale, whereas FSA soldiers have been encouraged by recent positive developments," asserts one FSA report from Damascus.

The al-Nusra Front has been a catalyst and beneficiary of the rebels' success. According to Syrian sources, al-Nusra is gaining strength in Homs, a city in central Syria where the group was never strong. One Syrian source told the State Department: "They have money, they are helping people with everything including daily living supplies. I heard that some fighters are leaving their [former] brigades and joining [Al-Nusra], some of them selling their weapons to feed their families."

One Syrian who works closely with the Free Syrian Army explained how creating an elite commando force could help check Syria's drift toward becoming a failed state: "We still believe FSA on the ground is still needed badly to tip the power and

support other parallel solutions, including the political one. But FSA [has] become a jungle. . . . My recommendation is . . . to start working on elite [forces that can] . . . initiate key attacks plus help as a buffer from potential warlords and fights among fragmented FSA factions. Plus, this unit can handle other key tasks, like securing chemical weapons."

This Syrian strategist argues in another memo that the rebels must "speak to the silent majority, many who did not care about the revolution, and they want their life back." He said that such a negotiated settlement requires more pressure on the United States, Russia and the United Nations "to find a way out of the deadlock."

Article 5.

Foreign Policy

Why Does Europe Pretend Hezbollah Has a Good Side?

Matthew Levitt

February 12, 2013 -- Bulgaria's interior minister announced on Feb. 5 the result of his country's investigation into the July 2012 bombing of a bus filled with Israeli tourists in the city of Burgas, which killed five Israelis and the vehicle's Bulgarian driver. Two of the individuals who carried out the terrorist attack, he said, "belonged to the military formation of Hezbollah."

It was not by chance that his statement fingered only the military wing of Hezbollah, not the group as a whole. Within the European Union, the findings of the Bulgarian investigation have kicked off a firestorm over whether to add the Lebanese militant organization -- in whole, or perhaps just its military or terrorist wings -- to the EU's list of banned terrorist groups. But are there in fact distinct wings within the self-styled "Party of God"?

Hezbollah is many things. It is one of the dominant political parties in Lebanon, as well as a social and religious movement catering first and foremost -- though not exclusively -- to Lebanon's Shiite community. Hezbollah is also Lebanon's largest militia, the only one to keep its weapons and rebrand its armed elements as an "Islamic resistance" in response to the terms of the 1989 Taif Accord, which ended the Lebanese Civil War.

While the group's various elements are intended to complement one another, the

reality is often messier. In part, that has to do with compartmentalization of Hezbollah's covert activities. It is also, however, a result of the group's multiple identities -- Lebanese, pan-Shiite, pro-Iranian -- and the group's multiple and sometimes competing goals tied to these different identities.

Hezbollah's ideological commitment to Iranian Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolutionary doctrine of velayat-e faqih (guardianship of the jurist), which holds that a Shiite Islamic cleric should serve as the supreme head of government, is a key source of conflict. The group is thus simultaneously committed to the decrees of Iranian clerics, the Lebanese state, its sectarian Shiite community within Lebanon, and fellow Shiites abroad.

The consequences of these competing ideological drivers was clear in July 2006, when Hezbollah dragged Israel and Lebanon into a war neither state wanted by crossing the U.N.-demarcated border between the two countries, killing three Israeli soldiers, and kidnapping two more in an ambush. They came to the fore again two years later, when Hezbollah took over West Beirut by force of arms, turning its weapons of "resistance" against fellow Lebanese citizens. When the chips are down, Hezbollah's commitment to Iran

trumps its identity as a Lebanese political movement.

The ties that bind Hezbollah's political leadership with its international illicit activities are also unmistakable. According to a CIA document, even before Hassan Nasrallah rose to the position of secretary-general in 1992, he was "directly involved in many Hizballah terrorist operations, including hostage taking, airline hijackings, and attacks against Lebanese rivals."

Time and again, Hezbollah's political personalities have been tied to the group's terrorist and criminal activities. Consider a major case in the United States: In 2008, while Hezbollah operative Ali Karaki was planning a Hezbollah attack in Azerbaijan's capital, Baku, his brother, Hasan Antar Karaki, was helping lead a broad criminal conspiracy to sell counterfeit and stolen currency in Philadelphia. Luckily, Hasan Antar Karaki sold his wares to an undercover FBI informant posing as a member of the Philadelphia criminal underworld. Hasan Antar Karaki proved to be a major figure in Hezbollah's forgery operations, and he provided an FBI source with fraudulent British and Canadian passports.

Meanwhile, in meetings in Lebanon and the United States, Hasan Antar Karaki's associate, Hassan Hodroj, a Hezbollah spokesman and the head of its Palestinian

issues portfolio within the group's political echelon, sought to procure a long list of sophisticated weapons in a black-market scheme involving Hezbollah operatives across the globe. According to court documents, Hodroj wanted "heavy machinery" for the "fight against Jews and to protect Lebanon." But move forward with caution, Hodroj counseled an undercover FBI source, because someone in the United States could "go to jail for 100 years" if caught dealing with Hezbollah.

In light of cases like this one, in which people overtly affiliated with Hezbollah's political activities are engaged in criminal and terrorist activities, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate Hezbollah's overt activities from its covert behavior. "Little is known about [the Hezbollah military wing's] internal command hierarchy," a Western government report noted in 2012, "due to its highly secretive nature and use of sophisticated protective measures."

The structure and manpower of Hezbollah's terrorist operation, which is responsible for its financial and logistical activities as well as its terrorist operations abroad, are similarly opaque. We do know, however, that Hezbollah's terrorist network, the Islamic Jihad Organization (IJO), was formally founded in 1983 when Hezbollah master terrorist Imad Mughniyeh fled to

Iran after orchestrating the October 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine Corps and French military barracks in Beirut with his brother-in-law, Mustafa Badreddine.

This much is clear: Since its founding, Hezbollah has developed a sophisticated organizational and leadership structure. The overall governing authority, the Majlis al-Shura (Consultative Council), wields all decision-making power and directs several subordinate functional councils. Each functional council reports directly to the Majlis al-Shura, which, as Hezbollah Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem wrote in his book, is "in charge of drawing the overall vision and policies, overseeing the general strategies for the party's function, and taking political decisions."

U.S. assessments echo Qassem's description. "Hezbollah has a unified leadership structure that oversees the organization's complementary, partially compartmentalized elements," reads a Congressional Research Service report.

The secretary-general, currently Nasrallah, presides over the Majlis al-Shura and functions as the group's leader under the authority of the "jurist theologian" Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader. Five administrative bodies, organized around thematic responsibilities, run Hezbollah's political, military (jihad), parliamentary, executive, and judicial

activities. The Majlis al-Shura considers all elements of the group's activities, including its political and military wings, as part of one holistic entity.

According to Hezbollah's top officials, this unity of purpose among the group's diverse activities is essential to its success. "If the military wing were separated from the political wing, this would have repercussions, and it would reflect on the political scene," Qassem told a Lebanese paper in 2000. "Hezbollah's secretary-general is the head of the Shura Council and also the head of the Jihad Council, and this means that we have one leadership, with one administration."

The Jihad Council is the functional council underneath the Majlis al-Shura responsible for all military matters. Qassem writes that it "comprises those in charge of resistance activity, be that in terms of oversight, recruitment, training, equipment, security, or any other resistance-related endeavors." To accomplish its mission, the council is divided into several smaller units in charge of protecting the leadership and carrying out internal and external surveillance, as well as overseas operations. The party's security branch is further broken down into three subgroups: central, preventive, and overseas security. In 2000, a dedicated counterintelligence branch was reportedly founded as well.

Under this structure, Hezbollah's militia and terrorist activities, along with its security organ, all report to the Jihad Council. Until he was killed, Mughniyeh was Hezbollah's top militant commander and reportedly led the Jihad Council himself. By some accounts, he also held a seat on the Majlis al-Shura, which would be typical for the party's standing military commander.

Unlike its sister councils, however, the Jihad Council enjoys strategic ambiguity. Neither the majority of Hezbollah officials nor the party's elected parliamentarians are aware of the details of their party's covert military and terrorist activities, which are decided on by the most senior leadership. According to the U.S. government, these activities are "executed" by the leadership of Hezbollah's military apparatus, known as the Islamic Resistance and led by Badreddine, and by the IJO, led by Talal Hamiyah, and they are "overseen" by Nasrallah.

Europe's approach to Hezbollah has been varied. Many European governments have resisted international efforts to designate the organization as a terrorist group by distinguishing between Hezbollah's political and military wings. Britain distinguishes among Hezbollah's terrorist wing (the Islamic Jihad Organization), military wing, and political wing, and the country banned the IJO in 2000 and the

military wing in 2008. The Netherlands, however, designated Hezbollah a terrorist entity in 2004 without distinguishing between the group's political and military wings. A 2004 Dutch intelligence report highlighted investigations that show "Hezbollah's political and terrorist wings are controlled by one co-ordinating council."

The European Union has taken action against Hezbollah's interests in the past. In May 2002, the European Union froze the assets of a non-European terrorist group for the first time by adding seven Hezbollah-affiliated individuals, including Mughniyeh, to its financial sanctions list for terrorism. It did not, however, sanction Hezbollah as an organization. On March 10, 2005, the European Parliament passed a nonbinding resolution recognizing that "clear evidence exists of terrorist activities on the part of Hezbollah" and calling on the European Council to take "all necessary steps to curtail them."

But the necessary steps did not occur. Instead, most European countries preferred to make convenient distinctions between the different parts of Hezbollah, even when the group's own leadership does not.

Today, as European leaders consider whether to label Hezbollah a terrorist group, they should judge the group by the totality of its actions. Hezbollah cannot be

forgiven its criminal, terrorist, or militant pursuits simply because it also engages in political or humanitarian ones. As the Burgas bus bombing demonstrates, the Party of God can and has mobilized operatives for everything from criminal enterprises to terrorist attacks well beyond Lebanon's borders.

And though Hezbollah is composed of multiple committees and branches, it operates as a single entity. Hezbollah, the U.S. intelligence community has determined, is "a multifaceted, disciplined organization that combines political, social, paramilitary, and terrorist elements" and is one in which decisions "to resort to arms or terrorist tactics [are] carefully calibrated."

Hezbollah's Qassem, speaking in October 2012, concurred: "We don't have a military wing and a political one; we don't have Hezbollah on one hand and the resistance party on the other.… Every element of Hezbollah, from commanders to members as well as our various capabilities, are in the service of the resistance, and we have nothing but the resistance as a priority," he said.

Maybe it is time Western leaders finally listened to him.

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Article 6.

The Atlantic

A Middle-Class Paradise in Palestine?

Armin Rosen

Feb 11 2013 -- The sole outlet to Rawabi sits off a dizzying two-lane highway flanked by round, scraggly hills. In this part of the West Bank, just north of where the Jerusalem suburbs thin into a dry, granite-gray wilderness, the mountains seem to aid in the illusion that Israeli and Palestinian spheres of authority can remain perfectly, even harmoniously separate. Arabs use the road to get to the Palestinian-controlled cities of Bir Zeit and Ramallah; for Jewish Israelis, the road connects the Jerusalem

area to settlements deep inside the northern half of the West Bank.

Ramallah's skyline is barely discernible on a hazy day. Ateret, a red-gabled settlement of about 90 families that sits high above the Rawabi junction -- a community which would likely either be vacated or incorporated into a Palestinian state under a future peace agreement -- flickers in and out of view with every delirious knot in the road. Even a concrete pillbox looming over the highest point along the highway is abandoned, its connection to the territory's oddly invisible occupying army marked only by a tattered Israeli flag that no one has bothered to steal or replace.

Last year was the first since 1973 in which no Israeli citizen was killed in a terrorist attack originating from the West Bank. As on the newly-pacified Gaza-Israel border, a tense quiet pervades things here, although a bright red sign at the junction reminds one category of motorist not to feel too complacent. "This road leads to Area 'A' Under the Palestinian Authority," it reads in Arabic, Hebrew, and broken English. "The entrance for Israeli citizens is forbidden, dangerous to your lives and is against the Israeli law." At the Rawabi junction these warnings of latent danger are almost comically off-base, partly because of the only other marker at the turnoff: a

light-green arrow sagging off of a nearby post.

No one lives at the end of the road, which is every bit as wavy and disorienting as the adjoining highway. It empties into a scene that seems engineered for maximum bewilderment: three high-rise cranes, topped with fluttering Palestinian flags, tower over massive stone and concrete building frames. Cement-mixers, painted the same shade of light green as the arrow at the turnoff and marked with the project's logo -- a wiry oval with a cute little convex loop at the end, like a child's drawing of a heart that could also be a tree -- line up to receive material from a buzzing, state-of-the-art plant. The construction site, a couple turns up-road of the cement factory, is swarming with workers in green hardhats. Spotless SUVs with the Rawabi logo on the door speed from one side of the site to another.

Rawabi, which will be the first Palestinian planned city in the West Bank, runs from the top of the mountain to the valley below, with its highest point sitting at an elevation slightly higher than Ateret, which is now constantly visible. In contrast, the chaos of Ramallah, stronghold of an insolvent and sclerotic Palestinian Authority, feels distant in more senses than one.

Rawabi represents something totally new -- a visionary Palestinian-directed private

sector project, with support from both Israeli businesses and a major Arab government. It has the potential to shift the conversation on the region's future on both sides of the Green Line. It could convince Palestinians -- and the rest of the world -- that the future of the West Bank shouldn't be shackled to Ramallah or Jerusalem's vacillating willingness to hash out fundamental issues. It could prove that there's an appetite, both among Palestinian consumers and foreign donors, for the creation of a social and economic existence in the West Bank that's de-coupled, insomuch as currently possible, from the Middle East's tense and labyrinthine politics.

It would also help solidify the benefits of the current cessation in hostilities. Indeed, Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas's progress in fostering the end of violent resistance in the West Bank in the years after the bloody Second Intifada, coupled with Palestinian Prime Minister Salaam Fayyad's widely-respected institution-building initiative, could get a crucial private sector assist through Rawabi's eventual success.

And Rawabi gets at something even more fundamental. "It touches upon all of the core issues of control and sovereignty," says Robert Danin, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations who, as head of the Quartet mission in Jerusalem from 2008 to

2010, witnessed some of the political discussions that accompanied the project's creation. "This could be a huge, iconic victory for the whole strategy of building Palestine from the bottom up rather than trying to build it at the negotiating table," he says.

Its success would prove just how much power Palestinians can, and indeed already do, have in shaping their future. And its failure could prove the exact opposite.

I visited Rawabi two weeks ago with a group of national security professionals, as part of a trip organized by the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a Washington, DC-based think tank. (All of the photos in the body of the article are mine.) We were taken around the construction site by a young Palestinian engineer who conveyed the vast ambition underlying the project: When the city is completed, she said, it will house 45,000 people in 23 distinct neighborhoods with innocuous, nature-based names like "Flint," and "Hard Rock". (Rawabi is Arabic for "Hills".) There will be eight schools -- some of them built with the help of the U.S. Agency for International Development -- a "huge park," a convention center, an 850-seat indoor theater, and a 20,000-seat amphitheater carved into a hillside.

Most ambitiously, there will be a commercial center that developers hope

will bring in between 3,000 and 5,000 permanent jobs within the next five years -- hopefully, we were told, in the informational technology sector (an aspiration that might imply a certain cooperation with the burgeoning tech industry on the other side of the Green Line). The engineer said that Rawabi had already created 3,000 construction jobs for West Bank Palestinians. The city is Palestinian-designed and Palestinian-built -- making the surfeit of Qatari flags at the construction site somewhat puzzling at first. And while the project does not purchase materials from Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the engineer was hardly shy in explaining that Rawabi would add an estimated $85 million to the Israeli economy.

As we drove around the construction site, the engineer's talk made few demands on the imagination. The sheer scale of the project is already obvious. Within the next 18 months, the first phase, which includes six neighborhoods, a mosque, the amphitheater, and two-thirds of the city's commercial center, will be complete, and 3,000 people are scheduled will move into Rawabi by the end of 2013. Apartment blocks built of a local white stone -- "Rawabi stone," the engineer called it -- are already rising out of a network of concentric ring-roads centered on the top of the hill. Most of these roads have already

been paved, and there are terraced retaining walls, built out of thick stacks of local sandstone, running all the way to the bottom of the valley. No bleachers have been installed in the amphitheater yet, but it's fairly far along, with the future seating area fanning into a wide notch in the mountainside. There are attractive stone signs bearing the stylized Arabic names of neighborhoods that haven't been built yet.

The future commercial center is also well on its way to completion. Situated on a shelf slightly below the summit of the hill, the complex of office buildings, hotels, theaters, and a convention center will huddle around a broad outdoor plaza, which will be connected to the lower neighborhoods through a wide flight of stairs. The stairs, plaza, and central buildings are already past their skeletal phase, and the high-rise apartments ringing the city center look like they're almost complete. For now, the commercial core is a jumble of dust and brutal concrete surfaces, but in the future, someone lingering in the cafés near the staircase will enjoy phenomenal views of the rugged hill country, and perhaps even glimpses of the Jordan River Valley on a clear day.

It is still possible to remain unconvinced of Rawabi's reality -- doubtful as to whether that café will ever be built, or whether any middle class-Palestinian desirous of a generic middle class existence will ever

linger there. There's abundant reason for skepticism. The project's future depends on the Israeli authorities' willingness to allow for the construction of access roads in "Area C," or West Bank territory under the direct control of Israel. The sole existing route into the city only exists because the Israeli government, after years of bureaucratic and high-level diplomatic wrangling, granted Rawabi's developers a permit for a "temporary" road. Technically, they will have to destroy the road when the current permission expires. And even if the Israelis agree to make the road permanent, one two-lane route is hardly adequate for a city of 45,000 people. Developers claim it isn't even adequate to the needs of the current construction site.

Water is another challenge. Negotiations with Israel and the Palestinian Water Authority are ongoing, and developers say they have held in excess of 100 meetings with Israeli officials on water-related issues alone. Developers admit that they aren't sure where the city's water resources will eventually come from, and the construction site only got running water two months ago.

And they'll admit that attracting jobs to the site is an even bigger challenge than Israel's West Bank regime. Rawabi isn't meant to be a bedroom community of Ramallah. It's meant to be a self-contained city, with office and retail space. The jobs haven't

quite materialized yet (although the developers have a slight head start: between 200 and 300 call center-type jobs currently based in Ramallah are scheduled to move into Rawabi when the first phase of construction is complete). If the political or security situation seriously deteriorates -- if the checkpoints return, if the Israelis are forced to re-occupy urban areas ceded to the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo Accords, as happened during the Second Intifada; if Hamas wages a violent takeover of the Palestinian government -- all bets are off. The developers don't seem to be bothered by those possibilities right now. At the showroom, built at the very top of the hill, the future is nothing but bright.

I chatted with another site engineer as we walked through a scale-model mock-up of a typical Rawabian street, where happy families in western dress waved from little video screens inset in plastic apartment windows. I asked her about the Qatari flags I had seen around the construction site. Qatar's state investment fund is footing two thirds of the nearly $1 billion project bill, she said. "This is the biggest investment in the history of Palestine," she explained as we stepped over a fake valley in the next room, walking past a mock-up of a stunning hilltop view contained inside a mock-up of a future apartment suite. The Rawabians will apparently own large flat-screen TVs and stylish coffee tables, and

their living spaces will be kept mercilessly clean.

What, of that $1 billion investment, was going to Israel, I asked? Israeli companies were providing cement powder and sand, she said, and the project had consulted with "Israeli experts." "In some cases, you have to do that," she said, alluding to the comparative difficulty of importing building materials through neighboring Jordan. In other words, working with the Israelis was a necessary business decision for a project this large and complex.

The fake street, fake valley, fake apartment-display ended in a pleasant sky-lit lobby, where representatives of the Cairo Amman Bank, Arab Islamic Bank, and Arab Bank sat in logoed glass cubicles, available to discuss financing for future purchases. And for the still-skeptical, there's a six-minute 3-D movie, where the city appears in its completed glory -- a place where families picnic, men in business dress greet each other amid bustling plazas, and fireworks crest over soaring apartment towers topped with solar panels. The architecture is tasteful. These aren't dachas plunked on fake islands off the coast of Dubai. It's the kind of place where I, or just about anyone in the world with middle or even upper-middle class aspirations, would want to live. And it looked weirdly familiar.

The group had a chance to visit with Bashar Masri, the Nablus-born founder and CEO of Massar International, the Palestinian conglomerate financing a third of Rawabi. Massar and Qatar Diar, the real estate investment arm of the government of Qatar's sovereign wealth fund, jointly created Bayti Real Estate Investment Company -- Palestine to build and market Rawabi. But if two-thirds of the project's money is coming from Qatar, the vision behind Rawabi is Masri's.

Massar owns a private equity fund that invests in Palestinian agriculture and natural gas distribution. It runs travel agencies in Jordan and brokerage firms in Serbia. Massar invests in Harvest Export, which sells Palestinian produce to consumers in Russia and Western Europe -- as well as in Israel. Two years ago, Masri made headlines when he attempted to purchase a bankrupt Jewish housing development in East Jerusalem. He helped create an online trading and brokerage platform for Palestine's stock exchange.

Masri has lived outside of Palestine for periods of his life, and is, by all accounts, largely untainted by connections to the PA's notoriously rent-seeking inner circle. He's a trim middle-aged man, smartly-dressed, friendly and approachable. There seemed no more appropriate a place to talk to him one-on-one than on a wide terrace overlooking the construction site, with

hills, valleys, and rising apartment blocks -- the future he was in the process of building -- stretched out in front of him.

"On a good, clear day, you can see Tel Aviv, Ashdod, and Ashkelon," he told me. "One-third of Palestine and Israel." Rawabi is in the second-largest, yet most sparsely-populated Area A in the West Bank -- from the terrace, which faces away from Ateret, you can see expanses of mostly-empty hills. Perhaps in Masri's mind, they are awaiting Rawabis of their own. When I returned to Washington, I asked him in a phone interview if he viewed his project as the first of many such planned cities in Palestine. "I always say our success is measured not by how many homes we sell. It is measured when a second Rawabi is established," he told me.

Standing on the terrace, I asked him if his willingness to undertake such a massive project reflected any optimism about the coming years -- no one invests this much time, money, and energy into something if they expect war is on the horizon. "This project is built for today's politics," he replied. "If it gets a little worse, or a little better -- fine. If it gets really bad, we're in trouble. If it doesn't, then great. We're not waiting on a breakthrough."

He estimated that Israeli obstruction had delayed the project by a year and a half. The bureaucratic inertia could continue:

For instance, developers were surprised to find out that, by a quirk in the West Bank's notoriously Byzantine and palimpsestic legal codes, they required the approval of a joint Israeli-Palestinian water commission created through the Oslo Accords to build a sewage treatment plant in an Area A, approval that they recently received. There's also the still-unresolved matter of the access road. But thus far, Rawabi had flourished in spite of delays and inconveniences.

Could it survive its isolation, though -- could this hilltop off of a two-lane highway get enough water and electricity to support 45,000 people living at a middle class standard? "There is nothing here at all. We're out in the boondocks," he conceded. "We're building everything from scratch." One needed only to glance at the busy construction site below to understand that Masri considers this a point of pride, far from a potential death-sentence for his project.

I asked Masri about something that had jumped out at me during the 3-D video. The finished Rawabi, I'd noted, had the same terraced garden parks, stoic, modular apartment design, and concentric hilltop roads that I had seen in Talpiyot Misrach, a new neighborhood on the fringes of West Jerusalem. His city looked very, well, Israeli.

"This place is influenced by Reston, Virginia," he said -- Masri is a Virginia Tech alumnus, and had lived in the Washington, DC area earlier in life. It was, he said, influenced by planned suburbs outside of Cairo. "And it's influenced by Modi'in," he added, explaining that the site's engineers and designers (who were entirely Palestinian, we had been told earlier), had traveled to the Israeli city, which is built around similar topography, for inspiration.

Palestinians have long understood that a western-style standard of living was possible in their part of the world. They knew that places like Rawabi already existed minutes from their own homes, but didn't think that the quality of life epitomized by hilltop settlements and cities in Israel -- places they weren't allowed to visit without an official permit from the military -- was accessible to them.

During our phone interview, Masri talked about the astonishment that Palestinians feel when they visit the construction site. "When [Palestinians] come to Rawabi, and they go through the showroom and they see what we have planned for them, and they see it actually being built, they say, 'Wow, this can't be for us. This is not for us. This is too high of a standard for us because we are supposed to live miserably under the occupation'. Then they come to the other

side of the showroom and see the city being built, and reality starts sinking in."

It's a type of living closely associated with the Palestinians' neighbors in Israel. "They know very well that just a 20-minute drive away, there's a community with a much higher standard of living. And that community happened to be one representing the occupier, quote-unquote the 'enemy.' But they would love to live like that. And that's why when they come to Rawabi some of them don't believe this is for them initially. The first thing that goes through their mind is that this could be for the Israelis."

But it is for them. Rawabi's significance could lie in something more mundane than basic issues of sovereignty and control in the West Bank. It lies in the common, human desire -- powerful on either side of the Green Line -- for a comfortable and dignified existence.

In some quarters, this idea of working within the present and less-than-ideal political and economic framework to achieve this goal is nothing short of inflammatory. The U.S.-based, anti-peace process website Electronic Intifada has smeared Masri as an Israeli collaborator, and there have been scattered accusations that the project actually legitimizes Israeli control over the West Bank.

Danin says that Masri is faced with a difficult balancing act. "On the one hand you're denying the occupation, and you're saying you do not accept its legitimacy," he says. "But that doesn't mean you won't work with Israel in order to improve the Palestinian situation with the goal of removing the occupation. That's a difficult message to convey successfully."

Masri rejects the notion that he abetting a problematic status quo. "The vast majority of Palestinians understand and know reality," he said. "There is no home in Palestine without Israeli cement and parts. Every construction project in Palestine must have components from Israel. So it's not like I'm doing something different."

Of course, he doesn't like that Israel has so much control over Palestinian imports, and the West Bank economy in general. "This is the occupation," he said. "I'm not happy about that and that's why we strive for a state of our own." But he likened boycotting Israeli products to boycotting products from the United Kingdom, the United States, or other countries supportive of Israel -- something he wouldn't consider. The only people he won't buy from are the West Bank settlers.

Luckily, Masri's vision has the backing of a powerful regional government -- one that does not officially recognize Israel, and whose actions have often had the effect of

strengthening some of the Jewish State's sworn enemies.

The Gulf kingdom of Qatar has done more than simply buy into the Rawabi paradigm: It's also funding two-thirds of the project, to the tune of over $600 million. This is enough money to single-handedly finance the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority -- which is effectively broke, thanks to penalties imposed by the Israeli and U.S. governments after Mahmoud Abbas's successful push for a U.N. General Assembly vote on Palestinian U.N. membership, and a freeze in financial aid from Gulf State donors, most notably Saudi Arabia -- for the better part of a year.

Instead, the Qataris have not only bypassed the PA, but channeled money into a project that seems to prove the PA's uselessness. "It's like an island inside the traditional infrastructure of the PA," says Jonathan Schanzer, vice president of research at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and author of a book on Palestinian internal politics. "It shows everyone what you can do if you don't go through the PA. The PA receives $600 million a year [in foreign aid] and they have not done something like this."

Masri says that the leadership of the PA has been fully supportive, but that Rawabi has been hurt by the Palestinian government's lack of capacity. "We should not be

building public schools. We should not be building a waste water treatment plant or waste water networks or water reservoirs," he told me. "Unfortunately we have to do that because the Palestinian Authority does not have the funding and the donors let [the PA] down."

There might be a political calculation behind Qatar's decision to throw an amount of money equivalent to two years of U.S. financial aid to the PA behind a single private-sector figure like Masri. Qatar recently announced plans to invest nearly $400 million in the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip, and in October of 2012, Qatari Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani became the first head of state to visit the Strip after the Islamist militant group's 2007 takeover. Hamas politburo chief Khaled Meshaal lives in Doha, and Qatar Diar is financing a major development in Sudan, whose cash-strapped government enjoys close relations with Iran, and has facilitated the transfer of long-range rockets to Hamas. In short, Qatar supports an E.U. and U.S. listed terrorist organization bitterly opposed to both Israel and the current PA leadership. And it also has no problem investing in Rawabi.

According to Kamran Bokhari, vice president of Middle Eastern and South Asian affairs for Stratfor, Qatari support for Hamas is part of the sheikhdom's larger, post-Arab Spring strategy of siding with

the Middle East's Islamists, and specifically the Muslim brotherhood, whom the Qataris view as the region's rising power. "The Qatari strategy is that the situation has changed, and we need to fend for ourselves and ensure that the regional anarchy is not going to impact us," says Bokhari. The Qatari investment in Rawabi -- which feeds an $85 million investment in the Israeli economy, and which could not have happened without some degree of official Israeli approval -- is an example of this larger geopolitical strategy, which is driven more by perceived self-interest than by an ideological affinity for political Islam.

"Investments in the region are about the return on political influence," adds Gregory Gause, a professor at the University of Vermont and a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution-Doha. He noted the presence of a large American airbase in Qatar, and the country's close relations with the United States.

In the Palestinian territories, as in the broader region, the Qataris are supporting secular and religious forces in a way that will maximize their influence and keep the regional balance as favorable for them as possible. In a sense, the same strategic calculus that convinces Qatar to support Hamas allows them to cooperate with Israel and the West Bank private sector as well.

"I think Qatar is going by the ground reality," says Bokhari. "Fatah, the ruling faction of the PA, is essentially tanking. It's really in a state of decline because of corruption and charges of embezzlement. It's got an aging leadership. There's no dynamism left in the group. There's a lot of factionalism. It's almost like an oligarchy."

Rawabi could be Qatar's way of encouraging the currently-calm status quo in the West Bank, but without obviously upgrading their ties to Israel, or throwing their money behind a political establishment that they don't fully trust. "On one end they need to make sure Fatah does not completely collapse or weaken to the point where they're no longer coherent," says Bokhari, "and Hamas needs to be shaped and contained and shepherded in a way that it doesn't grow into anything larger."

Though there are politics underlying Qatar's investment in Rawabi, it is still, inevitably, a financial decision. "You have serious people who have a lot at risk here," Danin says. "Their goal is not primarily to make a political point. Their goal is to recoup their investment and make some money." Even resource-rich Qatar, which wants to diversity its holdings in order to hedge against long-term shifts in the oil and natural gas market, cares whether its investment choices pay off.

Danin believes that Rawabi's Palestinian and Qatari investors made a wise decision. Housing in Ramallah is expensive, and Danin says that there is a sizable and highly-educated Palestinian middle class in need of an alternative to the West Bank's de-facto capital. He expressed little doubt when I asked him if the West Bank economy could support Rawabi. "This is a Palestinian national project," he said. "It is the best of what is possible in that it's private sector-led, and it's profit-making led."

And it has supporters in high places. When President Barack Obama met with Israeli officials in Washington in September of 2010, Rawabi was on the agenda.

From one perspective, Rawabi is a historic investment in Palestine, as well as an unusually open point of cooperation between Israel and an Arab government. It could improve the lives of Palestinians, while convincing Israelis that they have nothing to fear from their neighbors' prosperity. But any attempts to change the status quo in the West Bank are fraught with difficulties.

There's Israeli bureaucracy to overcome. "In Israel, if the Minister of Defense says I want something, it's not that the system thwarts it. But the system is so decentralized that ultimately it takes a lot of steps to get it translated into action,"

says Danin. Israeli officials are positively disposed towards Rawabi, but it's still taken years to resolve sovereignty and governance issues around necessities like water, and a single access road. Such Israeli inertia was apparently at the heart of Obama's concerns back in 2010, and sources say that the president has discussed the issue of the access road with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on multiple occasions.

Back in Washington, I asked Masri if he believed the Israelis understood the potential importance of Rawabi. "I really don't know," he said. "Their statements are neutral to positive. But their actions are neutral to negative."

And then there's the larger inertia. What meaning does a place like Rawabi have if it sits in the middle of a still-unresolved conflict, or if Palestinian economic self-improvement stands in contrast to an all-pervading political stasis -- or even political backsliding? Today, Rawabi is significant because of its novelty. But if there's a breakthrough in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, perhaps enabled by a growing West Bank economy and a permanent end in terrorism, it could take on an importance much larger than itself.

On the drive out of the valley, where the highway swerves past the pillbox with the

beaten Israeli flag and past the turnoff for Ateret, the picture is still mixed.

Armin Rosen writes for and produces The Atlantic*'s International Channel.*

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The Wall Street Journal

The Ayatollah Always Says No

Editorial

February 8, 2013 --The Farsi word for "no" is na h, which is easy enough to remember. Maybe even Joe Biden won't forget it the next time the U.S. tries to reach out diplomatically to Iran.

We're speaking of the Administration's latest effort to come to terms with Tehran over its nuclear programs, which Mr. Biden made last weekend at the Munich Security Conference. The U.S. offer of direct bilateral talks, he said, "stands, but it must be real and tangible." Iranian foreign minister Ali Akbar Salehi, who was also at the conference though he refused to meet with U.S. officials, called Mr. Biden's comments "a step forward."

Mr. Salehi's remark set the usual hearts aflutter that Iran is finally serious about a deal. But the optimism was brief. On Thursday, Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei flatly rejected direct talks with the U.S. "The U.S. is pointing a gun at Iran and wants us to talk to them," he said. "Direct talks will not solve any problems."

This isn't the first time Mr. Khamenei has played chaste Daphne to President Obama's infatuated Apollo. Just after becoming President in 2009, Mr. Obama sent the Ayatollah two private letters and delivered a conciliatory speech for the Persian new year of Nowruz. Mr. Khamenei's answer: "They chant the slogan of change but no change is seen in practice." He told a crowd chanting "death to America" that "if a hand is stretched covered with a velvet glove but it is cast iron inside, that makes no sense."

That was in March 2009. In October of that year the U.S. and its allies tentatively worked out a deal with Iranian negotiators to move some of

their enriched uranium outside Iran. Western analysts were confident that Mr. Khamenei would give his blessing, given the international pressure he was said to be under following the fraudulent elections and the bloody crackdown that followed.

The Ayatollah quashed that deal too: "Whenever they [Americans] smile at the officials of the Islamic revolution, when we carefully look at the situation, we notice that they are hiding a dagger behind their back."

It was the same in January 2011, when diplomacy also collapsed. Ditto in 2012, when negotiations in February, May and June each ended in failure. Washington went into those talks thinking they were going to succeed on the theory that Tehran desperately wants relief from the supposedly crippling pressure of economic sanctions.

Why does the Ayatollah keep saying no? The conventional wisdom is that previous U.S. offers weren't generous enough, or that the wrong President was in the White House, or that Iran wants only to deal directly with the U.S. and not in multilateral forums. Each of these theories has been tested and shown to be false.

A more persuasive explanation—get ready for this shocker—is that Iran really wants a bomb. The regime believes, not unreasonably, that Moammar Gadhafi would still be in power had he not given up his nuclear program in 2003. Mr. Khamenei also fears a "velvet revolution" scenario, in which more normal ties with the West threaten the ideological foundations of the Islamic Republic. Confrontation with America is in this regime's DNA.

Meantime, the pretense of negotiations has allowed Tehran to play for time to advance its programs. When Mr. Obama took office, Iran had enriched 1,000 kilos of reactor-grade uranium. In its last report from November, U.N. inspectors found that Iran has produced 7,611 kilos to reactor grade, along with 232 kilos of uranium enriched to 20%, which is close to bomb-grade. Last month, Iran declared that it would install 3,000 advanced centrifuges at its Natanz facility, which can enrich uranium at two to three times its current rate.

As for the sanctions, they may hurt ordinary Iranians but this regime is famously indifferent to the suffering of its own people. The Ayatollah also doesn't seem to take the Administration's talk about "all options being on the table" seriously. Mr. Obama's nomination of Iran dove Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense reinforces that impression, as do reports that the White House blocked Pentagon and CIA plans to arm the opposition that's fighting to overthrow Iran's client regime in Damascus. An America that won't help proxies in a proxy war isn't likely to take the fight directly to Iran's nuclear facilities.

In rejecting Mr. Biden's offer, the Ayatollah said frankly, "I'm not a diplomat; I'm a revolutionary." Another round of multilateral talks with Iran is set to resume this month, but maybe Joe Biden and his boss should start taking no for an answer.

Article 2.

Foreign Policy

Let's face it: Obama's Iran policy is failing

James Traub

February 8, 2013 -- There is no better example of an Obama administration initiative that has succeeded on its own terms, and yet failed as policy, than Iran. By engaging the regime in Tehran, and being rebuffed, the White House has been able to enlist China, Russia, and the European Union in imposing tough sanctions on Iran. By steadily ratcheting up those sanctions, the administration has been able to gradually squeeze the Iranian economy. By insisting that "containment" is not an option, Obama has persuaded Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that he need not launch an attack on Iran's nuclear facilities -- at least not any time soon.

Obama has done everything right, and yet his Iran policy is failing. There is no evidence that the sanctions will bring Iran to its knees and force the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, to accept the humiliation of abandoning his nuclear program. But neither is there any sign of new thinking in the White House. "I don't see how what didn't work last year is going to work this year," says Vali Nasr, who served in the Obama State Department before becoming dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He might not get much of an argument from White House officials, who, the New York Times recently noted, "seem content with stalemate."

The United States is not negotiating directly with Iran but rather doing so through the P5+1, which consists of the five permanent Security Council members and Germany. The P5+1's current position is that Iran must stop enriching nuclear fuel to 20 percent purity -- a point from which Iran could quickly move to weapons-grade material -- transfer its existing stock of such fuel to a third country, and shut down one of its two enrichment facilities, known as Fordow. In exchange, the parties will help Iran produce such fuel for medical purposes, which the regime claims is its actual goal. Iran has refused, saying it will not shut down Fordow.

But the current state of play masks the larger issue, which is that the ayatollah and those around him believe the United States wants to make Iran cry uncle -- which happens to be true. The next round of P5+1 negotiations, now scheduled for Feb. 25 in Kazakhstan, are almost certainly not going to go anywhere unless the United States signals that it is prepared to make what the Iranians view as meaningful and equivalent moves in exchange for Iranian concessions. Arms-control experts say that both British Prime Minister David Cameron and Catherine Ashton, head of foreign affairs for the European Union, favor offering Iran a reduction in sanctions; but there's a limit to what they can do without the United States.

Of course, such flexibility would be pointless if Iran is simply hell-bent on gaining the capacity to produce a nuclear weapon. The signals, as always with Iran, are cryptic. Iranian authorities have told nuclear inspectors that they plan to install a new generation of centrifuges in order to accelerate

enrichment. And yet Iran also chose to convert some of its stockpile of highly enriched uranium for medical use rather than approach the amount needed for a bomb, leading Israeli authorities to predict that Iran wouldn't be able to build a bomb before 2015 or 2016. Last week, Ali Akbar Velayati, Khamenei's foreign policy advisor, publicly criticized officials who have treated the negotiations dismissively. Presumably, he was thinking of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who has compared Iran's nuclear program to a train without brakes.

Iran is now at the outset of what promises to be a raucous presidential election, and may be no more capable of serious negotiations between now and June than the United States was in 2012. But what is clear is that the sanctions have moderated Iranian behavior and rhetoric. At the same time, as the Times also noted, the economic pressure is not nearly great enough to compel concessions that the regime would view as a blow to national pride. In short, Iran might -- might -- be more willing to accept a face-saving compromise than they were a year or two ago, but will need serious inducements to do so.

What would that entail? Virtually all the proposals that have come from outside experts suggest that the P5+1 begin with modest confidence-building measures, especially in the period before the election. A recent report by the Arms Control Association enumerates several of them. Western diplomats, for example, could take up Ali Akbar Salehi, Iran's foreign minister, on his proposal to limit the "extent" of enrichment -- i.e., well below 20 percent -- in exchange for fuel rods for the research reaction and a recognition of Iran's "right to enrich," a notional concept the United States already supports under specified conditions. Or Iran could suspend 20-percent enrichment in exchange for a suspension of new sanctions. But Iran is unlikely to accept even such small steps unless it felt that additional moves would win additional explicit concessions.

Beyond that, the outlines of what in Middle East peacemaking is known as "final status" are clear enough: Iran agrees to verifiable inspections to ensure that it does not enrich uranium beyond 3.5 percent and does not pursue a nuclear weapons program, while the West accepts Iran's "right to enrich" and dismantles sanctions. Of course, the outlines of a Middle East

peace deal are clear enough, too. But in both cases, neither side trusts the other, and each demands that the other go first. Instead, nobody goes anywhere.

U.S. officials have very good reason to be wary of Iran's bona fides. In 2009, they reached a deal with Iranian negotiators to send the stockpile of highly enriched uranium out of the country -- only to see the ayatollah repudiate it. As Ray Takeyh, an Iran expert with the Council on Foreign Relations puts it, "Khamenei has created a politics where it's hard for him to compromise." But so has the United States. Anyone who watched Chuck Hagel's confirmation hearing knows that it is an article of faith in Congress -- and pretty much a bipartisan one -- that Iran is a faithless, illegitimate terrorist state that will be deterred from building a bomb only by the threat of massive attack. Had Hagel been foolish enough to suggest that the United States offer to reduce sanctions in exchange for Iranian concessions, the White House would have had to find a new candidate for defense secretary.

It's the U.S. Congress that arguably holds the high cards, though the White House put them in its hands. The most potent sanctions are legislated, and have been written in such a way that they will be very hard to unwind. Obama can waive them for up to six months. But the ayatollah is not about to make irreversible decisions in exchange for six months of relief.

The White House is thus stuck between Tehran and Capitol Hill. And it can't live long with the current stalemate. After all, Obama has said that "containment" is not an option. He is hoping that the combination of economic pain and fear of military action will bring Tehran to its senses. If it doesn't, the president has said that he is prepared to use force. Perhaps he feels that just as spurned engagement served as the predicate for tough sanctions, so would failed negotiations lay the predicate for a broadly supported strike against Iran's nuclear facilities. Iran left us no choice, he might say, as the bombers fly.

That would constitute a diplomatic triumph ... if a strike against Iran's nuclear facilities is a good idea. If in fact it's a dreadful prospect -- worse, perhaps, even than containment -- then it would constitute a failure that

would obliterate the record of adroit diplomacy of the last four years. Obama understands very well -- even if many members of Congress do not -- that even our worst adversaries have interests of their own, that those interests feel as legitimate to them as ours do to us, and that we at least have a chance of settling disputes with them if we can find the place where our interests overlap. The time has come for him to apply that wisdom to Iran.

James Traub is a fellow of the Center on International Cooperation.

Article 3.

The National

An uneasy courtship as Iran and Egypt test the waters

Alan Philps

Feb 8, 2013 -- There is a consensus among commentators that the visit of the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, to Egypt - complete with red carpet and kiss on both cheeks from President Mohammed Morsi - does not amount to a breakthrough. The view of US think-tanks is that it does not amount to very much at all, and certainly not worth getting anxious about. Such a consensus is always dangerous, and it is worth looking more closely at what it is based on.

Mr Ahmadinejad is the first Iranian leader to set foot in Cairo since the deposed Shah of Iran was given refuge in Cairo, where he died and received a state funeral. The two countries have not had diplomatic relations since 1979.

The Iranian president's visit has deep historical significance, even if he came as a guest of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference summit. The picture of the two presidents embracing says to the world: Egypt is

released from the US straitjacket and is free to resume its position as a regional power.

There are plenty of reasons, however, to dismiss the visit as just show. Mr Ahmadinejad is a lame duck, banned by the constitution from running for a third term in the June elections. As Iran moves into a period of war economy under the pressure of sanctions designed to curb its nuclear programme, Mr Ahmadinejad is engaged in a furious struggle to ensure that his rival, the parliamentary speaker, Ali Larijani, does not succeed him. The corruption allegations levelled by Mr Ahmadinejad against the Larijani family are deeply damaging to the Iranian regime.

Mr Morsi, meanwhile, has little to show Egyptians that he has improved their lot. Cairo is the scene of near-constant street battles and the economy is tanking. Egypt's currency reserves have just sunk to $13.6 billion (Dh50 billion), below the critical level needed to cover three months of imports. The country is staring bankruptcy in the face, but cannot access emergency funds from the International Monetary Fund without implementing unpopular reforms that would further raise social tensions.

Both leaders need to show that they have "friends" abroad. The reality is a little different. Egypt and Iran appear to be divided by the Syria conflict, which is symptomatic of the wider split between the Sunni Muslim powers, led by Saudi Arabia, and Iran's faltering "axis of resistance" that, with Syria in play and Hamas having defected, now looks increasingly like a Shia Muslim axis.

If we look more closely, then the story of Egypt resuming its role as a regional power looks premature. At this stage, Egypt is trying to find some space to manoeuvre between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Given that Saudi Arabia has the money that Egypt needs, and Washington has a lock on the actions of the IMF, that space is limited.

But what does Washington think? Not very much at the moment. With President Barack Obama's second term team still being assembled, it is not surprising that there is something of a vacuum in Middle East policy. But the issue is deeper than that. The Obama administration has declared it

wants to focus on the Asia-Pacific region and, surprisingly, it means what it says.

Only a year after troops withdrew from Iraq, that country is not talked about in Washington, like an embarrassing relative. In North Africa, the US military has taken a back seat while the work of toppling Colonel Muammar Qaddafi and driving back the jihadists in Mali has been left to Franco-British forces. Syrian policy is one of drift, where the administration finds all options unpalatable. In Egypt, Washington has set a red line for the Muslim Brotherhood leadership: it must adhere to the peace treaty with Israel. Everything else is negotiable.

This week the Pentagon revealed that it would no longer be stationing two aircraft carriers in the Gulf region, as it has done for most of the past two years, due to cuts in the defence budget, and the possibility of even more stringent ones if Congress fails to agree on raising the US debt ceiling.

The Iranian nuclear programme remains a priority in Washington, but the carrier decision indicates a less warlike stance. One cannot say that US power is ebbing, but there is a clear lack of political will in Washington for decisive action in the Middle East. For now, the logic is that regional powers will have to take more responsibility. Egypt, although impotent at the moment, will have to find its role. The US needs to talk to Iran if there is ever going to be a compromise on its nuclear programme. Maybe Egypt could help.

Both Egypt and Iran have denied a report that General Qassem Suleimani, commander of the Quds force, a division of the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the man responsible for Iran's military operations in Syria, visited Cairo in January. There was no reaction in Washington to this report.

If there is going to be a resolution of the Syrian crisis without a decade of Lebanon-style war, then allies of the US will have to speak to someone of the calibre of Gen Suleimani, a far more important figure than Mr Ahmadinejad. Could this lead to a historic compromise between the Muslim Brotherhood and the ayatollahs to create a new Islamic front spreading revolution?

That is out of the question. Egypt is too reliant on foreign finance, which Iran cannot offer at the moment, for it to swing into Tehran's orbit. And there is far too much domestic opposition.

What is clear is that while the US is reluctant to take direct responsibility, other countries must find ways of resolving the regional contradictions that have become unmanageable in the era of American tutelage. That will lead to some unlikely meetings taking place. The Morsi-Ahmadinejad embrace may not be a breakthrough, but it does show one thing: what was unthinkable a few years ago may one day be the norm.

Article 4.

Al-Monitor

Hamas Weighs Options For Recognizing Israel

Adnan Abu Amer

February 8 -- Recently, a lot has been said — and a lot of denials have been issued — about Hamas recognizing a two-state solution. It appears that Hamas is still vacillating between explicitly and implicitly recognizing Israel. Hamas realizes that recognizing Israel would open up the world's doors to the movement. At the same time, Hamas knows that such a move would be seen as a betrayal by the movement's supporters, both inside and outside Palestine. As Hamas well knows, its legitimacy derives from its vocal support for armed struggle within the complicated Palestinian reality. Hamas also knows that it will pay a heavy price if it is seen to be agreeing to international conditions. The cost will not only be political, but also ideological. Hamas has spent many years talking and writing about its notion of the state, its identity, borders, concept, constitution and the role of Islam within it. Generations of Hamas members were raised on those ideas. But those ideas have remained part

of the imagination and heritage, and of the nostalgic dream of restoring the Islamic caliphate.

The concept of the state

Today's debate within Hamas over the concept of the state is more concrete than theoretical. The political conditions in the Palestinian territories do not allow for dreaming about unrealistic grand theories being promoted by some Islamist movements. Hamas is facing real-world problems that require real-world solutions. The Palestinian state being envisioned by Palestinian, Arab, and world politicians is based on the June 1967 borders. But does that fit Hamas's political vision and intellectual orientation? Generations of Islamists have been raised on the concept of the "Islamic state," which is synonymous with the Islamic caliphate. But Hamas's situation is a little different. Israel's occupation of all Palestinian territories is a political and concrete obstacle to the dream of an Islamic state and it forces the consideration of more realistic options. So we have started hearing, from Hamas, statements about establishing a Palestinian state on the June 1967 borders. There is no doubt that this development is an intellectual and political shift by Hamas. More than 20 years ago, Hamas founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin proposed a long truce with Israel. But today, such a proposal is more realistic and is attributed to Hamas's current leader Khaled Meshaal. Hamas in 2013 is different than Hamas in 1993. Hamas is now an influential player and its statements and stances are taken into account by regional and international decision-making circles.

Recognition and commitment

The shuttle diplomacy by Western officials between Gaza, where Hamas's domestic leadership is located, and the Arab capitals of Doha, Cairo and Amman have only one objective: getting Hamas to agree to the conditions that would allow it to be embraced by the international community. In other words, they want Hamas to agree to the two-state solution. And that, explicitly or implicitly, essentially means that Hamas has recognized Israel's right to exist! Those who have been following Hamas's course since it was founded 25 years ago notice that every once in awhile there is

international pressure to make Hamas agree to those conditions. But Hamas is afraid to fall into the same trap that others, like Fatah, have fallen into without getting anything in return except loss of popular support, as was demonstrated in the elections seven years ago. In light of the demands that the movement should recognize the two-state solution and make political commitments, some influential circles within the Hamas leadership think that the movement is being drawn into going beyond its rational political discourse and how it deals with the reality on the ground, and into recognizing Israel and exchanging messages with it. However, the siege has made the Palestinian territories miserable. So decision-makers in Hamas are forced to issue hints and signals that do not affect the movement's general principles. Those signals, however, may be misunderstood. And this is where the problem lies. No one thinks that Hamas supporters will make a big deal of those signals, but any concrete steps toward recognizing Israel will cost Hamas dearly, something which I don't think Hamas wants during this dangerous phase. At the external level, Hamas's enemies and opponents may think that the siege has finally paid off, albeit a little late, and that Hamas's current declarations are signals that, if the siege and the Palestinian suffering continue, the movement may explicitly recognize Israel, which would open the "appetite" of Hamas' opponents for more breakthroughs in its ideology and principles.

Not an existential conflict, but a border dispute.

Although Hamas is aware of all that, it should be noted that in a few months it is facing elections during which the movement's signals that it may accept a two-state solution will be used in a fierce anti-Hamas campaign. Even though the movement has provided a different administrative performance than before, the fundamental change in the movement's political program may be a decisive factor for the Palestinian voters. As Hamas is being smothered, with a few breaches here and there, the demands that it should recognize Israel are ongoing and without letup. In other words, Hamas must choose between recognizing Israel to stay in power, or losing what it has achieved democratically as punishment for having to refused to bow to the world's conditions. In reality, the

international community has not significantly changed its relationship with the Palestinians, including Hamas, over the past months and years. There has only been some cosmetic and tactical changes. Washington, the European Union and the UN have not only signaled to Hamas that it should join the "broken and paralyzed" peace process, they have also insisted that the Palestinians explicitly recognize Israel. But this time, those powers are armed with an "Islamic religious cloak," which would make a recognition of Israel more meaningful, especially since Hamas considers its conflict with Israel to be an ideological "existential conflict, not a border dispute." That pressure is accompanied with a financial and economic blockade, which is increasing the pressure on Hamas, especially since those carrying out the blockade are blocking anything that would alleviate Palestinian suffering. It is clear that they want to punish the Palestinians for electing Hamas and warn them against reelecting them; that is if the reconciliation succeeds and the elections happen on time. It should be noted that certain Israeli and Western research institutions have estimated the timeframe that Hamas will need to explicitly recognize Israel. They may accept from Hamas certain rhetorical signals for a while before the movement officially recognizes Israel. Since Hamas was founded in late 1987, it has been conducting an ideological and political campaign for its members and supporters against recognizing Israel. Hamas' constitution says that Israel is a "cancer that must be eradicated," and that "its demise is a Quranic inevitability." Those and other slogans have been a key component of Hamas's political discourse. It is therefore not easy for Hamas to change overnight due to political realism and suddenly tell its supporters: We shall recognize Israel, but it's under duress!

Adnan Abu Amer is Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and a lecturer in the history of the Palestinian issue, national security, political science and Islamic civilization at Al Ummah University Open Education.

Article 6.

NYT

An Assassination in Tunisia

Editorial

February 8, 2013 -- Tunisia is where the Arab Spring began just over two years ago. Until now it has set an encouraging example of progress toward democracy and pluralism. Free elections brought to power a coalition government pledged to pragmatic cooperation between a moderate-led Islamist party, Ennahda, and smaller, secular coalition partners.

Progress has not always been smooth. But just as Tunisians inspired people in neighboring countries like Egypt and Libya to rise up against their corrupt and repressive dictators, they also seemed, for many, to point the way toward a democratic future accommodating both religious beliefs and the rights of the secular under the rule of law.

Those hopes have been severely shaken by the murder on Wednesday of Chokri Belaid. Mr. Belaid, a human- rights activist and one of Ennahda's most outspoken critics, had publicly challenged the party's failure to investigate or prosecute violent acts of intimidation carried out by shadowy gangs of religious extremists. Mr. Belaid's killers have not yet been identified. But suspicion now falls on those same extremist groups, which had issued public threats against Mr. Belaid and other prominent secular leaders — without any serious government response.

Thousands gathered for Mr. Belaid's funeral on Friday amid a nationwide general strike called by his trade union supporters. Tensions are high. What is urgently needed is a credible, independent investigation of Mr. Belaid's murder, followed by prosecution of the killers.

Given Ennahda's record of selectively ignoring Islamist violence, that investigation cannot be left to its appointees alone. A preferable alternative would be to reconstitute the broad-based, multiparty commissions that successfully oversaw Tunisia's free elections in October 2011 and investigated the crimes of the fallen dictatorship.

Ennahda, which captured 41 percent of the vote in the elections, promised to cooperate with secular parties and show respect for pluralism. Instead, it is sending muddled messages. On Wednesday, Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali made a conciliatory gesture by proposing a temporary nonpolitical cabinet and new elections. Unfortunately, hard-line party members quickly repudiated him.

Tunisia's revolution, which has overcome past crises, can overcome this one if Ennahda and all other Tunisian parties recommit themselves to nonviolence, mutual tolerance and upholding the rule of law.

Article 7.

The Washington Post

Iraq's return to bloodshed

Kimberly Kagan and Frederick W. Kagan

February 8, 2013 -- Eighteen days of protests in Egypt in 2011 electrified the world. But more than twice that many days of protest in Iraq have gone almost unnoticed in the United States. Iraqi army troops killed five Sunni protesters in Fallujah on Jan. 25, after a month of anti-government protests in Anbar, Nineveh and Salahuddin provinces and elsewhere for which thousands turned out. Al-Qaeda in Iraq and Iranian-backed Shiite militias are re-mobilizing. Iraq teeters on the brink of renewed insurgency and, potentially, civil war.

This crisis matters for America. U.S. vital interests that have been undermined over the past year include preventing Iraq from becoming a haven for al-Qaeda and destabilizing the region by becoming a security vacuum or a dictatorship that inflames sectarian civil war; containing Iranian influence in the region; and ensuring the free flow of oil to the global market.

While tensions have risen over the past two years, the triggers for recent eruptions are clear. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, a Shiite, had the

bodyguards of Finance Minister Rafie al-Issawi, who is Sunni, arrested for alleged terrorist activities on Dec. 20 — almost exactly one year after he ordered the arrest of Sunni Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi's security detail. Hashimi fled to Turkey and is unlikely to return soon to Iraq, where he was sentenced to death after Maliki demanded his trial in absentia for murder and financing terrorism.

The threat to Issawi, a moderate technocrat from Anbar, galvanized Iraqi Sunnis, who rightly saw Maliki's move as sectarian and an assault on government participation by Sunnis not under the prime minister's thumb. Three days after the arrests, demonstrations broke out in Ramadi, Fallujah and Samarra. Three days after that, a large protest closed the highway from Baghdad to Syria and Jordan. The popular resistance spread to Mosul on Dec. 27.

These protests erupted during a constitutional crisis and as an expanding Arab-Kurd conflict has become increasingly militarized. Iraqi President Jalal Talabani was incapacitated by a stroke on Dec. 17 and has been out of the countryfor treatment. Iraq's constitution specifies a line of succession — but with one vice president in exile and the other a Shiite and obvious Maliki proxy, Iraq has been, in effect, operating without a president. Political processes that require presidential involvement have been paralyzed, including moving forward with long-standing efforts by Sunnis and Kurds to hold a parliamentary vote of no-confidence in Maliki.

Talabani had been the critical link holding Baghdad and Kurdistan together since tensions rose following a 10-day standoff between Iraqi army units and Kurdish pesh merga troops in October, after Maliki sent the army toward the disputed city of Kirkuk. That move followed a series of skirmishes and mobilizations along the "Green Line" separating Kurdistan from Arab Iraq and a series of attacks in the area by al-Qaeda in Iraq.

The recent protests underscore the collapse of the inclusive political accommodation reached in 2007, which had been reconfirmed by the formation of a grand Sunni-Shiite-Kurd coalition government after parliamentary elections in 2010. By November 2012, Maliki had evolved

to openly discussing his intention to form a "majoritarian government" that would exclude the most important Sunni representatives. In mid-December he participated in creating a Shiite grand alliance as the launching pad for that government. The principal Sunni political leaders, including Issawi, parliamentary speaker Osama al-Nujaifiand Anbari tribal leader Ahmed abu Rishaannounced their intention to form their own coalition. In short, Iraqi politics was re-fragmenting along sectarian and ethnic lines even before the protests began.

Understood in this context, the Iraqi army's killing of protesters in Fallujah last month is a watershed event similar to the destruction of the Askariya shrine in Samarra in February 2006, though the crisis will not escalate as quickly. Sunni-Shiite tensions have hitherto played out in political forums. The key actors in today's crisis are not the Sunni political leaders but, rather, Anbari tribal leaders, including Ali Hatem Ali Suleiman, one of the most powerful leaders of Iraq's largest Sunni tribe. Suleiman and fellow leaders of the Dulaim tribe were essential to engineering the Anbar Awakening in 2007 and Sunni participation in the government, for which they rejected al-Qaeda in Iraq and renounced violence against the state. They responded to the killings of protesters last month by threatening open war against the state for the first time since 2007. So far at least, they have restrained protesters and resisted violent confrontation.

For his part, Maliki has sought to deescalate the conflict and to mollify protesters. Tehran has also been working — to persuade Iraq's Sadrists, whom Maliki has alienated in his consolidation of power, to abandon their support for their Sunni brethren. Their combined efforts appear to be working: The Sadrist Bloc, which had refused Maliki's request for suggestions to replace Issawi and other Sunni politicians, has put forth a substitute finance minister.

These efforts, ostensibly toward political resolution, actually increase the likelihood of sectarian war by continuing the marginalization of Sunni political leaders without addressing Sunni tribes' core grievances — and by re-creating a Shiite front that had splintered.

Al-Qaeda in Iraq has already taken advantage of this situation through its front group, the Islamic State of Iraq, which deployed combat teams in Fallujah last month that targeted Iraqi army positions and killed several soldiers. The jihadists' black flags have appeared at Sunni protests and memorial ceremonies for the fallen. The group is back in the havens it held in 2006. If Maliki does not allow proper Sunni representation in government, al-Qaeda will gain greater popular tolerance and foreign support.

Over the past year, the situation in Iraq has become explosive while sectarian sentiment and armed violence in neighboring nations have escalated dramatically. Americans have become accustomed to watching Iraq approach the precipice and draw back. But circumstances have changed with the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and Maliki's year-long efforts to intimidate his opponents through political, judicial and military maneuvers. If Maliki does not accept many of the protesters' reasonable demands and allow meaningful Sunni participation in government, prospects for stopping Iraq's descent into sectarian conflict are grim.

Kimberly Kagan is president of the Institute for the Study of War. Frederick W. Kagan is director of the Critical Threats Project and a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Article 8.

The American Spectator

Islam and Islamism in the Modern World

An interview with Daniel Pipes (By Tom Bethell)

February 2013 -- *Daniel Pipes, one of our leading experts on Islam, established the Middle East Forum and became its head in 1994. He was born in 1949 and grew up in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His father, Richard Pipes, was a professor of Russian history, now emeritus, at Harvard. Daniel studied Arabic and Islamic history and lived in Cairo for*

three years. His PhD dissertation became his first book, Slave Soldiers and Islam (1981). Then his interest in purely academic subjects expanded to include modern Islam. He left the university because, as he told an interviewer from Harvard Magazine, he has "the simple politics of a truck driver, not the complex ones of an academic." His story of being harassed through the legal system by a Muslim who later committed suicide was recently told in The American Spectator ("A Palestinian in Texas," TAS, November 2012). He has been personally threatened but prefers not to talk about specifics except to note that law enforcement has been involved. I interviewed Pipes shortly before Christmas, when the Egyptians were voting on their new constitution. I started out by saying that the number of Muslims in the U.S. has doubled since the 9/11 attacks.

DP: My career divides in two: before and after 9/11. In the first part I was trying to show that Islam is relevant to political concerns. If you want to understand Muslims, I argued, you need to understand the role of Islam in their lives. Now that seems obvious. If anything, there's a tendency to over-emphasize Islam; to assume that Muslims are dominated by the Koran and are its automatons—which goes too far. You can't just read the Koran to understand Muslim life. You have to look at history, at personalities, at economics, and so on.

TB: Do you see the revival of Islam as a reality?

DP: Yes. Half a century ago Islam was waning, the application of its laws became ever more remote, and the sense existed that Islam, like other religions, was in decline. Since then there has been a sharp and I think indisputable reversal. We're all talking about Islam and its laws now.

TB: At the same time you have raised an odd question: "Can Islam survive Islamism?" Can you explain that?

DP: I draw a distinction between traditional Islam and Islamism. Islamism emerged in its modern form in the 1920s and is driven by a belief that Muslims can be strong and rich again if they follow the Islamic law severely and in its entirety. This is a response to the trauma of modern Islam. And yet this form of Islam is doing deep damage to faith, to the point that I wonder if Islam will ever recover.

TB: Give us the historical context.

DP: The modern era for Muslims began with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. Muslims experienced a great shock at seeing how advanced the blue-eyed peoples from the north had become. It would be roughly analogous to the Eskimos coming down south and decimating Westerners, who would uncomprehendingly ask in response, "Who are these people and how are they defeating us?"

TB: So how did they respond?

DP: Muslims over the past 200 years have made many efforts to figure out what went wrong. They have experimented with several answers. One was to emulate liberal Europe—Britain and France—until about 1920. Another was to emulate illiberal Europe—Germany and Russia—until about 1970. The third was to go back to what are imagined to be the sources of Islamic strength a millennium ago, namely the application of Islamic law. That's Islamism. It's a modern phenomenon, and it's making Muslims the center of world unrest.

TB: But it is also creating discomfort?

DP: It has terribly deleterious effects on Muslims. Many of them are put off by Islam. In Iran, for example, one finds a lot of alienation from Islam as a result of the Islamist rule of the last 30-odd years.

TB: Has it happened anywhere else?

DP: One hears reports, especially from Algeria and Iraq, of Muslims converting to Christianity. And in an unprecedented move, ex-Muslims living in the West have organized with the goal of becoming a political force. I believe the first such effort was the Centraal Comité voor Ex-moslims in the Netherlands, but now it's all over the place.

TB: Nonetheless, Islam has lasted for 1,500 years.

DP: Yes, but modern Islamism has been around only since the 1920s, and I predict it will not last as a world-threatening force for more than a few decades. Will Muslims leave the faith or simply stop practicing it? These are the sort of questions I expect to be current before long.

TB: What about Islam in the United States?

DP: In the long term, the United States could greatly benefit Islam by uniquely freeing the religion from government constraints and permitting it to evolve in a positive, modern direction. But that's the long term. Right now, American Muslims labor under Saudi and other influences, their institutions are extreme, and things are heading in a destructive direction. It's also distressing to see how non-Muslim individuals and institutions, particularly those on the left, indulge Islamist misbehavior.

TB: How do they do that?

DP: Well, turn on the television, go to a class, follow the work of the ACLU or the Southern Poverty Law Center, and you will see corporations, nonprofits, and government institutions working with the Islamists, helping promote the Islamist agenda. The American left and the Islamists agree on what they dislike—conservatives—and, despite their profound differences, they cooperate.

TB: Presumably some Muslims here deconvert, right?

DP: There are some conversions out of Islam, yes. And the Muslim establishment in this country is quite concerned about that. But numerically it is not a significant number.

TB: The ones who convert don't talk about it very much?

DP: In some cases they do; they take advantage of Western freedoms to speak their minds. They are the exceptions, though.

TB: I suspect that the decline of Christianity has encouraged Islam.

DP: Very much so, as the contrast between Europe and the United States reveals. The hard kernel of American Christian faith, not present in Europe, means that Islamists are far better behaved in the United States. They see the importance of a Christian counterforce.

TB: Earlier, you mentioned Algeria. It is a big Muslim state that we don't hear about today.

DP: Twenty years ago Algeria was a major focus of attention. That long ago ended, although in France coverage is still significant. Algeria is ripe for the same kind of upheaval that we have seen in other North African

states, such as Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. I think it is likely to happen before too long.

TB: What about Syria?

DP: Assad's power is steadily diminishing and I cannot see how his regime will remain long in power.

TB: Should the United States get involved there?

DP: No, Americans have no dog in this fight and nothing in the U.S. Constitution requires us to get involved in every foreign conflict. Two wretched forces are killing each other; just look at the ghastly videos of the two sides torturing and executing the other. Listen also to what they are saying. It's a civil war involving the bad and the worse. I don't want the U.S. government involved. That would mean bearing some moral responsibility for what emerges, which I expect to be very unsavory.

TB: So you are supporting the Obama position?

DP: Yes, though he reaches it with far more angst. Also, there appears to be some serious, clandestine U.S. support for the rebel forces. The September 11 meeting in Benghazi between the Turkish and the American ambassadors was very curious. They are both based in Tripoli, hundreds of miles away. What were they doing in Benghazi? Arranging for American arms going via Turkey to Syria, it appears.

TB: How important has Israel been to the revival of Islam?

DP: It is a major factor in the neighboring states. But elsewhere, in Morocco, Iran, Malaysia, it has minor importance.

TB: Since the "Arab Spring," Israel seems increasingly beleaguered.

DP: Not really, not yet, though I agree that it will be more beleaguered with time. Its neighbors are so consumed with their own affairs that they hardly pay Israel attention. But once the neighbors get their houses in order, Israel will most likely face new difficulties.

TB: You have questioned U.S. support for Islamic democracy, which does seem naïve.

DP: The U.S. has been the patron for democracy for a century, since Wilson's 14 Points, and a wonderful heritage it has been. When an American travels the world, he finds himself in country after country where his country played a monumentally positive role, especially in democratizing the system. We naturally want to extend this to Muslim-majority countries. Sadly, these for some time have offered an unpleasant choice between brutal and greedy dictators or ideological, extreme, and antagonistic elected Islamists. It's not a choice we should accept.

TB: So what should we do?

DP: I offer three simple guidelines. One, always oppose the Islamists. Like fascists and Communists, they are the totalitarian enemy, whether they wear long beards in Pakistan or suits in Washington.

Two, always support the liberal, modern, secular people who share our worldview. They look to us for moral and other sustenance; we should be true to them. They are not that strong, and cannot take power soon anywhere, but they represent hope, offering the Muslim world's only prospect of escape from the dreary dichotomy of dictatorship or extremism.

Three, and more difficult, cooperate with dictators but condition it on pushing them toward reform and opening up. We need the Mubaraks of the world and they need us. Fine, but relentlessly keep the pressure on them to improve their rule. Had we begun this process with Abdullah Saleh of Yemen in 1978 or with Mubarak in 1981, things could have been very different by 2011. But we didn't.

TB: Egypt might be the test case.

DP: Well, it's a bit late. Mohammed Morsi is not a greedy dictator but he emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood, and his efforts since reaching power have been purely Islamist.

TB: What about the recent elections?

DP: I do not believe that a single one of the elections and referenda in Egypt was fairly conducted. It surprises me that Western governments and media are so gullible on this score.

TB: You could say we were supporting the democracy element in Cairo's Tahrir Square. Were we not?

DP: Yes and rightly so. The initial demonstrations of early 2011 were spearheaded by the liberals and seculars who deserve U.S. support. But they got quickly pushed aside and Washington barely paid them further attention.

TB: We gave foreign aid to Mubarak. Was that a bad idea?

DP: That aid dates back to the utterly different circumstances of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty of 1979 and became progressively more wrong-headed. It should long ago have been discontinued. More broadly, I believe in aid for emergencies (soup and blankets) and as a bribe, but not for economic development. That the Obama administration is contemplating aid, including military hardware, to the Morsi government outrages me.

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Sent: 8/20/2012 1:23:57 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: [redacted] -

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How about this year's SALSS Project Manager [redacted] - brainy and sen=
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Picture attached!

Barbro C. Ehnbom =20

Chairman, Swedish-American Life Science Summit

Office: [redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Sweden: [redacted]
360 E. 55 St. #10G
New York, N.Y. 10022

-----Original Message-----
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Barbro C Ehnbom [redacted]
Sent: Mon, Aug 20, 2012 2:32 pm
Subject: Re: Program & Attendee list

who is you r wife choice this year?

On Sat, Aug 18, 2012 at 12:11 PM, Barbro C Ehnbom [redacted] wrote:

Dear Jeffrey,

I am sorry I did not call back Yesterday-I was exhausted from a crazy week =
and fell asleep
as soon as I came home! Anyway, here is the full program and attendee list =
attached, this
is the Globalization Summit I invited Bill Clinton to when I met him in Sto=
ckholm last Summer-
But he is a bit busy I gather!
Anyway, hope Greta Tufvesson got hold of you re search service? Also, I did=
 see your mail
about possibly coming here end of September-however, I am supposedly arrang=
ing a fund-
raiser for Congress Woman Diana deGette of Colorado on Sept 27 in NYC; she =
is the only one with a scientific agenda and she is just super-if anything =
I am hoping on your involvement?
How about going to Stockholm mid or end november..albeit a bit dark and may=
be cold..?
Let me know what you think!
Also, I just heard from my friend Jeff Kriendler in Miami and guess who was=
 just walking in there -our friend Goldsamt! First prize for perseverance!
Also, Sofia and the prince is on every magazine here, I think it is wonderf=
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Marcus has two big concerts in Stockholm this coming week. Me - SALSS!

KRAM
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Barbro C. Ehnbom
Sent from iPad=20

Vidarebefordrat brev:

Fr=C3=A5n: Cecilia Sch=C3=B6tt [redacted]
Datum: August 18, 2012 8:44:29 AM GMT+02:00
Till: Barbro Ehnbom [redacted]
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To: Barbro C Ehnbom &lt;[redacted]&gt;<br>
Sent: Mon, Aug 20, 2012 2:32 pm<br>
Subject: Re: Program &amp; Attendee list<br>
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who is you r wife choice this year?<br>
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<div class=3D"gmail_quote">On Sat, Aug 18, 2012 at 12:11 PM, Barbro C Ehnbo=
```

m <span dir=3D"ltr"><<a href=3D"mailto:[redacted]
/a>> wrote:

<blockquote style=3D"margin: 0px 0px 0px 0.8ex; padding-left: 1ex; border-l=
eft-color: rgb(204, 204, 204); border-left-width: 1px; border-left-style: s=
olid;" class=3D"gmail_quote">
<div bgcolor=3D"#FFFFFF">
Dear Jeffrey,

I am sorry I did not call back Yesterday-I was exhausted from a crazy =
week and fell asleep

as soon as I came home! Anyway, here is the full program and attendee =
list attached, this

is the Globalization Summit I invited Bill Clinton to when I met him i=
n Stockholm last Summer-

But he is a bit busy I gather!

Anyway, hope Greta Tufvesson got hold of you re search service? Also, =
I did see your mail

about possibly coming here end of September-however, I am supposedly a=
rranging a fund-

raiser for Congress Woman Diana deGette of Colorado on Sept 27 in NYC;=
 she is the only one with a scientific agenda and she is just super-if anyt=
hing I am hoping on your involvement?

How about going to Stockholm mid or end november..albeit a bit dark an=
d maybe cold..?

Let me know what you think!

Also, I just heard from my friend Jeff Kriendler in Miami and guess wh=
o was just walking in there -our friend Goldsamt! First prize for persevera=
nce!

Also, Sofia and the prince is on every magazine here, I think it is wo=
nderful!

Marcus has two big concerts in Stockholm this coming week. Me - SALSS!=

KRAM

BE

Barbro C. Ehnbom
Sent from iPad

Vidarebefordrat brev:

<blockquote type=3D"cite">
Fr=C3=A5n: Cecilia Sch=C3=B6tt <<a href=3D"mailto:[redacted]
[redacted]>[redacted]>

Datum: August 18, 2012 8:44:29 AM GMT+02:00
Till: Barbro Ehnbom <<a href=3D"mailto:[redacted]>[redacted]
[redacted]
=C3=84mne: Program & Attendee list


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*************************************************************<br>
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acation@gmail.com</a>, and<br>
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,<br>

including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved<br>
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 <!-- end of AOLMsgPart_1_db1eda89-b080-44b8-8542-b5d340fb9ecc -->



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----------MB_8CF4CEE30021577_1404_1A68F6_webmail-d082.sysops.aol.com
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Content-Disposition: ATTACHMENT;
       filename=Be_Sana_1.jpg
Content-Type: IMAGE/JPEG;
       name=Be_Sana_1.jpg
X-Apple-Content-Length: 93624


----------MB_8CF4CEE30021577_1404_1A68F6_webmail-d082.sysops.aol.com--
```

Date: Thursday, July 26 2012 06:30 PM
Subject: Re: press
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: [redacted];

i would appreciate it if you would stop being aggressive and accusatory, with me.

On Thu, Jul 26, 2012 at 2:08 PM, [redacted] wrote:

I told you I wasn't when you asked and then ignored me.
What do you need?

On Jul 26, 2012, at 6:23 AM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I have not seen this, not my doing. as you guessed I am not very well.. I hope you are. i believe in you.

On Wed, Jul 25, 2012 at 7:32 PM, [redacted] wrote:

I am glad to see you managed to find a way to improve your reputation in the press. Your concern and charitable contributions are touching...
You forgot about everyone else your actions affected and the promises you made to fix it, but you clearly make an effort to improve your own image with contributions you can parade in the press. Congratulations.
I suppose the few people who actually cared enough to put their lives and reputation on the line for you can fend for themselves. I will never understand your priorities...

Have a nice trip.

News

Financier **Jeffrey Epstein** And Mount Sinai Hospital Support 3D Mammograms ...
PressReleaseNetwork.com (press release)
Financier **Jeffrey Epstein** And Mount Sinai Hospital Support 3D Mammograms For Breast Cancer. 25 Jul 2012 16:26 GMT - Financier **Jeffrey Epstein** helps fund one of the few 3D mammograms available around the world. /EINPresswire.com/The Dubin Breast ...
See all stories on this topic »

Early Detection Of Diabetes In Teeth Is Funded By Columbia University And ...
EIN News (press release)
/EINPresswire.com/ A recent study published in the Journal of Dental Research at Columbia University College of Dental Medicine (CDM) and backed by The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI Foundation amongst others; found that a pre-diabetes determination can be made ...

Premature Babies Aided By Music Get Backing From Harvard University And ...
Einnews Portugal
A new study by The Institute for Music and Brain Science at Harvard University on the benefits of music on premature babies has received substantial backing from science activist, **Jeffrey Epstein** and his foundation, The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI Foundation.
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Music As A Remedy For Parkinson's Gets Funding From Harvard University And...

MarketWatch (press release)

"The results are remarkable," **Jeffrey Epstein** asserted. "More studies need to be done to show that music improves motor coordination. However, these studies highlight how areas in the auditory cortex are affected, providing a road map for how to ...

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Exceptional Public Schools Cited By Obama, Get Critical Backing From Investor ...

U.S. Politics Today

Exceptional Public Schools Cited By Obama, Get Critical Backing From Investor, **Jeffrey Epstein**. Press release distribution provided by US Politics Today.

World's Smartest Think Tank Gets Substantial Backing from The **Jeffrey Epstein**...

Sacramento Bee

PRNewswire/ -- What has been dubbed %22the world's smartest website%22 and think tank from the UK's Guardian and Observer, The Edge Foundation, has just received substantial backing from science philanthropist and Edge member, **Jeffrey Epstein**, ...

A Genetic Approach For Crohn's And Colitis Disease Is Financed By The **Jeffrey**...

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NEY YORK, July 3, 2012 /PRNewswire via COMTEX/ -- The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI Foundation, which actively supports science research, has given substantial support to the Crohn's and Colitis Foundation of America to continue its Genetic Initiative to find a ...

Charter Schools In Washington DC Given A Boost By Education Philanthropist ...

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Date: Thursday, July 26 2012 06:12 PM
Subject: Re: press
From: Jeffrey <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: [redacted]

Quiet

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> What do you need?
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=

From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:59:08 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image001.jpg

Forgot to ask you – pls have someone from your office confirm 2 tickets for LifeBall for you.
Also provide them with a name of the girl that you are talking.
One the pdf that I sent you there is a contact info and refer to the email below (Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]

And she is holding them for you.
Please do it asap as these are hard to get.

B

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 4:27 PM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Re: FW: Tix for Jeffrey

call me now [redacted]

On Mon, May 7, 2012 at 7:21 PM, Boris Nikolic <[redacted]> wrote:

It was not easy as people from LifeBall are very difficult. But I go it (they even now approved you - they needed to do a background check believe it or not! – as on that dinner will be president of Austria, Clinton etc) for two tickets – for you and your guest for a price that you do not need to buy a table (as they do not sell individual seats).

Guy below is a good friend and he is a CEO of amFAR (amFAR has a joined dinner) – so he helped.

The nice thing about these tickets is that they are the most VIP. It includes reception, dinner, gala and after all party access.

I have the same ones (through Bill).

I also got two additional for you but it turns out that they are not the same level so I reached to Kevin for help.

The price is 2,500Euro per ticket (this is very reduced price as I think the regular one for this is 15K and it is hard to get it). They will need an email from someone from your office and name a your guest asap.

The plan for for Vienna I am sending you with my next email!

Boris

From: Kevin Frost [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 6:39 AM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Tix for Jeffrey
Importance: High

Boris:

Here is the information sheet for Jeffrey to buy tickets. Tell him to use my name and the name of Magdalena Schuster on the email below. They've already approved him to buy tickets to Lifeball and the Gala dinner which happens right before the ball. I hope you guys are all planning to attend the dinner as well. You can tell your friend Jeffrey that he should buy the Mini car for me as a thank you. =)

I'm getting in to Vienna on Friday afternoon. Let's get together on Friday night.

See you soon,

Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost
Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
[redacted]

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

Hi Kevin,

attached please find an information sheet about the AIDS Solidarity Gala – I am sure Jeffrey will very much enjoy the Gala.

I've also included the auction items at the Gala for your and Jeffrey's information.

Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,

Lena

--

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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:53 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image001.jpg

Please call me at [redacted]

My number is blocked and it does not go through when I am calling you

B

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See you soon,

Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost
Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
[redacted]

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

Hi Kevin,

attached please find an information sheet about the AIDS Solidarity Gala – I am sure Jeffrey will very much enjoy the Gala.

I've also included the auction items at the Gala for your and Jeffrey's information.

Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,

Lena

--
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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:15 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Eva is my friend there who will host us. She is very close friend with Mette as well.
Eva and I are still trying to get Mette to join at the last moment.
She and her family own 80% or so of Austrian media (Heute etc). She is describing program below.
The plan would be that we arrive to Vienna on Thursday 17th mid day.

On Thursday there is a big Premiere of Mozart La Clemenza de Tito and we go to that.

ON Friday Eva is organizing a dinner/reception with her friends. We can schedule some other meetings/visits during day.

On Saturday the night starts at 5pm and goes through early next morning.

I leave first flight Sunday morning for San Francisco to meet Bill.
If you are staying in Vienna and have time (and like Eva) you should go to her brunch.

How this seems to you???

B

-----Original Message-----
From: Eva Dichand [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 5:51 AM
To: 'Cavan Mahony'; Boris Nikolic; [redacted]
Subject: WG: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Hallo everybody!

Attached (sorry in Germain) the Programm fort he lifeball on the 19th.
Actually there will be a Galadinner with our prime minister and Bill Clinton and all kinds of stars in the Hofburg (former Imerial estate - very impressive to see from inside)) It is only 250 people,. A seated dinner and more upscale than the rest oft he evening. It start's at 5pm with a Champagne cocktail and from there we go directly to the opening oft he ball where we'll have a really cool Box first row!!

Dresscode: actually the lifeball is really crazy and 'half naked' We always do a intermediare because otherwise you feel like an idiot at the Amfar Gala dinner before. People now don't wear Tuxedos anymore. Christoph wear's normal black trouseres with a white shirt and a dar sakko because he doesn't want to be in any crazy stuff on all the pics. Half oft he people oft he gala dinenr also waer some 'little' crazy stuff like pink velvet sakkos (and a mask for later) or so. girls: Crazy as you like. There are a lot of atrists that are really dressed up. I will wear a quiet see-through short dress with high high heels+ a chanel Tatoo and will take a face mask fort he ball later.

So I hope this helped at least a little bit. For pics got to: lifeball.org

Friday night: We would like to invite you all for dinner and will organize a nice place with a cool bar. Aress follows. Pls let me know who wants to join!!

Sunday: I'm very sure we'll be dead :-) BUT we would like to invite you to our house/garden/pool (swimmwear) for brunch starting at 11. Fürfanggasse 4, 1190 Wien. From hotel Sachen max. 15 min with Taxi. If you fly late we can walk from our house to one oft he famous Austrian heurigen ...and get some more alcholic to drink :-) :-)

On Thursday there is a big Premiere of Mozart La Clemenza de Tito. Very hard to get tickets but for 2 of you I could still organize (hopefully9 if some of you already arrive on Thursday.

Big kiss to everbody...I promise you...not often you will have seen something that crazy :-)

Eva

Dr. Eva Dichand
Herausgeberin

Heute - Kein Morgen ohne Heute
AHVV Verlags GmbH
Heiligenstädter Lände 29/Top 6
1190 Wien
T: [redacted]
F: [redacted]
e.[redacted]
www.heute.at

-----Ursprüngliche Nachricht-----
Von: Manuela Wieland [mailto:m.wieland@heute.at]
Gesendet: Montag, 07. Mai 2012 13:45
An: e.dichand@heute.at
Betreff: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Liebe Frau Dichand,

anbei der Zeitablauf von der AMFAR Gala 2012 am 19.5.2012.
LG MW

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:07 PM
To: Boris Nikolic[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image003.jpg

call me now[redacted]

On Mon, May 7, 2012 at 7:21 PM, Boris Nikolic <[redacted]> wrote:

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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:21:03 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image003.jpg; Auktionsblatt.pdf; TXT AIDS Solidarity Gala_E.pdf

Importance: High

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Importance: High

Boris:

Here is the information sheet for Jeffrey to buy tickets. Tell him to use my name and the name of Magdalena Schuster on the email below. They've already approved him to buy tickets to Lifeball and the Gala dinner which happens right before the ball. I hope you guys are all planning to attend the dinner as well. You can tell your friend Jeffrey that he should buy the Mini car for me as a thank you. =)

I'm getting in to Vienna on Friday afternoon. Let's get together on Friday night.

See you soon,

Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost

Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
212.806.1633

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

Hi Kevin,

attached please find an information sheet about the AIDS Solidarity Gala – I am sure Jeffrey will very much enjoy the Gala.

I've also included the auction items at the Gala for your and Jeffrey's information.

Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,
Lena

From: Bob Crowe [redacted]
Sent: 3/11/2016 12:24:18 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: FW: RE : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade
Attachments: image001.gif

Robert B. Crowe Partner| Nelson Mullins
One Post Office Square, 30th Fl., Boston, MA 02109
101 Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20001
[redacted]

From: abuulabass [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 02, 2016 12:31 PM
To: Vinoda Basnayake; elisabeth feliho
Cc: Bob Crowe; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: RE : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Congratulations Vinoda ! The French version of the paper was published today in the Senegalese major newspapers. You can see it also in Seneweb.com .
Many thanks for the good work with my best regards.
Tidiane
Envoyé depuis mon appareil Samsung

-------- Message d'origine --------
De : Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>
Date : 02/03/2016 16:20 (GMT+00:00)
À : elisabeth feliho <[redacted]>
Cc : Bob Crowe <[redacted]>, Cheikh Tidiane Sy <[redacted]>, Mohamed Seydou Diagne <[redacted]>, El Hadji Amadou Sall <[redacted]>
Objet : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

We have had some positive feedback from the article. Now the issue certainly has more visibility in Washington. Bob is in the process of setting up the meeting with Tom at the State Dept regarding the Human Rights Report for 2016. Will send more as we get more details.

Vinoda

Vinoda Basnayake
Of Counsel and Chair of DC Government Relations
[redacted]

Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough LLP

101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20001
Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

www.nelsonmullins.com
(View Bio)

From: elisabeth feliho [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 29, 2016 6:29 AM
To: Vinoda Basnayake
Cc: Bob Crowe; Cheikh Tidiane Sy; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: Re: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Congratulations!!! Can we share this with the press here?

Best regards.

EF

2016-02-26 13:04 GMT+00:00 Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>:

Great news, the piece was published in The Hill this morning-

http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international/270878-senegals-democratic-backslide

We can share this w Congress and State.

Sent from my iPhone

On Feb 26, 2016, at 6:06 AM, elisabeth feliho <[redacted]n> wrote:

Excellent!!!

2016-02-24 20:13 GMT+00:00 Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>:

We are working on getting the following article placed in the Hill or the Politico within the next week. As of now it looks like former Chairman of Armed Services, Congressman Ron Dellums, will be the author. Please keep highly confidential. Will keep you posted on if, when and where it gets published. Once it is published we can all circulate it highly. We believe that this article sets the tone for the advocacy we will be doing and having someone very prominent like Congressman Dellums will also be a great way to launch this campaign.

Congressman Ronald Dellums is a thirteen term Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-CA) who served from 1971-1998. He also served as the 48th Mayor of Oakland from 2007-2011. Dellums served as the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and the House Committee on the District of Columbia. He also served on the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and co-founded the Congressional Black Caucus.

Senegal's Democratic Backslide

2015 was a banner year for democracy in Africa. Nigeria, the largest country on the continent, had a democratic election, and even more impressively, had its first ever peaceful transition of power when sitting President Goodluck Jonathan transferred power to Muhammadu Buhari. Former President Jonathan conceded and famously declared, "Nobody's ambition is worth the blood of any Nigerian." My last piece for ***The Hill*** was titled, *'Will Guinea's experiment in democracy succeed?"* It is with great joy that I can report that it did! Guinea's first democratically elected President, Alpha Conde, won his reelection campaign in a peaceful election that was internationally monitored in which the Guinean electorate reaffirmed its commitment to a democracy.

Despite these victories for democracy in a continent in which I dedicated a great deal of my life's work, I am deeply troubled by developments over the last few weeks. Earlier this week Uganda President Yoweri Museveni extended his thirty year rule and "won" his fifth consecutive election which international observers said was marred with intimidation and impropriety. Shortly after the election Museveni, who scrapped constitutional term limits a decade ago, had his political rival, Kizza Besigye arrested and detained for protesting the election results. Of course we have come to expect these actions from Museveni in Uganda. What I am even most troubled by is what is taking place in Senegal, which was once the pillar of democracy in Africa.

When Abdoulaye Wade was democratically elected as President of Senegal in 2000, it was a huge step forward for democracy in Africa. President Wade adopted a new constitution and instituted term limits for the first time in Senegalese history. In 2012 President Wade was defeated in a democratic election by his Prime Minister Macky Sall. The United States and the larger international community praised Wade for his quick concession and praised peaceful transition of power. President Macky Sall affirmed his commitment to democracy announcing that he would shorten term limits from 7 to 5 years. President Obama visited Senegal in June of 2013 and praised President Sall for his commitment to democracy in shortening the presidential mandate and praised the country's rule of law.

Unfortunately in the past few years much has changed and we are witnessing a backslide in what was once Africa's brightest democratic success story. When the opposition party, the Senegalese Democratic Party, designated former President Abdoulaye Wade' son, former Minister Karim Wade, as their candidate for the next presidential election; President Sall had Karim Wade arrested and detained. President Macky Sall then reestablished a special court by presidential decree that had been abolished by Senegalese law and not heard a case in thirty years. This newly established special court sentenced Mr. Wade to six years in prison. He remains in prison today, sentenced without appeal. In April 2015, the United Nations Working Group of Arbitrary Detention determined that Mr. Wade was arbitrarily arrested and that his detention was in violation of international law. Last month the UN Working Group reaffirmed its finding and called on President Sall's regime to release Karim Wade and comply with international law. Sall has ignored the UN Working Groups request.

Last week the backslide continued even further as President Macky Sall reneged on his commitment to shorten term limits. Instead of holding elections next year, after five years per his commitment, he announced that he would serve until 2019. He claims that this decision was based on the opinion - just an opinion - of the Constitutional Council that he had himself sought.

In light of the trend toward democracy in Africa as exemplified by Nigeria and Guinea, it is very concerning that one of the United States' closest allies and Africa's strongest democracies appears to be retrogressing. The destabilization of democracy in Senegal could have significant consequences in the entire region. The United

States must get in front of this negative trend before spreads across Africa and it is too late. The U.S. should call for President Sall to honor the request of the UN Working Group and release his political rival Mr. Wade and also keep his pledge of a 5 year presidential mandate. President Obama has said that Africa is more important than ever to security and prosperity in the U.S. We have worked very hard in implementing and prioritizing democracy and democratic succession in Africa. The Obama administration must not let our hard work be compromised in Senegal, we have worked too hard and come too far.

<image001.gif>

Vinoda Basnayake

Of Counsel and Chair of DC Government Relations

[redacted]

Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough LLP

101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20001
Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

www.nelsonmullins.com
(View Bio)

From: elisabeth feliho [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 23, 2016 5:20 AM
To: Vinoda Basnayake; Bob Crowe
Cc: Cheikh Tidiane Sy; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Dear Vinoda and Bob,

Please see attached the last version of the revised draft letter. We have made some modifications and amendments we submit to your proposal. You can finalize the letter as it suits you. We strongly recommend to wait Wednesday or Tuesday this week before sending the letter as Amnesty International will issue on Wednesday 24th February its worldwide report on human right situation. It is highly probable that major statement will be made on Mr. Wade case in the report on Senegal, which will give us more input for the letter.

Many thanks and best regards.

EF

Confidentiality Notice

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From: Dangene and Jennie Enterprise [redacted]
Sent: 2/19/2016 2:23:22 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: TRUMP / POPE SCORECARD .....
Attachments: EWLarge2.jpg

TRUMP 1 POPE 0

CORE: Jennie Enterprise |
@dandjenterprise | Founder & Chairman | 66 East 55th Street New York NY 10022 | Main: [redacted] |
www.coreaccess.net |

From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 3/23/2012 7:10:58 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: World Bank Nominee
Attachments: image005.jpg; image006.jpg

The Atlantic Home
Friday, March 23, 2012

- Politics

Massoud Hayoun - Massoud Hayoun writes for and produces *The Atlantic*'s International channel.

How Jim Yong Kim, Obama's World Bank Pick, Changed Global Health Aid

By Massoud Hayoun
Mar 23 2012, 2:04 PM ET
The international public health work that made Kim, now the president's nominee for World Bank head, such a respected figure.

President Obama introduces Jim Yong Kim as his nominee to be the next president of the World Bank / Reuters

President Obama announced today that he will nominate Dartmouth College President Jim Yong Kim to head the World Bank. Although Kim is a physician by training, officials have observed that Kim's role as a key player in global health and development, notably with his role in the organization Partners in Health (PIH), makes him a key candidate to change the attitudes of developing-world nations.

The following excerpts from Tracy Kidder's *Mountains Beyond Mountains*, a biography of anthropologist and physician Paul Farmer, detail Kim's bold efforts to combat international HIV and tuberculosis epidemics with PIH:

Some months after the official founding of PIH, [co-founder] Paul Farmer expanded the group, adding a fellow Harvard anthropology and medical student, a Korean American named Jim Yong Kim... Farmer offered what for Jim Kim was a convincing vision of the new organization. The reality was less impressive -- a charity with a board of advisers and no hired staff...

They talked about issues such as political correctness, which Jim Kim defined as follows: "It's a very well-crafted tool to distract us. A very self-centered activity. Clean up your own vocabulary so you can show everybody you have the social capital of having been in circles where these things are talked about on a regular basis." (What was an example of political correctness? Some academic types would say to Jim and Paul, "Why do you call your patients poor people? They don't call themselves poor people." Jim would reply: "Okay, how about soon-dead people?")

They talked about the insignificance of "cultural barriers" when it came to the Haitian peasant's acceptance of modern Western medicine: "There's nothing like a cure for a disease to change people's cultural values"...

By now Peru was taxing PIH's resources severely. On average, the drugs to treat just one patient cost between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars. And the number of patients kept growing. Already there were about fifty Carabayllanos in treatment. Their average age was twenty-nine. They were students, unemployed youths, housewives, street vendors, bus drivers, health workers. The actual numbers seemed small, but those fifty MDR [a form of tuberculosis that does not respond to standard treatment] cases represented about 10 percent of all active cases of TB in the slum, about ten times more than might have been expected. No telling how many others they had been infecting as they'd traveled around Lima, coughing. No telling either how many people in other parts of the city already had MDR, but [there were] reports of hundreds in other neighborhoods. In Carabayllo itself, the Socios workers found entire families sick and dying with what turned out to be genetically related strains of the disease--a phenomenon common enough that the health workers gave it a name, familias tebeceanas, tuberculosis families.

Kim's organization confronted Peru's MDR-form tuberculosis epidemic with what some have called unorthodox practices -- borrowing and cajoling its way into medicine for its patients.

Howard Hiatt, a friend of Jim Yong Kim's and a former dean at the Harvard School of Public Health, said he was concerned about how PIH was getting medicine to combat the epidemic:

"Sure enough. Paul and Jim would stop at the [Harvard-affiliated] Brigham pharmacy before they left for Peru and fill their briefcases with drugs. They had sweet-talked various people into letting them walk away with the drugs." [Hiatt] was amused, all in all. "That's their Robin Hood attitude." In fact, they'd only borrowed the drugs...

Then one day the president of the Brigham stopped Hiatt in a corridor. "Your friends Farmer and Kim are in trouble with me. They owe this hospital ninety-two thousand dollars." Hiatt looked into the matter. "Sure enough. Paul and Jim would stop at the Brigham pharmacy before they left for Peru and fill their briefcases with drugs. They had sweet-talked various people into letting them walk away with the drugs." He was amused, all in all. "That's their Robin Hood attitude."

To many seasoned managers of public health projects, what Farmer and Kim were doing would have looked quite reckless--like a stunt, as some would later insinuate. They didn't have a guaranteed supply of drugs, only the determination to obtain the drugs and the charm to get away with borrowing. They were borrowing their laboratory services, too, from Massachusetts. They lacked proper institutional support. The weight of expert opinion stood against them. Their organization was small and it had other projects, in Haiti and Boston and elsewhere, and Peru put a strain on everyone. Jim had to travel to Carabayllo at least once a month. Farmer had to go there slightly more often.

Kim's audacious 'Robin Hood attitude' won him and PIH acclaim for their role in changing global health and development.

In June 2002 ... the WHO adopted new prescriptions for dealing with MDR-TB, virtually the same as PIH had used in Carabayllo. For Jim Kim this marked the end of a long campaign. "The world changed yesterday," he wrote from Geneva to all of PIH. The prices of second-line antibiotics continued to decline, and the drugs now flowed fairly smoothly through the Green Light Committee to, among other places, Peru, where about 1,000 chronic patients were either cured or in treatment. About 250 were receiving the drugs in Tomsk, and, largely because of the efforts of WHO, the Russian Ministry of Health had finally agreed to the terms of the World Bank's TB loan--150 million dollars to begin to fight the epidemic throughout the country.

The twin pandemics of AIDS and tuberculosis raged on, of course, magnifying each other, in Africa and Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Mathematical models predicted widening global catastrophe--100 million HIV infections in the world by the year 2010. Some prominent voices, some in the U.S. government, still argued that AIDS could not be treated in desperately impoverished places. But this view seemed to be fading. The prices of antiretrovirals were falling, even more dramatically than the prices of second-line TB drugs.

This was thanks to a growing worldwide campaign for treating AIDS wherever it occurred. Jim Kim had often said that the world's response to AIDS and TB would define the moral standing of his generation. In 2003, a new director general took over at WHO, and he asked Jim to serve as his senior adviser. Meanwhile, the example of Zanmi Lasante [PIH's Haiti-based project] was growing, and Cange had become a favorite destination for global health policy makers and American politicians.

Date: Monday, March 19 2012 05:59 PM
Subject: 2 Seminars-MONEY & POWER possible Invite List
From: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein CC <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Seminar-MONEY

Marc Andreesen

Paul Batista (Not sure this is who you mean)

Jeff Bezos

Sergey Brin

Bill Gates

Danny Hillis

Danny Kahneman

Jaron Lanier

Dick Merkin (?)

Michael Milken (?)

Nathan Myhrvold

Boris Nikolic

Larry Page

Tom Pritzker

Eric Schmidt

Jim Simons

Jes Staley

Peter Thiel

Ian Osborne (add Ian to both seminar lists?)

Seminar-POWER

Bill Clinton

Howard Gardner

Bill Gates

George Mitchell

Michael Ovitz

Igor (? Not sure who this is)

Ian Osborne (add Ian to both seminar lists?)

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/23/2012 2:54:42 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]]

dershowiz tells me obama called him to ask him what was going on in israel. ? we should discuss.

--
****
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constitute inside information, and is intended only for
the use of the addressee. It is the property of
Jeffrey Epstein
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
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destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/12/2012 4:57:10 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: B 727 thought

yes

On Thu, Jan 12, 2012 at 4:23 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:
you want me to call Tarek, instead? just to confirm.

In a message dated 1/12/2012 10:21:24 A.M. Eastern Standard Time, jeevacation@gmail.com writes:

Call

Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 12, 2012, at 4:12 PM, [redacted] wrote:

Jeffrey,
this may be a long shot to save the Boeing deal, or if you think its a dead deal, disregard this.
I thought there was a connection between Tarek and myself, I do believe one concern was operation of Boeing with flight crew. I know its his problem not ours, but may help make the sale happen,.
I wrote this email for your review, if you think its worth sending, please critique, and let me know,. thank you:

Mr. Tarek El Sayed,

I hope this email finds you well, and believe worth communicating my thoughts to you.

I was surprised to hear that you decided against the purchase of our Super Boeing 727. I personally thought it was a great match for your business needs in Qatar. If for any reason your decision was based on crew issues and charter needs in the Middle East, I'd like to share some information that might prove beneficial to making you reconsider this purchase.

The pilot candidates I have lined up for your interview along with the possibility of David Rodgers joining your flight department were as follows:

(at no time did I disclose location or persons to the following pilot candidates to protect your privacy.)

Robert Breslin, who is the former Chief Pilot of Mr. Donald Trump, Mr. Breslin flew the Boeing 727 and Boeing 757 owned by Mr Trump. Mr Breslin is a fine man of 40 years of age estimate, with extensive VIP Boeing operations.

James Bartakowski, who has extensive flying experience in the Middle east, Africa and Europe régime. Mr. Bartakowski has also been involved in charter operations in Africa and Middle East and has contacted me on several recent occasions with charters for our Boeing 727, James has indicated there is the possibility of 40 – 60 hours per month charter operations for larger transport category aircraft in your area. I believe there is a growing need for charter in the business community in Qatar and neighboring countries.

Bruce Jafahri, who is a current Boeing 727 captain who lived in Doha for two years, and familiar with international operations of Boeing 727 aircraft. Mr. Jafahri currently lives in California and ready for a new opportunity. Bruce is current in the Boeing 727 and also flew Captain on the Boeing 747. Well qualified individual and personable.

Mr. El Sayed, as you have seen during our demo flight, our Boeing 727 is in impeccable condition, quite cabin and will provide many years of charter and business flights your company. I believe the large business jet future in Qatar is growing and you will be leading its path, and your initial investment in this purchase will not come close with other aircraft options on the market as you may have seen already.

We are currently completing the C2C check on the Boeing, and as we have done in the past, assure you it will be a fine aircraft when it leaves Flight Star Maintenance repair facility.

Sincerely,

Lawrance Visoski

Chief Pilot, JEGE Inc.

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constitute inside information, and is intended only for
the use of the addressee. It is the property of
Jeffrey Epstein
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
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return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: [redacted]
Sent: 1/12/2012 3:23:25 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Re: B 727 thought

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We are currently completing the C2C check on the Boeing, and as we have done in the past, assure you it will be a fine aircraft when it leaves Flight Star Maintenance repair facility.

Sincerely,

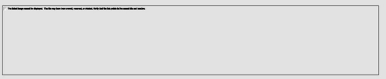
Lawrance Visoski

Chief Pilot, JEGE Inc.

=

From: Faith Kates [redacted]
Sent: 5/18/2016 5:45:03 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Warning: The smart money is fleeing U.S. stocks

Importance: High

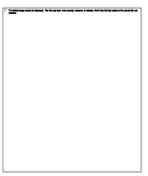


May 18, 2016

Warning: The Smart Money

Is Fleeing U.S. Stocks

BY BILL BONNER, CHAIRMAN, BONNER & PARTNERS



DUBLIN – The Dow dropped 180 points yesterday – or about 1%.

And another clever billionaire says he is looking elsewhere for profits. Reuters:

Activist investor Carl Icahn on Monday said there was a chance the stock market could suffer a big decline, saying valuations are rich and earnings at many companies are fueled more by low borrowing costs than management's efforts to boost results.

"I am very cautious on equities today. This market could easily have a big drop," Icahn said.

Yes, dear reader, the smart money is getting out of U.S. stocks. And here's our old friend Rob Marstrand explaining why:

Right now, every measure that analyzes the S&P 500 says it's expensive. Prices are high relative to earnings, net assets, sales, and cash flow.

What's more, there's plenty of evidence that the main thing propping up the stock prices is heavy buying by the companies themselves [via share repurchases].

And now, that prop is getting kicked out from under the stock market. Bloomberg:

After snapping up trillions of dollars of their own stock in a five-year shopping binge that dwarfed every other buyer, U.S. companies from Apple Inc. to IBM Corp. just put on the brakes.

Announced repurchases dropped 38% to $244 billion in the last four months, the biggest decline since 2009...

Recommended Links

Rickards: "Warning, I've Changed My Thesis On Gold"
I firmly believe we're at the beginning of the BIGGEST move the world has ever seen in gold. "Simple math" says $10,000 gold is all but certain. But, you're not going to believe what I have to say next... **BEFORE you buy a single ounce of gold, read this important message.**

Last Chance: VIP Access To Doug Casey's Shocking 2016 Forecast
Casey fears a severe crisis is brewing. Not a currency collapse or stock market crash. A specific threat that could wreak more havoc than the Great Depression. That's why tomorrow, in an urgent broadcast event, Doug's pulling back the curtain on his shocking warning. And revealing how to profit from it in the months ahead, in a big way. Last chance to get VIP access ends tonight. **Click here now for full details.**

Pareto's "Foxes"

Although the bull market in U.S. stocks is probably near its end, the bull market in the Deep State shows no sign of weakening.

Year after year, the power of the "foxes" grows.

It was the great Italian economist Vilfredo Pareto who noticed – among other things – that no matter what kind of government you think you have, there are always some crafty insiders, the "foxes," who take control of it.

Policies are set, programs are started... decisions are made... with no consent of the people or their elected officials; the foxes work the angles.

Over time, the forces of law and order become more and more corrupt... as the foxes bend the entire system to do their bidding.

Wars are started with no plan or intention to win them. Money is handed out for no better reason than this: They can get away with it.

And best of all, most people are none the wiser; they believe the myths... and attack anyone who challenges them.

Rip-Off

Perhaps the biggest rip-off of all time has taken place over the last eight years – and in plain sight of everybody.

Via the magic of ultra-low rates, the Fed – a nest for the wiliest and most cunning of the foxes – took roughly $8 trillion out of the pockets of savers and retirees and handed it to borrowers.

Who is the world's biggest borrower?

Yes... it's the Deep State itself.

The Fed claimed to be helping to "stimulate" the economy. But you can't really stimulate an economy by stealing from the people who produce wealth and provide it with capital.

Not surprisingly, growth has stalled. Wages have fallen. Productivity has stagnated.

For 95% of the male population, real earnings are lower today than they were in 1973.

Is there any wonder many of these men vote for Donald Trump – a "strong man" who promises to do something about it?

But the top 5% – where the foxes are – gained income. Their wages are up more than 50% over the same time.

Why?

Because they take more and more money from the rest of us.

More tomorrow... on a new Rebellion in Gualfin... and a measure of how big the Deep State has become...

Regards,

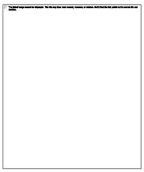
Bill

Further Reading: The Deep State already controls just about every aspect of American life. From health care to education to the food on our tables to the never-ending war on terror, this cadre of cronies is pulling the strings.

In his latest online presentation, Bill exposes how the Deep State has now pushed the world to the brink of an irreversible disaster. Learn more here as he reveals how it will all unfold... and, more importantly, how it'll change your life forever.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028794

BY CHRIS LOWE, EDITOR AT LARGE



George Soros is betting big on gold.

As Bill reported yesterday, the billionaire speculator cut his firm's investments in U.S. stocks by more than one-third.

Soros has also disclosed a new stake in the world's biggest gold miner, Barrick Gold (ABX).

Soros Fund Management, his investment vehicle, bought a 1.7% of Barrick. This makes it Soros' biggest listed holding.

As today's chart shows, Barrick has skyrocketed so far in 2016.

The company's stock is up a jaw-dropping 156% year to date.

Recommended Links

Read this BEFORE you buy gold or gold stocks

Dr. Steve Sjuggerud Reports: Most investors don't know this, but there's a "Magic Number" that appears before EVERY big move in gold and EVERY big move in gold stocks. What is it and is now the time to buy? **Details here...**

Featured Reads

Gold Price to Soar More Than 650%?

One currencies expert says a "super spike" in gold prices is headed our way. Here, he explains what will cause it and, more importantly, how you can position yourself to profit.

Share Buybacks Fall Most Since 2009

U.S. share buybacks have fallen back to levels last seen in 2099. The news comes amid the worst profit slump since the financial crisis... and when valuations sit near 14-year highs.

Why "Money Helicopters" Are Not the Answer

Although "helicopter money" – code for handing out free money – is now being seriously discussed... what's really needed to boost growth are major structural reforms. The fate of the world depends on it.

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OneBlade – Rethought. Retooled. Rebuilt.

Mailbag

Readers continue to weigh in on the state of U.S. politics. Here are more responses to Monday's issue, "Trump's Biggest Deal."

Sarah Palin will be the V.P. with Trump, and you may be surprised that they will have a balance budget within three years. And with Obamacare repealed, job killing regulations eliminated, and corporate tax rates cut, it will make the U.S. more business friendly.

— Christopher F.

Good God! Anything is better than just giving it to Hilary and her despicable husband.

— Judy P.

Thanks for including Jefferson and von Mises, my favorite Galician, in the list of good guys. Our economy cannot be repaired without dismantling the Fed. As you often point out, our monetary system is rotten at the core, as it is based on credit.

I read in one of these letters from a libertarian source that Jefferson wrote, already in 1810 or so, that he had failed to set up a free country as he envisioned… and that was still more than 100 years before the Federal Reserve Act.

On the other hand, even today, I strongly believe that if we just followed the Constitution, we would be okay – especially the 10th amendment. I think that is the most important of all.

— Chaim K.

In the words of Warren Zevon, "Send lawyers, guns, and money; the s--- has hit the fan."

The Democratic Party is electing a known criminal, and they don't care, as long as it's their criminal. They just assume all politicians are criminal, and the really good ones get their districts what they need. Would anyone let Harry Reid babysit their children? The Republican Party is electing anybody who is not a politician. Donald Trump just happens to be the best known, "anybody" who is running.

— Wayde L.

All I can say about Bill's message on Monday is: "Amen, brother! Amen!" He hit every nail right on the head.

To those self-deluding worthies who think that a Donald Trump presidency will solve all of America's problems I say, "Get your heads out of your collective a***s, because it ain't gonna happen."

Trump will continue the policies (if we can laughably call them such) of the Deep State... with a dash of Adolph Hitler thrown in for good measure. Clinton will be no better, if not worse.

I'm with Bill – a vote for the lesser of two evils is still voting for evil. However, unlike him, I will vote, but for a third-party candidate who doesn't have a snowball's chance of winning. A "wasted" vote is better than a vote for Trump or Hillary.

— Dale A.

I think you are correct in your assessment of the Deep State. I disagree in how to deal with it.

It seems easy for the rich or the poor to walk away and state it doesn't matter. The poor because they do not have a choice; the rich because they do. For those of us in the middle we need to deal with it, lest we end up in the poor camp. For me, a decision that includes a less bad scenario is still a decision worth pursuing.

— Rudy R.

In Case You Missed It...

The third part of Doug Casey's "virtual workshop" on how to turn crises into wildly profitable investments goes live today.

In it, Doug pulls back the curtain on his shocking forecast for America in 2016. And how he believes you could set yourself up to profit from it in a big way... with just one decisive move.

Go here to reserve your spot.

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From: Flipboard Week in Review [editorialstaff@flipboard.com]
Sent: 7/13/2019 6:48:31 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Alex Acosta resigns, Jeffrey Epstein arrested and Trump ends bid for citizenship question on census

Flipboard

Biggest news stories from the past week.

Alex Acosta resigns as labor secretary amid intense scrutiny of his handling of Jeffrey Epstein case

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Darroch's resignation may have chilling effect on diplomacy, experts warn

theguardian.com / Sabrina Siddiqui in Washington The resignation of Sir Kim Darroch as the UK's ambassador to the US after controversy over leaked memos in which he criticized Donald Trump could have a... read more

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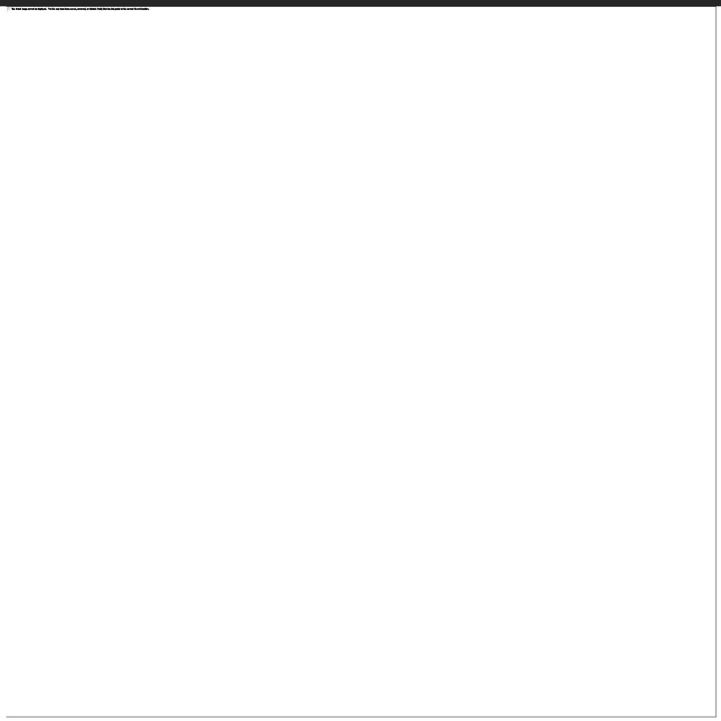
Trump backs away from census citizenship question, orders agencies to hand over citizenship information to Commerce



cnn.com / Kevin Liptak, Pamela Brown, Jim Acosta and Kaitlan Collins, CNN Washington (CNN) — President Donald Trump retreated from his quest to add a question about US citizenship to the 2020 census on Thursday, instead... read more

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Iran makes new nuclear threats that would reverse steps in pact

reuters.com / Babak Dehghanpisheh, Tuqa Khalid
GENEVA/DUBAI (Reuters) - Iran threatened on Monday to restart deactivated centrifuges and ramp up enrichment of uranium to 20% purity in a move away... read more

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Pro-impeachment billionaire Tom Steyer makes late entry into Democratic race

nbcnews.com / Alex Seitz-Wald The California hedge fund founder, who considered running earlier this year but pulled back, now joins a crowded field of more than 20 candidates.... read more

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Billionaire and former presidential candidate Ross Perot dies at 89

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House Judiciary approves subpoenas for 12 key witnesses, including Jared Kushner

politico.com / ANDREW DESIDERIO and KYLE CHENEY The House Judiciary Committee voted on Thursday to authorize subpoenas for 12 crucial witnesses as part of House Democrats' ongoing investigations... read more

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InsightsPod

Gather, Visualize, Analyze Public Opinion to make Intelligent Decisions

Business Plan

Prepared September 2016

Contact Information

Zubair Khan

[redacted]

www.insightspod.com

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Executive Summary

Opportunity

Problem

The power of word of mouth is becoming more critical to businesses as has never been witnessed before. Negative aspects associated with a brand can leave a long-term impact on its reputation. If a customer is facing a problem with your product or service, the world is going to hear about it. On the contrary, social media has the ultimate ability to turn audiences into customers and communicate positive messages.

A marketer's worst nightmare is a social media campaign gone wrong. In such a situation, resources are diverted to fix the problem, disrupting the entire workflow. During a social media crisis, marketers are left with limited control over the market as the news spreads like wildfire. Businesses need to choose the right strategy and the most appropriate way to respond.

With an increase in social media, marketing has become a two-way conversation between brand and consumer. Customers demand businesses to be proactive and efficient to meet their demands and InsightsPod provides businesses with the data to do just that and more.

Solution

InsightsPod is an ambitious, innovative new company that is helping businesses, governments, and investors in analyzing opinions, sentiments, emotions, and attitudes of people from social media.

Imagine a customer leaves a bad review for your product. To improve your reputation and the overall customer experience, we help you identify which customer is dissatisfied in minutes. We help businesses determine a customer's intent and buying habits.

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Through the vast amounts of data available across social media, we not only help politicians to understand what their constituencies are talking about but also to influence people, track voters, and get them to vote.

Investors who predict stock behavior by interpreting the news and public sentiment make better trades. InsightsPod can give an insight into public sentiment quickly and can aid financial institutions, as well as individuals, to make sound investment decisions

InsightsPod offers advanced analytics to businesses for better marketing and product development decisions. Businesses can be aware of their product's demand, likability, strengths, and weaknesses. InsightsPod has the ability to study products and brands through social listening and customer engagement.

Market

Our primary market is:

- Well-known businesses such as Nike, McDonalds, Starbucks.
- Political parties - InsightsPod aims to provide consulting services to political parties. We can help political parties in improving their reputation and increase public following. InsightsPod aids in analyzing the data on social media and the opinions of the general public on the Internet. Likewise, individual political figures can examine the political landscape and the effects on their public image.
- Government sector - This mainly involves law enforcement agencies. InsightsPod can aid LEA in tracking criminals and terrorist activities. The platform can also provide data and analyze public opinion regarding various government projects and initiatives.
- Investors - Fluctuation in the stock market, global economic activities and their impacts on financial markets; all of this can be analyzed through InsightsPod.

Competition

Our main competitors in the market are:

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- IBM Watson Analytics: A data discovery service available on the cloud. It guides data exploration and automates predictive analytics.
- Lexatytics: Text Analytics company.
- Falcon.IO: Uses social media analytics to measure success. It also tracks channel performance, monitors response times and benchmark against competitors.

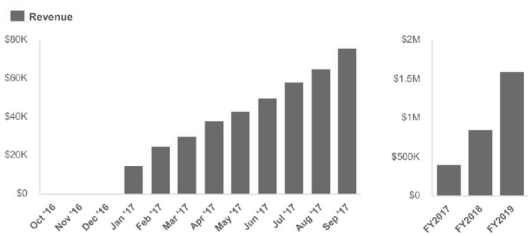
Our competitors are offering a variety of services but the distinguishing factor between us and the competitors is that we support 73 languages and offer location based sentiment analysis. We also support multiple data sources including Twitter, YouTube, Facebook and discussion boards.

Expectations

Forecast

We are projecting sales of $400,000 in Year 1, $850,000 in Year 2, and $1.6 million in Year 3 with a profit margin of 100%. This assumes we are serving around 20 customers in Year 1. Our co-founders will not draw any salary in the first 2 years so that we can reinvest our profits into growing the business. PR/Marketing and staff working on the product and business development will be our largest expense.

Revenue



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Financing Needed

Currently the business receives $8000 as funding by the founder every month. No loans have been taken. Founders are not taking any salaries and will not do so for another 2 years.

We are looking to raise $2.4 million at a $10 million valuation to scale. We require $800,000 per year for the next three years. The proceedings will be used to:

- Refine our sentiment analysis system (currently 5% false positives)

- Hire a PR firm

- Hire a Data Scientist

- Marketing and Sales (UK and US Market)

- Office space in London and San Francisco

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Opportunity

Problem & Solution

InsightsPod offers services such as marketing research, reports composed with said research, and plan consultation. The service is extremely relevant, timely, and accurate enabling clients to make informed decisions. Social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter are used to gather live feeds on which we run a sentiment analysis, and in turn, offer our clients a superior approach to market research. We provide the expertise to companies seeking the means to develop and improve their products and services. To improve a company's reputation and overall customer experience, we help identify which customer is dissatisfied in minutes. We help businesses determine a customer's intent and buying habits. Through the vast amounts of data available across social media, we not only help politicians to understand what their constituencies are talking about but also to influence people, track voters and get them to vote. Investors who predict stock behavior by interpreting the news and public sentiment make better trades. InsightsPod can give an insight into public sentiment quickly and can aid financial institutions, as well as individuals, to make sound investment decisions.

InsightsPod has already been tested during the recent EU referendum and it is currently evaluating public opinion on the two US presidential candidates; Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. The results that InsightsPod produced during the referendum proved to be positive in favour of a Brexit, and a week later, Britain voted to leave the EU, indicating that our model was reliable. The final results of the referendum were the complete opposite of the poll projected figures; the Leave campaign won with a 51.9% majority. This is potentially a great example of how polls are not as reliable as we originally thought them to be when it comes to collecting data on general public consensus. In contrast, we gather live feeds on significant political events to aid political figures in their campaigns and activities.

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Target Market

Our target market will range from individuals, political parties, well-known businesses e.g. McDonalds, Nike, Apple, and government institutions needing information on any particular areas of concern.

Businesses, such as the aforementioned, have a huge social media presence on a global level. This is essential and effective in being able to communicate information to a mass of consumers, both current and potential, and to receive feedback faster than you would via other means of communication. However, with such global exposure combined with the speed of social media, the brand image and company reputation of these businesses is now more vulnerable to change than ever before. There are many examples from the past that can be cited in which negative tweets about companies products, services, and even marketing strategies, went viral causing a huge onslaught of negative public opinion, thus, having an adverse effect on the company in question.

In a similar fashion, government institutions have also been the victim of negative public sentiment posted online on various social media platforms directly affecting political parties and their reputations, and the number of votes in a particular party's favour (on both local and national levels).

The stock market is malleable and is affected by global consensus in various circles of interest, therefore, an investor keeps a close eye on that consensus when it comes to making profitable trades and investment decisions. An ill-informed investment decision made based on inaccurate information on global consensus could result in huge losses for an investor. Clearly, the problems our target clients face are all similar in nature and, in one way or another, affect each other.

Competition

Current Alternatives

Competition does exist in the industry InsightsPod is operating in. IBM Watson Analytics, Lexalytics, and Falcon.IO are some of our competitors. However, we have an

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edge in providing sentiment analysis which is based on geographical location and can support 70+ languages.

Our Advantages

InsightsPod is different from our competitors based on a number of reasons;

- Highly accurate and intelligent sentiment analysis system
- Data is gathered and analyzed on a broader level unlike some of our competitors. For instance, our competitors do not process data from Facebook and YouTube. Our custom crawler can extract data from other sources.
- InsightsPod can give results based on specific geographical locations. This could be significant to both retail brands and political parties, or individuals too.
- Our platform also has the potential to process data in a multitude of languages, hence, the outcome tends to be more precise and effective.
- Highly customizable service - we assist our customers in engaging their target audience

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Execution

Marketing & Sales

Marketing Plan

We have planned to hire a PR and marketing agency to help create awareness and spread the word out about our company. There are four companies in San Francisco that are under consideration amongst which we will opt for one; The Outcast Agency, Spark, SutherlandGold Group, and Brew. Usually, these companies charge $15,000 to $20,000 per month for their services.

Feature articles and product reviews will help launch awareness of our platform. Online advertisement will help with buyer impressions. The top 20 to 30 customers in each segment will be approached first; a few sales hits in these top tiers will enable achievement of targeted forecasts.

Sales Plan

In the first couple of months, the company will set up the office, hire a competent PR firm and members of sales/business development to generate sales. There will be no sales activity during this time span. Revenue will begin to flow in by the end of the first six months.

InsightsPod expects to generate revenue from a subscription-based model. In order to demonstrate the capability of our platform, InsightsPod's website will display limited live insights on popular topics. Currently, we are displaying live insights on the US presidential election's candidates and the Apple iPhone 7. In addition to this, key contacts with senior writers at Wired Magazine, Business Week, CNet, and ZDnet will bring positive national attention to our technology.

We anticipate that the initial revenues will come from businesses who will subscribe to our service. InsightsPod will rigorously pursue government contracts from federal, state and local governments. InsightsPod can be used by LEA to detect criminal and terrorist

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activities. We will enlist the help of consultants familiar with government bidding processes, and those who have contacts within different departments. We will also pursue political parties.

Due to InsightsPod being a new entity, we understand that we will have to prove our company's worth to businesses in order to earn their respect and business. We will provide free sample reports to potential clients. InsightsPod will also offer an 800 number phone line for customer service purposes.

Pricing

Customers will be charged according to the number of impressions being processed by InsightsPod. Customers will pay an optional consulting fee for specialized services. For example helping a political party in engaging voters during elections.

No. of Impressions (Monthly Subscription)	Cost (USD)
0-100,000	$999
100,001-250,000	$1,999
250,001-500,000	$2,600
500,001-1,000,000	$3,500
1,000,001-2,000,000	$5,000

**Impression = 1 Facebook comment or 1 Tweet*

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Operations

Locations & Facilities

The locations we have shortlisted to host our office space are San Francisco and Oakland. We have yet to decide on the two locations, however, we are leaning towards Oakland due to lower running costs and the accessibility of tech resources. We will also have one office set up in London where we will appoint one salesperson. We currently have an operating office space in Islamabad and our back-end developers will be working from this location.

Technology

Our platform acquires data from different social media sites and discussion forums. Currently, we are supporting Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook. We can acquire unlimited Twitter data which includes historical data for $60,000 per year. For Facebook and YouTube, we have developed our own crawler that collects data from both websites. Our platform can also collect data from any discussion forum and news website.

Milestones & Metrics

Milestone	Due Date	Who's Responsible
Business Plan	September 24, 2016	Business Development
Start up Investment	October 15, 2016	Finance
Set up office facility	October 31, 2016	Management
Hire a PR firm	November 07, 2016	Marketing
Hire sales team	November 21, 2016	Sales
First Sales	April 17, 2017	Sales

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Company

Overview

Ownership & Structure

InsightsPod will be registered as a limited-liability corporation. Zubair Khan will own 90% shares and 10% will be owned by Anya Rasulova. No outside investors are involved at this point in time.

Team

The executive team at InsightsPod has two members - Zubair Khan and Anya Rasulova. Zubair will manage the day-to-day operations and company strategy, whereas Anya will be the strategic advisor and overlooking product enhancement.

Zubair Khan (CEO)

- CEO, Tranchulas – A multinational IT Security Company (10 Years)
- Accomplished and result oriented with proficiency in information security services and IT business management
- Analytical expertise in overseeing technology improvement initiatives
- Pursuing MBA from Harvard
- Bachelors in Business IT from Curtin University of Technology, Australia

Anya Rasulova (Director)

- Business Development and Strategic Partnerships, Google
- Product Marketing Manager, Google
- Strategy Manager, Ebay
- Wharton MBA (Marketing and Operations)
- BA Economics, Brown University
- Solid career track record in consulting and internet services

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The technical team will consist of a Chief Data Scientist and five programmers who will be based in Pakistan. We will have two business development and sales executives based in San Francisco and London.

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Financial Plan

Forecast

Key Assumptions

The financial plan relies on certain underlying assumptions;

- A gradual start since we are gathering potential customers.
- The technology is not very common, therefore, educating potential clients and the public will require some time.
- We are expecting steady growth once the accuracy of the platform has been demonstrated.
- The technology is new and updated so there's only a minimal chance that the product immediately obsoletes.

According to the assumptions and the timeline we have predicted, our first sales will be after six months. From each brand/retailer, we have assumed to earn a revenue of $25,000 to $30,000 per year. Additional revenue will be received through providing consulting services to clients, especially government sectors and political parties.

In our first three years, we are projecting $400,000 in Year 1, $850,000 in Year 2 and $1.6 million in Year 3 in revenue with a 100% profit margin. We expect PR and Marketing to be our top expense. The first 2 years' payroll costs will be minimal as founding members are not taking any salary for that period of time.

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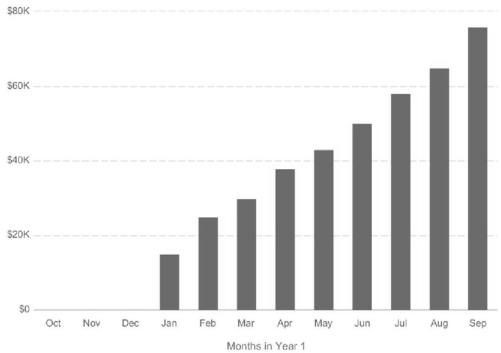
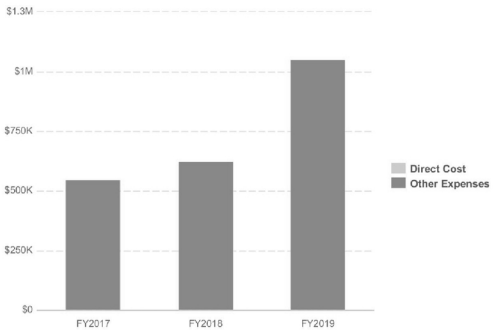
Revenue by Month



Expenses by Year



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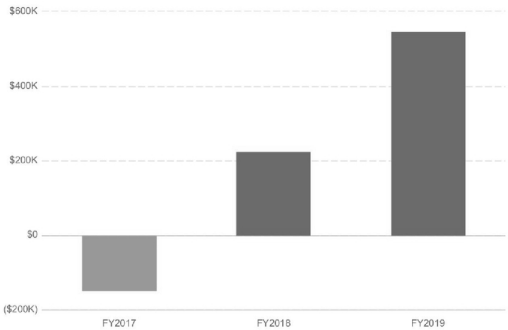
Net Profit (or Loss) by Year



Financing

Use of Funds

The total expense in Year 1 is around $548,000 and $624,000 in Year 2. The biggest expense will be contracting of a PR/Marketing Agency. We have allocated $192,000 for this.

We have allocated $103,000 per year for product development. The breakdown of this amount is as follows:

- We plan to hire a Data Scientist who will be paid $24,000 per year. To reduce the expense we will hire a Data Scientist in Pakistan. The current salary of an experienced Data Scientist working for companies like Teradata and Telenor is $2000-$2500 per month.
- Our development team in Pakistan will consist of five team members. The salaries for our two senior developers will be $18,000 each, making that a total of $36,000 per year. Our programmers will be paid $14,400 each per year, making that a total of $43,200.

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028832

We do not, and will not, compromise on the quality of our work; superior technical expertise is our top priority. Experts need to be highly paid as per market standards, and well-trained, in order to put in their best efforts.

The Business Development Team will consist of two members of staff to manage sales activities, maintaining valuable relationships with existing clients and identifying new sales leads.

The marketing will be outsourced to a PR/Marketing agency located in San Francisco which will cost us approximately $15,000 to $20,000 per month. Also, we plan on participating in industry related events every quarter such as exhibitions and trade shows.

Data acquisition from Twitter will cost us $60,000 per year. Our office space expense is for two locations, i.e. Oakland or San Francisco and London.

We don't plan on paying ourselves salaries until after 2 years, and even then, we will keep them low so we can invest as much as we can back into the business.

Sources of Funds

We have already covered our startup costs. The founder is currently paying the salaries of programmers and the back-end office of Tranchulas Islamabad is being used to facilitate the development process. All servers are currently hosted in Germany which is also funded by the founder. The company has no loans and has no intention of taking out any loans from banks. We plan to grow through bootstrapping, keeping our salaries low and reinvesting our profits in the business, rather than taking on any additional debt.

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028833

Statements

Projected Profit & Loss

	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Revenue	**$400,000**	**$850,000**	**$1,600,000**
Direct Costs			
Gross Margin	$400,000	$850,000	$1,600,000
Gross Margin %	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Operating Expenses			
Salary	$263,200	$284,720	$548,056
Employee Related Expenses			$48,000
Office Space / Utilities	$29,333	$32,000	$32,000
Insurance	$500	$500	$500
Accounting and Legal Expenses	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000
Servers	$7,200	$14,400	$14,400
Trade Shows and Exhibitions	$11,250	$15,000	$15,000
PR / Marketing Agency	$176,000	$192,000	$192,000
Twitter Data acquisition	$55,000	$60,000	$60,000
Total Operating Expenses	**$547,483**	**$603,620**	**$914,956**
Operating Income	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$685,044**
Interest Incurred			
Depreciation and Amortization			
Income Taxes	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Total Expenses	**$547,483**	**$623,399**	**$1,051,965**
Net Profit	**($147,483)**	**$226,601**	**$548,035**
Net Profit / Sales	**(37%)**	**27%**	**34%**

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028834

Projected Balance Sheet

	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Cash	$652,517	$1,698,897	$3,164,162
Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Inventory			
Other Current Assets			
Total Current Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Long-Term Assets			
Accumulated Depreciation			
Total Long-Term Assets			
Total Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Income Taxes Payable	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Sales Taxes Payable			
Short-Term Debt			
Prepaid Revenue			
Total Current Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Long-Term Debt			
Total Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Paid-in Capital	$800,000	$1,600,000	$2,400,000
Retained Earnings		($147,483)	$79,118
Earnings	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Total Owner's Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,679,118**	**$3,027,153**
Total Liabilities & Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028835

Projected Cash Flow Statement

	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Net Cash Flow from Operations			
Net Profit	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Depreciation and Amortization			
Change in Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Inventory			
Change in Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Income Tax Payable	$0	$19,779	$117,230
Change in Sales Tax Payable			
Change in Prepaid Revenue			
Net Cash Flow from Operations	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$665,265**
Investing & Financing			
Assets Purchased or Sold			
Investments Received	$800,000	$800,000	$800,000
Change in Long-Term Debt			
Change in Short-Term Debt			
Dividends & Distributions			
Net Cash Flow from Investing & Financing	**$800,000**	**$800,000**	**$800,000**
Cash at Beginning of Period	$0	$652,517	$1,698,897
Net Change in Cash	$652,517	$1,046,380	$1,465,265
Cash at End of Period	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028836

Appendix

Profit and Loss Statement

Profit and Loss Statement (With Monthly Detail)

FY2017	Oct '16	Nov '16	Dec '16	Jan '17	Feb '17	Mar '17	Apr '17	May '17	Jun '17	Jul '17	Aug '17	Sep '17
Revenue				**$15,000**	**$25,000**	**$30,000**	**$38,000**	**$43,000**	**$50,000**	**$58,000**	**$65,000**	**$76,000**
Direct Costs												
Gross Margin				$15,000	$25,000	$30,000	$38,000	$43,000	$50,000	$58,000	$65,000	$76,000
Gross Margin %				**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Operating Expenses												
Salary	$21,932	$21,932	$21,932	$21,932	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934
Employee Related Expenses												
Office Space / Utilities		$2,666	$2,666	$2,666	$2,666	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667
Insurance	$41	$41	$41	$41	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42
Accounting and Legal Expenses	$416	$416	$416	$416	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417
Servers							$1,200	$1,200	$1,200	$1,200	$1,200	$1,200
Trade Shows and Exhibitions				$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250
PR / Marketing Agency		$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028837

Twitter Data acquisition		$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000
Total Operating Expenses	**$22,389**	**$46,055**	**$46,055**	**$47,305**	**$47,309**	**$47,310**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**
Operating Income	**($22,389)**	**($46,055)**	**($46,055)**	**($32,305)**	**($22,309)**	**($17,310)**	**($10,510)**	**($5,510)**	**$1,490**	**$9,490**	**$16,490**	**$27,490**
Interest Incurred												
Depreciation and Amortization												
Income Taxes	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Total Expenses	**$22,389**	**$46,055**	**$46,055**	**$47,305**	**$47,309**	**$47,310**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**
Net Profit	**($22,389)**	**($46,055)**	**($46,055)**	**($32,305)**	**($22,309)**	**($17,310)**	**($10,510)**	**($5,510)**	**$1,490**	**$9,490**	**$16,490**	**$27,490**
Net Profit / Sales				**(215%)**	**(89%)**	**(58%)**	**(28%)**	**(13%)**	**3%**	**16%**	**25%**	**36%**

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	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Revenue	**$400,000**	**$850,000**	**$1,600,000**
Direct Costs			
Gross Margin	$400,000	$850,000	$1,600,000
Gross Margin %	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Operating Expenses			
Salary	$263,200	$284,720	$548,056
Employee Related Expenses			$48,000
Office Space / Utilities	$29,333	$32,000	$32,000
Insurance	$500	$500	$500
Accounting and Legal Expenses	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000
Servers	$7,200	$14,400	$14,400
Trade Shows and Exhibitions	$11,250	$15,000	$15,000
PR / Marketing Agency	$176,000	$192,000	$192,000
Twitter Data acquisition	$55,000	$60,000	$60,000
Total Operating Expenses	**$547,483**	**$603,620**	**$914,956**
Operating Income	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$685,044**
Interest Incurred			
Depreciation and Amortization			
Income Taxes	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Total Expenses	**$547,483**	**$623,399**	**$1,051,965**
Net Profit	**($147,483)**	**$226,601**	**$548,035**
Net Profit / Sales	**(37%)**	**27%**	**34%**

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028839

Balance Sheet

Balance Sheet (With Monthly Detail)

FY2017	Oct '16	Nov '16	Dec '16	Jan '17	Feb '17	Mar '17	Apr '17	May '17	Jun '17	Jul '17	Aug '17	Sep '17
Cash	$44,277	$64,888	$85,499	$119,860	$164,218	$213,575	$269,732	$330,889	$399,046	$475,203	$558,360	$652,517
Accounts Receivable				$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Inventory												
Other Current Assets												
Total Current Assets	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**
Long-Term Assets												
Accumulated Depreciation												
Total Long-Term Assets												
Total Assets	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**
Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Income Taxes Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Sales Taxes Payable												
Short-Term Debt												
Prepaid Revenue												
Total Current Liabilities	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**

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Long-Term Debt

Total Liabilities	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**
Paid-in Capital	$66,666	$133,332	$199,998	$266,664	$333,331	$399,998	$466,665	$533,332	$599,999	$666,666	$733,333	$800,000
Retained Earnings												
Earnings	($22,389)	($68,444)	($114,499)	($146,804)	($169,113)	($186,423)	($196,933)	($202,443)	($200,953)	($191,463)	($174,973)	($147,483)
Total Owner's Equity	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**
Total Liabilities & Equity	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**

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	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Cash	$652,517	$1,698,897	$3,164,162
Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Inventory			
Other Current Assets			
Total Current Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Long-Term Assets			
Accumulated Depreciation			
Total Long-Term Assets			
Total Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Income Taxes Payable	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Sales Taxes Payable			
Short-Term Debt			
Prepaid Revenue			
Total Current Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Long-Term Debt			
Total Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Paid-in Capital	$800,000	$1,600,000	$2,400,000
Retained Earnings		($147,483)	$79,118
Earnings	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Total Owner's Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,679,118**	**$3,027,153**
Total Liabilities & Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

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Cash Flow Statement

Cash Flow Statement (With Monthly Detail)

FY2017	Oct '16	Nov '16	Dec '16	Jan '17	Feb '17	Mar '17	Apr '17	May '17	Jun '17	Jul '17	Aug '17	Sep '17
Net Cash Flow from Operations												
Net Profit	($22,389)	($46,055)	($46,055)	($32,305)	($22,309)	($17,310)	($10,510)	($5,510)	$1,490	$9,490	$16,490	$27,490
Depreciation and Amortization												
Change in Accounts Receivable				$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Change in Inventory												
Change in Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Change in Income Tax Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Change in Sales Tax Payable												
Change in Prepaid Revenue												
Net Cash Flow from Operations	**($22,389)**	**($46,055)**	**($46,055)**	**($32,305)**	**($22,309)**	**($17,310)**	**($10,510)**	**($5,510)**	**$1,490**	**$9,490**	**$16,490**	**$27,490**
Investing & Financing												

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Assets Purchased or Sold												
Investments Received	$66,666	$66,666	$66,666	$66,666	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667
Change in Long-Term Debt												
Change in Short-Term Debt												
Dividends & Distributions												
Net Cash Flow from Investing & Financing	**$66,666**	**$66,666**	**$66,666**	**$66,666**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**
Cash at Beginning of Period	$0	$44,277	$64,888	$85,499	$119,860	$164,218	$213,575	$269,732	$330,889	$399,046	$475,203	$558,360
Net Change in Cash	$44,277	$20,611	$20,611	$34,361	$44,358	$49,357	$56,157	$61,157	$68,157	$76,157	$83,157	$94,157
Cash at End of Period	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**

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	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Net Cash Flow from Operations			
Net Profit	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Depreciation and Amortization			
Change in Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Inventory			
Change in Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Income Tax Payable	$0	$19,779	$117,230
Change in Sales Tax Payable			
Change in Prepaid Revenue			
Net Cash Flow from Operations	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$665,265**
Investing & Financing			
Assets Purchased or Sold			
Investments Received	$800,000	$800,000	$800,000
Change in Long-Term Debt			
Change in Short-Term Debt			
Dividends & Distributions			
Net Cash Flow from Investing & Financing	**$800,000**	**$800,000**	**$800,000**
Cash at Beginning of Period	$0	$652,517	$1,698,897
Net Change in Cash	$652,517	$1,046,380	$1,465,265
Cash at End of Period	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028845

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 4/27/2014 10:54:13 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune

Importance: High

President Obama□fs response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader□fs hidden wealth.
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow

Sent from my iPhone

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 4/27/2014 2:34:04 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune

Importance: High

Flying to LA. Will try to call when I land.11AM Pacific or so.

Sent from my iPad

On Apr 27, 2014, at 7:41, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

[redacted] if you havetime

On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

> President Obama's response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader's hidden wealth.
> http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow
>
> Sent from my iPhone

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Jeffrey Epstein
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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 4/27/2014 6:55:07 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune
Attachments: signature.asc

Importance: High

Can you talk now?

On Apr 27, 2014, at 04:41 , Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> [redacted] if you havetime
>
>
> On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> President Obama's response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader's hidden wealth.
> http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow
>
>
> Sent from my iPhone
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> --
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> destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
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--
Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

Attachments: signature.asc

Can you talk now?

On Apr 27, 2014, at 04:41 , Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> [redacted] if you havetime
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>
> On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:
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> President Obama's response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has

reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader's hidden wealth.

> http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow
>
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
>
>
> --
> please note
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> destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

--
Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 4/27/2014 6:57:02 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune
Attachments: signature.asc

Importance: High

Calling you from a 310 #...

On Apr 27, 2014, at 04:41 , Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> [redacted] if you havetime
>
>
> On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> President Obama's response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader's hidden wealth.
> http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow
>
>
> Sent from my iPhone
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Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

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Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 7/17/2014 11:55:40 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Reminder Ed Boyden.

Importance: High

Reminder: Would you like me to set up a call for you with Ed Boyden?

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Ed Boyden <[redacted]>
Date: July 14, 2014, 4:50:47 AM EDT
To: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
Cc: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: deception
Reply-To: [redacted]

Sorry again for that last minute cancellation in the Spring -- alas, the perils of running a new center, that I no longer control my schedule like in the good old days. But the Obama BRAIN Initiative is running strong, and MIT has a good bid for a seat at the table, so that is good. Want to revisit a time for a chat? My schedule is now much more free, thanks to these BRAIN initiative activities launching...

Best,
Ed

On Fri, Dec 6, 2013 at 7:08 AM, Lesley Groff <[redacted]> wrote:

Good morning Neil…I am afraid Jeffrey must cancel his trip up today…he is sick in bed and not well. I am so very sorry to do this last minute. Hopefully we can circle back to this soon.

Thank you,

Lesley

Assistant to Jeffrey Epstein

[redacted]

On Dec 6, 2013, at 12:32 AM, Neil Gershenfeld <[redacted]> wrote:

Confirming lunch noon Friday at my office, E15-401. Sunglasses and beach balls optional, hopefully this will be a warm-up for meeting in more entertaining venues.

Neil

--
Ed Boyden, Ph. D.
Leader, Synthetic Neurobiology Group
Associate Professor, MIT Media Lab and McGovern Institute,
Departments of Biological Engineering and Brain and Cognitive Sciences
Co-Director, MIT Center for Neurobiological Engineering
New York Stem Cell Foundation-Robertson Investigator
MIT, Room E15-421, 20 Ames St., Cambridge, MA 02139
email - [redacted]
office - [redacted]
cell - [redacted]
fax - [redacted]
skype - [redacted]
web - http://syntheticneurobiology.org
twitter - http://twitter.com/eboyden3

From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/19/2014 11:54:57 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Doesn't look like you are prioritizing your schedule very effectively.....how are you going to manage all of that? this is unga week so the boss will be in town too.....I'll be here all week -- you may get sick of me....just sat down on the train so can't talk freely.

On Sep 19, 2014 7:48 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
"girls?",, careful i will renew an old habit, . this week, thiel, summers,bill burns, gordon brown, jagland, (council of europe and nobel chairman). mongolia pres , hardeep puree (india), boris (gates). jabor (qatar). sultan (dubai,), kosslyn (harvard), leon black, woody. you are a welcome guest at any..... also if you think there are interesting people in town, everyone here for climate summit , clinton ,security council, holy shit im on [redacted] for next 30 minutes

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Agreed, but I need to be prepared to say yes before I talk to him.

Sent from my iPad

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You need to talk to boss

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Sent: 9/19/2014 6:57:04 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Reid's guy went down on all 7 counts.

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Sent: 9/19/2014 6:59:27 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Yep. And now he is a repeat offender.

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and thats after turning down misdeameors? whoops

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Sent: 9/19/2014 7:02:09 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

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Uh, yeah. We will now go through a period of self-reflection and despair.

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To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Gov is not jewish

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reid or governor

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/19/2014 7:46:28 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Fwd:

Importance: High

Correct. One time, maybe. Twice, no way.

On Sep 19, 2014 3:45 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
of course not , he wouldnt have been so stupid.
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Kathy Ruemmler** <[redacted]>
Date: Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 3:44 PM
Subject: Re:
To: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Gov is not jewish

On Sep 19, 2014 3:42 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
reid or governor

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 3:02 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Uh, yeah. We will now go through a period of self-reflection and despair.

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double whoops

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Yep. And now he is a repeat offender.

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"girls?",, careful i will renew an old habit, . this week, thiel, summers,bill burns, gordon brown, jagland, (council of europe and nobel chairman). mongolia pres , hardeep puree (india), boris (gates). jabor (qatar). sultan (dubai,), kosslyn (harvard), leon black, woody. you are a welcome guest at any..... also if you think there are interesting people in town, everyone here for climate summit , clinton ,security council, holy shit im on [redacted] for next 30 minutes

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Sent from my iPad

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [[redacted]]
Sent: 9/19/2014 9:12:49 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Fwd:

Importance: High

I think I should do it.

On Sep 19, 2014 4:12 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
free now

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From: Lawrence Summers [redacted]
Sent: 10/9/2014 3:39:53 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Post Exclusive: Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal

I fear she should have pulled out last week.

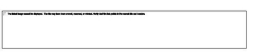
Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

Begin forwarded message:

Resent-From: <[redacted]>
From: The Washington Post <newsletters@email.washingtonpost.com>
Date: October 8, 2014 at 10:05:38 PM EDT
To: "Summers, Lawrence" <[redacted]>
Subject: Post Exclusive: Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal
Reply-To: The Washington Post <newslettersFS772X.4900074@email.washingtonpost.com>



Breaking news and original journalism only at The Washington Post • Wed., Oct. 8, 2014

View in your Web browser

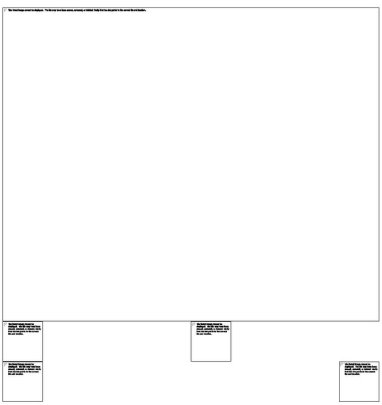
Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal

As nearly two dozen Secret Service agents and members of the military were punished or fired following a 2012 prostitution scandal in Colombia, Obama administration officials repeatedly denied that anyone from the White House was

involved.

But new details drawn from government documents and interviews show that senior White House aides were given information at the time suggesting that a prostitute was an overnight guest in the hotel room of a presidential advance-team member — yet that information was never thoroughly investigated or publicly acknowledged.

Read more



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View on the Web

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From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 10/27/2014 1:48:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: writing up proposal

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

Larry has told me that you and a friend would like to contribute to my project (hallelujah and thank you a million times, Jeffrey) and that I ought to write up a proposal asking for 500,000. This is wonderful. If this comes to pass, the best way for that money to come, I think, is as a gift to Poetry in America, an initiative at EdLabs at Harvard University. This will give me discretion over its disbursement to HarvardX and WGBH, but this will be absolutely be a Harvard gift that will count as Campaign success and from which Harvard will take some (but not as much)overhead. . So far the best finance people I've met are at EdLabs and they are happy to manage these funds for me. There are other ways to give me this money that leave Harvard out, but my understanding is that your friend would like this to be a Harvard gift.

Here's a draft of what I'd like to do with that money.

I'd like 500,000 to do post-production and distribution of a whole *historical period* of American poetry (1914-1945 is what I'm thinking--Modernism) and including *three episodes of tv*.

The raw materials for that period include interviews with Bill Clinton (including footage not yet used by WGBH), Peter Gallison, Walter Isaacson, Lena Dunham, Woody Allen (whose lawyers didn't like our release a while ago, but we're hoping will soften over time), Harrison Ford (still a maybe), Robert Polito, Sarah Kay, Al Filreis, Rafael Campo, Susan Howe, kids from Nantucket High School, kids from Brookline High School, Alfre Woodard, Jane Pickering, Jay Parini, Ray Dalio, Leon Wieseltier, Richard Dawkins and others; and footage shot in Harlem, Greenwich Village, midtown, Chicago, London (if I have the money to hire a crew there; don't now), at museums including the Fogg, Harvard Museum of Natural History, Frost's house in Ripton Vermont and more.

This allows the donor to give to a big Harvard Campaign priority, Teaching and Learning , by supporting Poetry in America, allowing me to produce the crucial segment of the online course with the highest (TV quality) production values and so also supplying higher quality video to WGBH as a way also to cut their costs.

Currently, HarvardX skimps (on lighting, for instance--see the Bill Clinton interview) and while WGBH ladles money raised by others into everything. I have been pounding away at my friends at WGBH and I know that WGBH producer will work with HarvardX if they can give him footage of the right quality. . That is, we'll use HarvardX as the backlot for WGBH so as to squeeze three episodes out for 250.

This proposal does not include experiments in schools or the curricular development into courses for teachers that you've seen in other (million dollar_) proposals. But the courses for teachers can't happen before the footage is developed, and these courses will have as their centerpiece the WGBH episodes, and so this funding will make all the rest possible.

I can polish this narrative and or edit it, if there are things you think I have wrong.

And I can attach a draft budget based on real Harvard numbers (what my Harvard video editor, producer, media manager cost) as well as a draft WGBH budget I'll now go an negotiate with them. Or we can do that at a second stage.

Let me know what you think? And when are we reading Whitman together. Why don't we set a date for Feb when *Poetry in America 3: Whitman* is running online and we could screen a little video and then have a discussion around your table with you and some friends?

Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 10/27/2014 5:09:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: writing up proposal

Importance: High

Okay. Shall I attach budget? Edit the above and send it. Send it to whom? Lisa

On Mon, Oct 27, 2014 at 11:53 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I think the proposal for 500k is optimistic but can't hurt. .

On Mon, Oct 27, 2014 at 9:48 AM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:

Dear Jeffrey,

Larry has told me that you and a friend would like to contribute to my project (hallelujah and thank you a million times, Jeffrey) and that I ought to write up a proposal asking for 500,000. This is wonderful. If this comes to pass, the best way for that money to come, I think, is as a gift to Poetry in America, an initiative at EdLabs at Harvard University. This will give me discretion over its disbursement to HarvardX and WGBH, but this will be absolutely be a Harvard gift that will count as Campaign success and from which Harvard will take some (but not as much)overhead. . So far the best finance people I've met are at EdLabs and they are happy to manage these funds for me. There are other ways to give me this money that leave Harvard out, but my understanding is that your friend would like this to be a Harvard gift.

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Elisa New

Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
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[redacted]

- As the year 2015 begins, we find ourselves at the height of a historic earthquake, in multiple dimensions, the like of which hasn't been seen since the end of WWI and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

- In the Middle East – within three years, the "Arab spring" turned into the "Islamic winter" – borders have vanished and centuries of conflicts between tribes and factions are erupting onto the surface.

- The bi-polar and multi-polar world we knew has been replaced by a world with not even one geopolitical center of gravity. It is a Gestalt in which everything depends on everything else, and dealing with the challenges requires global cooperation

.

- Israel finds itself at the center of a kind of "perfect storm,"the only outpost of the western way of life in

the Middle East – at the meeting point of the "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West, as Huntington envisioned it, and at the same time, in the spinning "eye of the storm" of the clash of titans within Islam itself: between Sunni and Shi'ite, between tradition, extremism and terrorism on the one hand, and modernity and moderation on the other; between the dream of "past glory" and the vision of a "leap into the future". And all of this is drenched in a lot of blood.

- This drama that has washed over the Arab world bears two lessons and one insight for us:

The 1st lesson: "Be modest in prophecy". In particular, when it comes to the future. Mubarak for example had about 400,000 people at his disposal working in various security agencies in order to preemptively predict events such as those that took place at Tahrir Square. And he did not foresee the uprising. So

who can?

The 2nd lesson: When friends, and even the leaders among us, say: "Don't get swept into a panic – if something really grave happens (Iran for example) – the US will not stand by. The world will take action!"

And I say: Don't bet on it. Look at Syria. Assad has massacred 200,000 of his own people – with tanks, artillery, fighter jets, even chemical weapons – and the world did not lift a finger.

And the one insight: To all our opponents and even friends who tell us that our lack of success in reaching an agreement with the Palestinians is the root of all the troubles in the Middle East – the original sin! – I say: this is not true!

Even if I, in 2000 (or Rabin and Peres in 1994 or Olmert in 2008), were to have reached a peace treaty with the Palestinians – which would have been implemented a long time ago the "Muslim Brotherhood" would still have

taken control over Egypt and Al-Sisi would still have taken it back a short time after.

- Syria would still have been embroiled in a bitter civil war. And Iran – would still be striving for regional hegemony and nuclear military capability.
- The reasons for all the above are deeply rooted in the history of the nations and the region – and do not stem from the Israeli Palestinian conflict (they may be related to it in another way, which I will get to later on).

- In the new reality forged by the "Arab Spring," there is good news and bad news for us.

Let's start with the bad news:

ISIS, the disintegration of Syria, the events in Iraq – all of these are bad news that prove to us, time and time again, that the Middle East is indeed a tough neighborhood. There is no mercy for the

weak, and there will be no second opportunity for those who don't defend themselves. Every year, new threats arise. And the old ones: Hezbollah, Iran, terrorism –are all "alive and kicking" and growing even stronger.

But there is good news too. Israel is the strongest country in the region, from Tripoli in Libya to Tehran. It's the strongest militarily, strategically, and economically, and if we know act wisely–diplomatically too. Equally important: Israel will continue to be the strongest country in the region in the foreseeable future – especially if we manage to identify and cultivate these sources of empowerment and advantage – including:

- Armed Forces capable of defeating any outside combination of threats, including terrorism.
- A strong and growing economy in an open relationship with global markets.

- Foreign policy that assures international backing, especially American – diplomatic and economic-backing Israel's positions, and which holds the "moral high ground" vis-a-vis our enemies and opponents.

- The fact that Israel is stronger than any combination of enemies is what enables us to act from a position of strength and self confidence in order to change the reality : to counter the threats and to seize the opportunities.

- Let me elaborate briefly about each of the threats:

Two ironies and one insight about Isis.

Assad slaughtered 200,000 of his people including by using chemical weapons – and that wasn't enough to get the British parliament and Prime Minister Cameron or the American Congress and President Obama to act.

- Then, ISIS beheaded two journalists (not really a new practice in the Middle East) in front of the

cameras – and within 48 hours the world was united against them. Better late than never, so we have little reason to complain about the result. However, there is something to learn about the superficiality of the decision-making processes in our world.

Second: let's assume for a moment that ISIS is restrained in about a year (and hopefully – crushed) – who wins?

- The main winner is Assad, since the Coalition would have wiped out his main adversary, freeing him to focus more intensely on the rest of the rebels – meaning the "moderate" rebels, which the Coalition purports to train and reinforce in order to take him down.

Iran also wins and of course Hezbollah - all members of President Bush's Axis of Evil. In other words: the Coalition is doing some of the "dirty work" for them.

- In my best assessment, the Turks are right in their position that there is

no point in striking ISIS unless you also set a goal to take down Assad, and act to achieve it.
The Turks are right in their call for a "humanitarian strip" – 25-30 km into Syrian territory along the borders, and declare it a “no fly zone”, a place for refugees (there are several million of them) to assemble and where they can receive humanitarian aid.

- What hasn't been said explicitly is that such a deployment might lead sooner or later to engagement with the Syrian Air Force – followed by the Syrian Air Defense – which could develop into an opportunity to fundamentally change the balance of power and the course of the war against Assad's regime.

And one insight: ISIS may not be as strong as it is being portrayed. A coherent ,intense, coordinated action during the next year or two, particularly

if performed according to the Turkish outline and with massive Turkish involvement – could well put the Genie back into the bottle. However – let us make no mistake – ISIS is part of the radical Islamic web of terrorism. A web that is loosely knit, yet survives on strictly restricted resources – and demonstrates operational flexibility, survivability and a fanatic adherence to the goal.

- We're talking about ALQ, Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria, Lashkar-e-Taiba in India, the Houthis in Yemen, the Shabab in Sumali, Boko Haram in Nigeria and many more – all across the Muslim strip, from Marrakesh to Bangladesh.
- And this web is very resilient. Dealing with it will take war lasting for a generation, not just a few years. The struggle will require collaboration not just between the moderate Arab nations and Turkey – but a long-standing collaboration between the US,

Russia, China, India and Europe – all are are potential targets and victims of this terror everyone to some extent. Forging this collaboration is categorically more important than the events in Ukraine or the North Chinese Sea Islands.

- Hezbollah is busy in Syria – and would generally prefer to avoid provoking Israel. Some here would say that Nasrallah has been deterred, that the memory of 2006 is still fresh in his mind and he will not act. I have my reservations about the deterministic nature of this statement. "Deterrence" is a somewhat elusive term. This is not a "zero sum game" on a one-dimensional bar. This is a complex and context-related issue. Although under normal circumstances, each side has a fundamental position (let's assume for a moment that Hezbollah's position is "avoid provoking Israel") – it is still not hard to imagine an event, or

damage to Hezbollah's (or Nasrallah's) assets or prestige, that could lead it , despite its basic position, to take action contrary to its true fundamental position.

- Incidentally, this doesn't apply solely to "Hezbollah" – but to us too.
- Therefore, the working assumptions and the operational deployment must include the possibility of deterioration into a wide-scale confrontation with Hezbollah.

- And now, to Iran – which under certain circumstances might be the element that ignites or incites "Hezbollah" into action.
- Let us be clear – a nuclear Iran is a central threat to the entire world order, not just Israel. A nuclear Iran means the end of the non-proliferation regime– Saudi Arabia, within months, Turkey within a few years and Egypt might follow as well–and all will become nuclear.

- Every third-grade dictator will be able to ensure his survivability against the outside world by following in the footsteps of Pakistan, North Korea and Iran.
- The "countdown" towards the troubling vision of Prof. Graham Allison of Harvard about nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists – this countdown, even if it takes 15 years, will start. Therefore, blocking Iran from becoming a "threshold nuclear state" is crucial, and justifies every effort.

- Right now diplomacy is in hiatus at least until March 2015. It's hard to imagine a good agreement with the P5+1, and a bad agreement would be best left unsigned. The problem is that the Iranians have no real incentive to reach a “final agreement” that would keep them from becoming a nuclear power.
- As far as they're concerned, at any

given time an improved "interim agreement" would be better (unless the P5+1 yield to a bad agreement.)

- The Iranians are very sophisticated. In their opinion (I emphasize: in their opinion), the American government has changed its goal without admitting it, from "Iran will not have military nuclear capability. Period." to "Iran will not have military nuclear capability on our watch "
-
- This is of course a completely different thing. And this perception only reinforces Iran's obduracy and the delaying tactics that they've adopted.
- Israel has a supreme interest in "keeping all the options on the table". However, today, mostly against the backdrop of the drawn-out talks – Israel has an interest in maximizing its understanding with the United States and trying to convince it of the need for determination and perseverance; for

"sticks" as well as "carrots"; and of the importance of completely losing any illusions regarding the objectives of the Ayatollahs' regime.

- And from here, a sharp segue to the diplomatic challenges Israel faces, from the minor (for now) to the major.
- Israel is far from being a leaf in the wind. But the world has no geopolitical center of gravity – not the US, Russia, Europe or China –Israel isn't omnipotent either.
- It is wrong to disregard what's happening in Europe. It will not be resolved by saying that Europe is ridden with anti-Semitism (though there's quite a bit of truth to that).
- Regarding BDS, I used to tell the members of the Cabinet that– as long as these voices are coming from Eritrea or Mauritania, we can live with it for years. When it comes from Scandinavia and Britain – it's a different story, and must be taken

seriously.

- Right now it is being espoused by parliaments, not governments. But it could expand – to trade unions, to the academia, to consumer organizations and NGOs. And then, heaven forbid, eventually to governments – which will say "we are of the people ". We mustn't forget that Europe is Israel's No. 1 trading partner - not the US and not China. And Europe, with North America and a few countries in the East, is at the heart of the "reference group" of liberal democratic countries to which we want to belong, and rightfully so.

- This leads us to the US – and there, the diplomatic challenge is far greater. Israel is a sovereign state. On more than one occasion, I told President Obama, and before that Presidents Bush and Clinton, the following: "On issues that we believe are essential to the security and future of Israel and of

the Jewish people, Israel will make its decisions alone and on its own responsibility and act upon them. We cannot, and will not want to", I added, "delegate the responsibility for such decisions, when required, even to the best of our friends – which is you." The US presidents, I note, did not always like this statement – but they respected it.

- In the same token, I told members of the cabinet more than once – "we must always remember that the US is also a sovereign state. And it expects us to respect its right to form its positions on the issues crucial to it, based on its own interests ". And we have to respect that.

- Without derogating from our responsibility to make and execute sovereign decisions – the reality is that there isn't full symmetry here.
- Our relations with the US President, the administration, the

Congress and the American people are vital to the State of Israel.

- The United States is Israel's main ally and strategic support. Our relations with it are the cornerstone of Israel's military capabilities, the IDF's qualitative edge, and Israel's strategic and political positioning.
- We receive $3 billion a year from the US, going back some 40 years now. What social or economic budget items would we forgo to make up the ₪12 billion gap if this assistance disappears?
- They're the only ones who can provide us with F-35 jets, the best aircraft in the world.
- These are mutually beneficial relations. The US also benefits from the unprecedented cooperation between our intelligence communities. And so do we.

We never expected, and will never ask others to fight for us – yet the US has deployed advanced radar systems in

Israel to provide early warning against long-range missiles, and holds military exercises on our soil and in the Mediterranean , preparing an American response in case Israel has to defend itself against missile attacks from Iran.

- We received about $1 billion from the US, by order of President Obama, for "Iron Dome", and assistance for the David's Sling and Arrow programs continues.
- We turn to the US to veto hostile initiatives against Israel in the United Nations Security Council. Or to soften the conclusions of the Goldstone Commission and its ilk.
- It is to them that we turned (and they responded to the best of their ability) in rather tense times, when a handful of our people were besieged in the embassy in Cairo, with an angry mob at the door.
- Secretary of State Kerry, and President Obama – went to great lengths – and paid a considerable

political (and often personal) price – to help us achieve a breakthrough with the Palestinians, though the effort did not succeed. Nor did we succeed (Rabin and Peres, myself, Olmert and Bibi as well). They shouldn't be ridiculed and debased for this. They should be appreciated. Even if we do not agree on all the details.

- We will yet need their help in facing many trials in the future.

- I recommend that we all remember this well. The rules of working with the Americans: Do not marginalize yourself. Do not fold. Yes – remember what the U.S. is for Israel. And Maintain–at almost any cost – mutual relations of trust and respect. It's good for Israel.
- The American Congress, President Obama, Biden and Kerry are part of the solution, even if it tarries. They are not part of the problem.

- Ben Gurion used to say, with his

iron logic, that "the future of Israel depends on our strength and our righteousness."

"Our strength" – that is the IDF's might and its strategic capabilities, the backing of the superpowers, our economic strength, and our social solidarity.

"Our righteousness" – not as an abstract concept – is our capacity to hold the"moral high ground" by means of a calculated effort to behave and be perceived as acting in good faith – to obtain peace, even if it delays.

- This is also an an essential condition for achieving internal solidarity and the world's support for Israel (or for the support of <u>most</u> of the world that's important to **us**).
- This is also an essential condition for achieving <u>internal solidarity</u> and <u>willingness for sacrifice</u> in a society where being called for battle or routinely risking your life is not a theoretical notion, but rather part of our life experience that repeats itself

time and again.

- The fighting spirit, resilience and the internal solidarity are deeply bound to both our strength and our righteousness. Our righteousness is just as important as our strength.

Our righteousness, and not our strength in and of itself, is what gives Zionism's struggle its meaning and sense of purpose (especially for ones who can choose). The support of a superpower

- and the resilience of our society and economy, which are among the components of our "strength" – will never be without recognition of our righteousness. And without it, they will erode

.

- This is the time to point out the risk in the weakening of the cohesive forces which hold the Israeli society together. We are turning into an increasingly divided society whose very fabric seems to be ripping apart, and which is riddled with hatred for one another.

Left and right. Jews and Arabs. Secular and religious. Rich and poor. Center and periphery. Old and new. This is dangerous. The late Tunisian President Bourguiba (and later on Sadat in his debates with Assad just before the peace treaty with Israel) made the argument that there's no need to defeat Israel by force. Give them the opportunity – and they will collapse from within. But the opposite is true! We have no intention of collapsing from within. But this requires that we come to our senses and act with the right national priorities in mind for society and the economy.

- The young generation, the future, must be prioritized. And the same applies to those groups in society who carry its burdens:working hard, paying taxes and serving in the IDF.

Cultivating mutual respect, openness, tolerance, and acceptance of others;
More equitable distribution of the national wealth; equal opportunities for

all and encouraging individuals, groups and communities to take responsibility. All of these are part of our mission – and we have a long road ahead of us.

I am concerned about our addiction to internal quarrels just as much as I am concerned about our conflicts with external opponents. Our "righteousness" will not prevail and our "strength" will crack over time if we do not act decisively to establish, gradually yet persistently , norms of public life and civil society – which sets norms for what is done and what isn't done far above the criminal threshold.. We need profound change in the area of respect for the rule of law, standards of governance, keeping the thin line between freedom of expression and freedom of incitement – and immediately hitting the brakes on racism and Jewish terrorism – which in my opinion should be treated within the criminal domain..

- A few sentences on the “nation-state law”. This is a redundant and even harmful law. In general, and particularly at this point. To our friends it signals that Israel is losing its self-confidence regarding the obvious – namely,its unique identity as the Jewish-democratic state as reflected by the "Declaration of Independence".
To our enemies it provides an effective tool to make Israel a suspect– of being a country that's willingly drifting away from the norms of democracy – as a preliminary step towards institutionalized discrimination.
And one has to wonder: what was wrong with what we had until this point? What's wrong with the "Declaration of Independence"? Who needs this? And why?

- Churchill once observed the difference between an optimist and pessimist.
The pessimist – sees the difficultly in

every opportunity
The optimist – sees the opportunity in every difficultly.

- We have opportunities before us within all of the difficulties. The most important of all, a rare one, the kind that comes once in a generation – is the opportunity to establish a regional agreement. It is all the more important in light of the "Arab Spring" and following "Operation Protective Edge". There is an opportunity to establish a regional agreement that fundamentally changes the realities of the region and Israel's future and status within it. An agreement that will move the region's entire economy forward together with the chance for stability and peace ,based on synergies and collaboration rather than hatred and revenge.

- What do I mean? The events in recent years have created a strong common interest for Israel and the moderate Arab countries – Saudi

Arabia and the Gulf States, Jordan, Egypt and perhaps even Turkey (which is not Arab). The focal interest is the struggle against radical Islamic terrorism and against Iran's hegemonic and nuclear intentions.

- The challenge for us is based on there being, apparently, only one way to achieve that; and the upcoming elections in Israel force us to put it on hold for a few months.
- And the way to do it is this: a strong, self-confident Israel, willing to hold serious negotiations with the Palestinians and the group of Arab nations within an international conference, backed by the US and the Quartet – in order to achieve a two-state solution and establish a regional agreement, while maintaining an unyielding and persistent fight against terrorism and ensuring the IDF's qualitative military edge over any combination of opponents.

- The moderates among Arab rulers are unable (and also unwilling) to float this common interest and turn it into policy – because they worry how their people would respond. This is how the Palestinian issue is related to possibility of an overall agreement in the Middle East.
- And this isn't just an assessment.
- We must remember, vis-a-vis the Palestinians, Israel can (practically only) give. Regarding the rest of the moderate Arab world – Israel can also get, and a lot..
Not just recognition and legitimacy but also an opportunity for regional infrastructure projects – and mostly – for the beginning of a process, protracted though it may be – to change the region's fundamental attitudes towards Israel.
- On the road to seize this opportunity – Israel will have to consider embracing the Saudi proposal,

with Israel's reservations, as a basis to negotiate a regional agreement.

- This will take time. There will be ups and downs. The Palestinians are not an easy interlocutor. No one knows that better than I do..
- This might require long periods of interim agreements and even calculated unilateral steps that are coordinated with the US and the Quartet.
- It is possible that within the context of a regional agreement, the Palestinian State, once established, could be integrated into a structure of a closer cooperation that could include Jordan, Israel and perhaps another regional player.
- But to advance the chance of a regional agreement after the elections in Israel – the Palestinian issue and the two-state solution must be at the top of the agenda.
- The idea that' the radical right raises from time to time – to continue to rule the entire territory and maintain

a sort of "autonomy" for the Palestinians – is an illusion at best, and the first step of an upcoming blame game at worst. It will be brutally rejected by our closest friends – not to mention by each of the potential partners for the regional agreement – and by all of them together. This too is not a mere assessment.

- The claim that the events of the past year "prove" that Israel's vital security needs are incompatible with the "two-state solution" – is false. And I'm stating this as a professional position, not a political opinion.
- On the contrary – the IDF will be able to defend Israel better from an internationally recognized border that includes the settlement blocs, a number of strategic sites on mountain ridge, a security zone east of Ben Gurion Airport and long-term military presence on the Jordan River.
- The real threat to the future of the

Zionist Project – is not the security constraints of the "two-state solution" but rather a slippery slope leading to the "one-state solution" – a reality that would compromise Israel's security and worsen its diplomatic isolation – while inevitably (and this is the keyword) leading Israel into becoming a non-Jewish or non-democratic state. Not to mention the danger of descending into severe, perpetual hemorrhaging, lasting generations, by the two national communities locked in embrace– as we have seen in Belfast and Bosnia.

- The vision we all share – the vision of a "model society" in Israel, of positioning Israel, within 10-15 years, among the group of the most advanced societies – in education and culture, science and technology, quality of life – and eventually standard of living (Finland and Denmark can do it? So can we!). A society in which its sons and daughters choose to live . And one

that young Jews from all over the world consider a source of pride, inspiration – and even a worthy place to live in.

- The vision of a "model society" will not materialize unless we gather our mental strength and political will, despite the pain and the differences in our positions – and together embrace the "two-state solution under a regional agreement" – which even if it delays – is the only appropriate and feasible solution, the only realistic and proper goal for Zionism in this complex world of the 21st century.

- A friend (from the Likud, actually) told me that when he was young, he visited Ben Gurion's home a few times. In one of their conversations, the boy asked the Old Man: "how is it that out of all of the people's leaders in the past 2,000 years, and even in the past 80 years, it was you who ended up founding the Jewish State?" And the

Old Man answered: "In ancient times, everyone had a sixth sense, a sense of recognizing opportunities. This sense disappeared over time – in most people. But not for me! I saw an opportunity – and I seized it."
Ben Gurion did not speak of the horrors of the War of Independence, the doubts, the risks. many assumed we would fail. He talked about the opportunity and recognizing it. And the deed.

- Like Ben Gurion at the time, Menachem Begin – with Egypt, and Rabin – in the peace treaty with Jordan, and later Peres – with the first steps towards the Palestinians, took huge national, diplomatic, security and political risks. Some paid a heavy price. Yitzhak paid the ultimate price. But they all dared – and acted. This is the true test of leadership. This is also the real test of creative statesmanship.
- Formative leadership had always

been rooted in a rare combination and fine balance between vision, daring and courage on one hand and judgment, complete sobriety and grasp of detail on the other. They will not come where anxiety, pessimism and passivity rule – these are recipes for the creating of self-fulfilling (necessarily pessimistic) prophecies.

- The essence and the purpose of the Zionist movement was to defy the reality and the mindset that the Exile created. Its foundation lay in the decision to take our own fate in our own hands and move proactively to change reality, and not be swept away by the arbitrary waves of history.

- Reality is knocking on our door. Not everything is certain. Nothing is ever certain. And nothing ever will be. Nevertheless – open the
- door – this is the true trial of the national leadership.
- Abba Eban used to say – the

Palestinians have never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity.

- Let's not fall into this trap – ourselves.

- Thank you.

Date: Friday, January 2 2015 11:14 PM
Subject: truly outrageous Š.i am so sorry for you & alan-
From: Lilly Ann Sanchez <[redacted]>
To: jeevacation@gmail.com;
Attachments: 8EE9569C-058C-424D-9513-7655E297E217[9].png; 5C1BB0AB-366E-4484-A53B-A8165C8B536B.png; 7B138C22-EB95-4CF5-AADA-CB3D461BC4EE.png; FD41701B-1ACA-4262-B3E8-EB553F5705B2.png; DCE5E2CF-48F1-42F4-A922-833477C1EB2F.png

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Jeffrey -

Please let me know if I can help in any way-

Story below-

Miami Herald

Salacious new chapter in Florida billionaire's sex scandal

Jeffrey Epstein

For years, the story of South Florida billionaire money manager Jeffrey Epstein — involving allegations of human trafficking, an international underage sex ring, a Palm Beach mansion, a private island in the Caribbean, and an FBI investigation — has been tabloid fodder in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Now, Fort Lauderdale lawyer Brad Edwards is helping to write a new chapter in this murky and sordid tale. Representing two alleged victims identified only as Jane Doe #3 and Jane Doe #4, Edwards filed a motion in U.S. District Court in West Palm Beach that alleges well-known criminal defense lawyer Alan Dershowitz and Prince Andrew, the Duke of York, were involved in Epstein's international sex ring.

"There's absolutely no kernel of truth to this story," said Dershowitz, who represented Epstein. "I don't know this woman. I've never been in the same place with her. She's made up the whole story completely from whole cloth."

Edwards' motion requests that his new clients join the case of two other alleged victims — identified as Jane Doe #1 and Jane Doe #2 in court records — who are attempting to use the Crime Victims' Rights Act to force the U.S. Department of Justice to prosecute Epstein for sex trafficking of children by fraud and use of interstate commerce to entice a minor to commit prostitution, among other offenses.

A wealthy Wall Street money manager who had once attempted to purchase New York magazine, Epstein traveled the world in circles that included President Bill Clinton and businessman Donald Trump. Despite his vast fortune and mansion in Palm Beach, Epstein kept a low profile and wasn't a regular in the wealthy island's social scene.

The low profile vanished in 2005, when a woman contacted the Palm Beach police fearing that Epstein had molested her 14-year-old daughter. The girl told detectives she'd been invited to Epstein's mansion, where she was paid $300 after stripping to her underwear and massaging Epstein as he masturbated. Police then located a community college student who gave a sworn statement that she had taken six girls, all between the ages of 14 and 16, to Epstein.

Police referred the case to the FBI. In September 2007, Dershowitz helped Epstein negotiate a then-secret non-prosecution agreement with the U.S. Attorney's Office, which deferred to the Palm Beach County State Attorney's Office for criminal charges, court records show.

In 2008, Epstein pleaded guilty to a state charge of soliciting prostitution with a minor and served 13 months of an 18-month sentence.

After his conviction, Epstein's story grew even more bizarre, with anonymous women accusing him in federal court of conspiring with Ghislaine Maxwell, daughter of the late British media baron Robert Maxwell, to operate an international underage sex ring.

Edwards, the Fort Lauderdale lawyer, and Paul Cassell, a former federal judge who now teaches law at the University of Utah, filed a Jane Doe lawsuit against the U.S. government in July 2008, alleging that Epstein had committed crimes against their clients, including sex trafficking of children by fraud.

The case, which has been pending for more than six years before U.S. District Judge Kenneth A. Marra, initially involved two women, identified as Jane Doe #1 and Jane Doe #2, who said they were sexually abused by Epstein and trafficked as minors.

On Dec. 30, 2014, Edwards asked to have two new accusers added to the case — identified as Jane Doe #3 and Jane Doe #4.

Jane Doe #3 alleges in the court filing that Maxwell and Epstein kept her as a "sex slave" from 1999 through 20002, when she escaped to an unspecified foreign country.

Epstein forced Jane Doe #3, who was then a minor, to have sex with politically connected and wealthy people, the court filing alleges.

"Epstein's purpose in 'lending' Jane Doe [along with other young girls] to such powerful people [was] to ingratiate himself with them for business, personal, political and financial gain, as well as to obtain blackmail information," the filing alleges.

Jane Doe #3 identifies one of the men she was forced to have sex with as Dershowitz, a former Harvard law professor and high- profile criminal defense lawyer.

"Dershowitz was an eye-witness to the sexual abuse of many other minors by Epstein and several of Epstein's co-conspirators," the filing alleges.

Dershowitz denied the claims, describing them as part of an extortion plot. He called the filing "the sleaziest legal document I have ever seen."

"They manipulated a young, suggestible woman who was interested in money," Dershowitz said.

Dershowitz said he intends to file complaints against Edwards and Cassell. "This is a disbarrable offense, and they will be disbarred," Dershowitz said. "They will rue the day they ever made this false charge against me."

Knowingly making defamatory statements in court records can be grounds for disbarment. Jack Thompson, a Miami lawyer who campaigned against violent video games and the

group2 Live Crew, was disbarred for professional misconduct that included making defamatory statements.

"We're not commenting on the story beyond our legal pleading," Cassel said.

In the most recent court filing, Jane Doe #3 alleges that Epstein forced her to have sex with "many other powerful men, including numerous prominent American politicians, powerful business executives, foreign presidents, a well-known prime minister, and other world leaders."

The filing names Prince Andrew, the Duke of York, as one of those world leaders.

The Florida Center for Investigative Reporting is a nonprofit news organization supported by foundations and individual contributions. For more information, visit fcir.org.

Palace Denies Allegations About Prince Andrew in U.S. Underage Sex Lawsuit

Lilly Ann Sanchez, Esq.

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1441 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131

tel: [redacted]
fax: [redacted]
email: [redacted]

website: http://www.thelslawfirm.com

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 1/4/2015 11:45:43 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Interesting…. Heard Alan is not the type to give up.

> On Jan 4, 2015, at 7:25 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> bad press in fulll swing . she also claims to have dinner on my island with clinton. lots of details where he was sitting etc however he was NEVER on the island NEVER. its silly, but she has lots of traction
>
> --
> please note
> The information contained in this communication is
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> the use of the addressee. It is the property of
> JEE
> Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
> communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
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> communication in error, please notify us immediately by
> return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
> destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

--
Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use
[redacted]

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 1/4/2015 8:34:13 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I got another email from a colleague of his saying, "they picked the wrong adversary in Dersh. It will be his new life mission. "

> On Jan 4, 2015, at 9:19 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> Kabuki Sec royals money
>
> On Sunday, January 4, 2015, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:
> Interesting…. Heard Alan is not the type to give up.
>
> > On Jan 4, 2015, at 7:25 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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> > return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
> > destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> > including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved
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> --
> Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use
[redacted]
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> return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
> destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
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Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use
[redacted]

From: Martin Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 3/19/2015 8:40:59 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; dkiesq [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein
Attachments: image001.gif

Importance: High

Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.

20 Park Plaza, Suite 1000

Boston, MA 02116

617-227-3700

617-901-3472 cell

==========

This Electronic Message contains

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Martin G. Weinberg, P.C.,

and may be privileged. The

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contents of this message is

prohibited.

On Thursday, March 19, 2015 3:54 PM, Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]> wrote:

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Sullivan, John" <[redacted]
Date: March 19, 2015 at 2:57:44 PM EDT
To: [redacted]" <[redacted]
Subject: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein

Good Afternoon Mr. Dershowitz,

I'm John Sullivan, a reporter at The Washington Post. I've been reading with great interest stories about allegations that former President Clinton spent time on Jeffrey Epstein's Caribbean Island. In a declaration you filled in federal court you state that you have reason to believe this is not true. Are you available to discuss this with me? Thank you for your time.

John Sullivan

John Sullivan
Reporter
[redacted]
1150 15th Street NW
Washington DC 20071
Phone: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

MARTIN G. WEINBERG, P.C.
ATTORNEY AT LAW

20 PARK PLAZA, SUITE 1000
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02116

[redacted]

FAX [redacted]

NIGHT EMERGENCY:
[redacted]

EMAIL ADDRESSES:
[redacted]

April 24, 2015

Via Email and U.S. Mail
John Zucker
Assistant Legal Counsel
Office of Legal Counsel
77 W 66TH St, Room 1628
New York, NY 10023

Re: Good Morning America and Night Line interview with Jane Doe 3

Dear Mr. Zucker:

I represent Jeffrey Epstein. I have been informed by Producer James Hill that ABC intends to air an interview, conducted by a Good Morning America co-host, of a woman known in court papers as Jane Doe 3.[1] I write to put you on notice that ABC's publication of Jane Doe 3's accusations is grossly negligent or worse. The accusations, many of which relate to my client, relate to alleged conduct that occurred approximately 15 years ago. The current accusations are simply reformatted and embellished echoes of previous allegations, which were first made by Jane Doe 3 to tabloid publications in the United Kingdom in 2011 and which have no independent news value. These allegations were then and remain now uncorroborated and have been refuted or undermined by other, credible evidence. Indeed, a federal judge recently refused to consider these allegations in pending litigation, finding them "immaterial and impertinent", while striking the allegations and denying Jane Doe 3s Motion to Join, See Jane Doe 1 and 2 v. United States, 08-CV-80736-KAM (S.D. Fla.), Dkt 324 at 5. In addition, in that very same litigation, Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent Timothy R. Slater filed a declaration stating that when Jane Doe 3 was interviewed by the FBI in 2007 she refused to cooperate with the investigation of Mr. Epstein declaring she wanted nothing to do with the matter. For ABC to air these untested allegations on national television as "news" when Jane Doe 3 intentionally declined eight years ago to subject these same allegations to verification by the FBI would be grossly irresponsible and severely damaging to Mr. Epstein and others.

[1] Mr. Hill informed me that she was waiving whatever rights to anonymity she might assert but I will, because of certain legal obligations, refer to her as Jane Doe 3.

This is particularly true when ABC knows or should know that several, very specific allegations of Jane Doe 3 have been rebutted and/or demonstrated by others to be false. For example, I understand that she has accused distinguished Professor Alan Dershowitz of Harvard Law School of sexual misconduct involving her. Professor Dershowitz has flatly denied that allegation under oath in a federal court proceeding. I further understand that Professor Dershowitz offered to play a tape recording for Mr. Hill that evidences that Jane Doe 3 has made recent contradictory statements—that is, that she was pressured into including Professor Dershowitz in her allegations and that she has a financial motive in making these allegations.

The Duke of York and the Royal Palace have likewise unequivocally denied Jane Doe's similar allegations against the Duke. Surely, these unequivocal statements of denial of respected members of society are entitled to some deference by ABC, particularly where, as here, there is substantial evidence of bias, improper motive, and serious credibility problems of their accuser.

Moreover, additional claims of Jane Doe 3 can be refuted with objective evidence that is readily obtainable by ABC. For example, she claims she was in the presence of both former President Clinton (after January 20, 2001, and before the summer of 2002) and former Vice President Gore (and his wife) at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. I have been told by Mr. Hill that she claims to be 100% sure of the facts regarding President Clinton. The claims are completely uncorroborated and compellingly contradicted by others. Neither former President Clinton nor former Vice-President Gore and his wife have ever been present at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. A review of United States Secret Service records, obtainable through a Freedom of Information Request would prove the falsity of the claim. Virgin Island government records would provide further confirmation. I also believe that Mr. Hill has been told by individuals with percipient knowledge that former President Clinton has never been to Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. Upon inquiry, I am certain that you would receive similar denials from Mr. and Mrs. Gore either directly or by or through their counsel Mr. Boies. Jane Doe 3's fabrication of these claims against respected former officials undermines completely the trustworthiness of each and every one of her remaining allegations.

We would expect that, in the wake of the damning independent review of Rolling Stone's publications of rape allegations involving students at the University of Virginia, ABC would proceed with similar, uncorroborated allegations with extreme caution. At the very least, ABC has an obligation to verify—with independent evidence—the truthfulness of Jane Doe 3's claims. Merely declining to air those portions of her interview that relate to President Clinton and Vice-President Gore is insufficient. If ABC has concerns about her credibility with respect to <u>any</u> allegation, it must decline to republish <u>all</u> of her allegations.

In June of 2008, Mr. Epstein pleaded guilty to Florida state charges that do not relate to Jane Doe 3. After an extensive investigation, the United States declined to prosecute Mr. Epstein and provided him with a Non-Prosecution Agreement. Mr. Epstein fully conformed to the responsibilities and obligations imposed on him by that agreement. Mr. Epstein is not engaged in public activities. He is a private person who has complied and continues to comply with his legal obligations, and he is attempting to move forward with his life in a productive way. The allegations of Jane Doe 3 are neither credible nor news worthy. ABC should not publish them.

Yours Truly,

/s/Martin G. Weinberg

CC James E Hill, ABC News

From: Noam Chomsky [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 5:52:30 PM
To: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]; jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]
Subject: RE: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: image001.png

Importance: High

Thanks for sending. A wide area of agreement, but not total.

On confronting dogma, I of course agree – though in my opinion the secular religions – nationalist fanaticism, etc. – are much more dangerous. And if some find rational discussion offensive – as, for example, mainstream academics find dismantling myths of "American exceptionalism" or "Israeli self-defense" or Obama's mass murder campaign, etc., offensive – so be it.

But I don't see why that should extend to ridicule. That includes astrologists. Astronomers can refute astrology, while recognizing that perfectly honest and deluded people may believe it and should be treated with respect, while their beliefs are confronted with evidence. I also don't see why we should ridicule religious dogma, just as I don't think we should ridicule the much more pernicious secular dogmas. Rather, we should respond to irrational belief with argument and evidence, while recognizing that their advocates (like most of the intellectual world in the case of secular dogma) are people who we should be responding to but without ridiculing them. It may be hard sometimes. For example, when the icon and founding father of sober non-sentimental Realism in International Affairs informs us that the US, unlike other countries, has a "transcendental purpose," and the fact that it constantly acts in contradiction to its purpose doesn't matter because the facts are just "abuse of history" while real history is "the evidence of history as our minds reflect it," then it's hard to avoid ridicule. But we should. There's no point ridiculing virtually the entire IR profession and the major journals, even though such extraordinary irrationality leads to major human disasters.

On Davis, I frankly think that's a non-issue. If she decides she cannot do her job as the conditions of employment require (including following the law), then she can quit and look for another job. As in any other such case.

Noam

From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

hope all is well.

Lawrence

http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Co-Director, Cosmology Initiative
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted], Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]

[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | twitter.com/lkrauss1 | krauss.faculty.asu.edu

ASU Origins PROJECT
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

From: Lawrence Kraus [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 8:08:32 PM
To: Noam Chomsky [redacted]
CC: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; [redacted]
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png

Importance: High

Yup.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]

origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 10, 2015, at 12:09 PM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

I quite agree. And I'm pretty sure Lawrence does too.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
Cc: Lawrence Kraus [redacted]
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.

I think religion plays a major positive role in many lives. . i dont like fanaticism on either side. . sorry

On Thu, Sep 10, 2015 at 7:52 PM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted] wrote:

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On Davis, I frankly think that's a non-issue. If she decides she cannot do her job as the conditions of employment require (including following the law), then she can quit and look for another job. As in any other such case.

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Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

hope all is well.

Lawrence

http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Co-Director, Cosmology Initiative

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School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
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[redacted]
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<image001.png>

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From: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 8:09:42 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png; DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png

Importance: High

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]
[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Noam Chomsky" <[redacted]>
Date: September 10, 2015 at 12:01:39 PM MST
To: Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: an article you may both hate. or like.

Then we're in complete agreement.

Noam

From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 2:46 PM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.

I couldn't agree more. Re ridicule. I never suggest ridiculing people. However by pointing out the inconsistency, or contravening evidence associated with various ideas, including for example American exceptionalism, then we are essentially subjecting ideas to ridicule. That is what I meant.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]

Origins Office [redacted]
[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | twitter.com/lkrauss1 | krauss.faculty.asu.edu

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 10, 2015, at 10:52 AM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

Thanks for sending. A wide area of agreement, but not total.

On confronting dogma, I of course agree – though in my opinion the secular religions – nationalist fanaticism, etc. – are much more dangerous. And if some find rational discussion offensive – as, for example, mainstream academics find dismantling myths of "American exceptionalism" or "Israeli self-defense" or Obama's mass murder campaign, etc., offensive – so be it.

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On Davis, I frankly think that's a non-issue. If she decides she cannot do her job as the conditions of employment require (including following the law), then she can quit and look for another job. As in any other such case.

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From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky [redacted]; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

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Lawrence

http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

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<image001.png>

From: Lawrence Krauss[redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 8:10:36 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png

Importance: High

Ps. My piece argued against fanaticism.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
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School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
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Sent from my iPhone

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Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted] jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

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http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 10/25/2015 1:02:26 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Good idea. It didn't seem like Obama was that interested in hard sciences though… What's your read?

On Oct 25, 2015, at 7:46 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

another idea for obama . not as good as bio signal intelligence. . the cinese are willing to build a new collider. they will put up the money and build it , but need american tech. if he were to call it the obama xi collider. his legazy would be great in scinece and the project takes 15 -30 years.

--

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Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use [redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 12/2/2015 3:17:58 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

May I drop by before the New Year (perhaps on the 9th, or on the 17th or 18th?) to get your advice about my renewal of the Templeton campaign, and also my needs in the coming year for Poetry in America? Below is the letter I'm sending out to my friends and supporters, and at the bottom a message just for you....
-Lisa

That you are receiving this letter means that you are among a special community of friends whose support— financial, moral, intellectual, logistical— has allowed my initiative, *Poetry in America*, to realize what seemed, a year ago, almost certainly too ambitious a vision. **That vision was to produce the highest quality educational video on American poetry, creating a body of humanities content capable of reaching a broad community of learners: formal and informal, online and residential, young and old, American and international. And it was to begin— rapidly— to disseminate and distribute our work.**

Whether you donated to *Poetry in America* through Filmmaker's Collaborative (our 501c3 fiscal sponsor), through Harvard, or through WGBH; whether you appeared on camera or talked an elusive friend into appearing on camera to discuss a poem; whether you lent us your film crew, or provided overnight use of your hotel suite or apartment or of your whole skyscraper; whether you highlighted our work on your stage, or talked your colleagues into becoming corporate sponsors; whether you flew to Boston to install state-of-the-art editing and video storage equipment, or asked your children's school to let us film there; whether you encouraged your family foundation to take an interest in the project, or gave us a lesson in IP, in licensing, in the rudiments of finance, or of distribution; whether you praised, or gave timely, much-needed criticism— you enabled what we have done.

Here's what we have to report, and to show, a year later, thanks to your help. Links offer sneak peeks of works -in-progress across the full portfolio of *Poetry in America* projects.

- The first **eight-episode season of the public television series *Poetry in America*** (a co-production between WGBH, Emmy Award-winning filmmaker David Grubin, and my own new production company, Verse Video), is now fully funded and in production, with episodes featuring Bill Clinton, Herbie Hancock and Sonia Sanchez on Langston Hughes, Frank Gehry on Carl Sandburg, Katie Couric on Elizabeth Bishop, Nas on Whitman, and many more scheduled for nationwide launch in 2017.
- ***Poetry in America*'s many initiatives to reach Middle and High School teachers and their students are taking root.** Our first online course for Middle and High School Teachers, **Poetry of the City**, will launch this Spring with the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Companion materials to this course will be made available for free on PBS LearningMedia. This course is designed to meet the needs of English Language Arts and Social Studies teachers in the US and internationally.

- We are eager to begin production of **The Poetry of Earth, Sea, and Sky.** Designed, too, for Middle and High School teachers, The Poetry of Earth, Sea, and Sky will draw English Language Arts instruction into dialogue with science, and will include extraordinary footage of the natural world, conversations with poets, scholars, and scientists as well as footage shot in class and in the field with great teachers.

- A recent partnership with Greenwich Country Day School and the Success Academy Network of charter schools will provide a base for the production of a new collection of classroom-ready educational material on ***The Poetry of Art, Sport, and Play***. This collection will include discussions on poems filmed everywhere from sports fields to Broadway theaters, and will feature dancers, athletes, fashion designers, and more.

- With a growing archive of footage capturing teachers and students reading American poems, **we are eager to expand our reach and move into America's schools, disseminating, testing, and learning from teachers and students** using our materials. We hope to be able to begin work evaluating the impact of poetry on literacy levels and character development and, eventually, to produce a full suite of materials that foster character development along with intellectual growth.

Working closely with such partners as The Nantucket Project, Nautilus Magazine, The Aspen Ideas Festival, and The Big Think, and, of course, **HarvardX**, Harvard's provider of free open online courses, we are continuing to **create rich educational media on poetry for adult learners and lifelong learners.** These materials include short form videos such as this one on Robert Pinsky's "Shirt" (as featured in *The New Yorker*), and, this spring, the **sixth module of the free seven-part *Poetry in America* MOOC, which has registrants in over 150 countries.**

Growing rapidly, and outpacing our current staff and infrastructure, *Poetry in America* has a fundraising goal this year of 2.5 million dollars to fund its expanding group of projects. We've taken a big step, hiring the design agency **Threespot** to help us develop our web presence. Our website— to launch early 2016— will eventually serve as an online hub for our TV show and educational projects. We hope you'll join us then for a virtual launch!

Finally, Jeffrey, you have been such a wonderful supporter of my Poetry in America project. The Leon Black gift changed everything for me last year. It paid salaries for staff I desperately needed to complete projects (detail below), but first and foremost, it gave me leverage, enabling me to set down a solid Harvard base for my activities by giving the school something to point to: this public humanities project among the list of projects the Dean supports. The money did it: as soon as they heard about the gift, they took my project more seriously. Because of that gift, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which is space-stingy, found and rewired a studio space for me to house my video production operation and team. That gift woke up the Deans to the importance of Harvard's role in producing the highest quality humanities content for the WORLD, and not just for Harvard students. My main employee has half of her salary paid with these funds, and the foundation of our collection for PBS LearningMedia is being made with this support. This gift represented one of the most consequential shifts of the last year, allowing me create content and launch projects this year that make future projects that much more likely. If I can keep this base sturdy at Harvard, refilling these coffers, I will be that much more able to keep working.

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agreed to discuss with me (on parenthood and humility). At this point, I'm gaining the platform and the name recognition to be an effective spokesperson for the foundation on building literacy and character in the schools.

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With abundant gratitude,
Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 12/2/2015 4:55:05 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

That's ideal. Larry's away and I'll be working all day. I'm free any time.

On Wed, Dec 2, 2015 at 10:31 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
I'm in Cambridge sat?

On Wednesday, 2 December 2015, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
Dear Jeffrey,

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-Lisa

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Lisa

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Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 12/2/2015 5:54:55 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

did you want to send the below to Lisa? (or have me ask her?)

On Dec 2, 2015, at 12:53 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Do you know Chomsky , he Is with me

On Wednesday, 2 December 2015, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

---------- Forwarded message ----------s with me
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To: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>

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Lisa

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Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
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[redacted]

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From: Lisa New[redacted]
Sent: 12/7/2015 7:01:10 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: and....another bit of advice ...? on WA

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

As you probably know, Woody Allen's legal team said that we couldn't use the film we shot of him: online, for broadcast, anywhere.

It was a fantastic experience taping with him and so, even if I can't ever use the footage, I'm still grateful to you for making the day possible. But of course I'd like to use the footage. I decided when--way back-- we got this very negative answer back from his lawyers that I should just take my time about asking --since it would take us 2 years to be ready to edit the footage anyway (The online course is chronological. When I taped Woody we were still back in 1730. Now we've gotten to the 1920s)

Well, we've now arrived at the season when we'll be editing materials on William Carlos Williams for our course on Modernism and, as we discussed on Saturday, on poetry and other arts, The Poetry of Art, Sport, and Play

I would also, of course, love to make a tv episode out of the conversation, but the threshold question is whether he'll let us use it for anything at all. In case it would matter,

Other performers who have already taped with me include

John Lithgow,
Diane Paulus
Julie Taymor
Nas
Eve Ensler
Damian Woetzel
Kate Burton
Lil Buck Riley
Alfre Woodard
Herbie Hancock
Tony Kushner
Natalia Zukerman

and those who have agreed to tape with me include

Sally Field
Lena Dunham
Yo Yo Ma
Anna Deveare Smith
and more.

Those in other fields include journalists, senators, president clinton etc etc. You've read my pitch before (many times)

His is one of only two releases that we haven't gotten. What do you think of my chances?

Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Leah Reis-Dennis [redacted]
Sent: 12/8/2015 3:33:09 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com; Lisa New [redacted]
Subject: following up: WA poetry release

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

My name is Leah Reis-Dennis, and I'll be heading operations for Lisa's new non-profit, Verse Video Education. She's asked me to be in touch with you about helping us get a release from Woody Allen.

First, I wanted to send along the rough stringout of footage from the conversation with Woody a couple of years ago on "This is Just to Say" by William Carlos Williams. This is totally unedited and uncut footage, but we would love the opportunity to turn it into something great.
https://www.dropbox.com/sh/c0bn1jjxeo0654g/uWZ6KBVbLS?preview=WoodyAllen+Basic+Clip+for+Viewing.mov

If Woody Allen agrees to let us use the footage, he will be in distinguished company. To date, we have filmed conversations about poetry with dozens of distinguished Americans including:

Bill Clinton
Al Gore
John McCain
Mayor Rahm Emanuel
Mayor Tom Menino
Supreme Court Justice Elena Kagan
Sir Mervyn King
Former Secretary of the Treasury Larry Summers

The conversation would be part of a large multiplatform initiative that Harvard Professor Lisa New has under way to bring poetry into the mainstream, and, especially, into English Language Arts classrooms in the United States and around the world. The initiative, Poetry in America, includes a HarvardX online course, a television series we're creating with WGBH to be paired with PBS LearningMedia segments for the classroom, and, a series of online professional development courses we're creating for ELA Middle and High School teachers and for their students.

Let us know if Woody Allen might be open to our sending another release form his way. Of course, if he's interested in releasing the footage for only certain parts of our project, we're open to having a conversation about that, too.

Thank you, and I hope to meet you soon.

Best, Leah

--
Leah Reis-Dennis
Poetry in America
[redacted]

From: soon yi previn [redacted]
Sent: 12/8/2015 5:58:45 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: following up: WA poetry release

Importance: High

Open in principle depending on specially how and where it would be shown and how it would be advertised-both subject to particular requirements and/or restrictions.Also dependent on approval of final cut. Would enter project with positive attitude but release would be reworked by lawyer.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Dec 8, 2015, at 10:40 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Leah Reis-Dennis** <[redacted]>
Date: Tue, Dec 8, 2015 at 11:33 AM
Subject: following up: WA poetry release
To: jeevacation@gmail.com, Lisa New <[redacted]>

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Leah Reis-Dennis
Poetry in America
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From: Noam Chomsky [redacted]
Sent: 12/24/2015 5:37:14 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

Importance: High

Very interesting topics. Would like to hear more from you about them, when we have a chance. Is it worldwide, or mostly here?

My impression is that the fear is mostly in the US. There's nothing in (much more vulnerable) Europe comparable to the Visa Waiver program (insanely targeting Iran, which has not been involved in terrorism, while exempting Saudi Arabia, the source of almost all jihadi terrorism). Or Trump-style ban them all. Or Cruz-style carpet-bomb them. For a long time, probably back to colonial days, this has been a very frightened country, maybe the safest in the world but also the most frightened. Impressions.

Sometimes it's quite weird. By accident, I took the first flight PanAm 103 after the Lockerbie bombing, together with an old friend, a veteran Middle East correspondent. It must have been the safest flight in human history. The plane was empty. We were bumped up to first class because there was no one there.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2015 11:28 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Re:

thought you might be interested in a new version of the percentage agreement between stalin and churchill. Saudi and Iran doing the same , dividing spheres of influence. . it seems few people paying attention to palestinians . maybe next generation. - israel going further right it appears. I find that media induced fear is driving world markets. . very odd. gas prices down nobody shopping, . hotel prices down less travel. commodity prices way down, little building. luxury market decimated. no russians or chinese players. . still virtually zero interest rates. . borrowing not up, fear and paralysis. , (I add these topics as to these at least, i can speak with a modicum of knowledge)

On Thu, Dec 24, 2015 at 10:51 AM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

> This is the program David Marr initiated, developed by Shimon Ullman and others. Makes sense, and there are some interesting results. David was a friend, and we often discussed these topics. In fact, his famous three levels adapted a model from generative grammar. But there was always the fundamental problem I mentioned. Vision is an input system, crafting coherent images from lines, points of light, etc. Language is used for that purpose too, but it's not what language is.
>
> That fundamental difference, along with the fact that the principles involved seem quite different, has always been a stumbling block to seeking any link.
>
> **From:** jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2015 10:48 AM
> **To:** Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re:

Vision rules needed to craft coherent image . Edges? " Faggehtabowtit." Two edges crafted by software

On Thursday, December 24, 2015, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

I presume that the software just guides the hardware. Don't see how that changes the considerations.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2015 10:09 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
Subject: Re:

The hardware of vision is an input system , It's the software that I'm referring to .

On Thursday, December 24, 2015, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

We don't teach children language either, contrary to many beliefs. The visual grammar just grows, and as is known, can develop in various ways depending on early experience. Same with the language grammar, though the period in which experience has a shaping effect is much longer.

However, there are fundamental differences between vision and language. Can send you a recent paper about it if you like. Vision is an input system. Language isn't. It's an internal capacity, a system of knowledge, which is used to process input and also to produce thoughts (sometimes externalized). Seems also to be modality independent. And their properties look wholly different, so it's hard to see how one could piggy-back on the other.

Noam

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2015 9:24 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>;[redacted]
Subject:

we dont teach children to see. they have a visual grammar built in . why wouldnt we expect some mutation of that system to allow auditory grammar.

--

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From: Joi Ito[redacted]
Sent: 3/20/2016 7:33:11 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Martin Nowak [martin_nowak@harvard.edu]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I'm around.

That's the day that Anonymous is supposed to take down Trump's page.

Just saying.

- Joi

On Mar 20, 2016, at 2:52 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

barnaby and I will come up april 1

--

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[redacted]

MARTIN G. WEINBERG, P.C.
ATTORNEY AT LAW

20 PARK PLAZA, SUITE 1000
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02116

[redacted]

FAX [redacted]

NIGHT EMERGENCY: [redacted]

EMAIL ADDRESSES:

[redacted]

April 24, 2015

Via Email and U.S. Mail
John Zucker
Assistant Legal Counsel
Office of Legal Counsel
77 W 66TH St, Room 1628
New York, NY 10023

Re: Good Morning America and Night Line interview with Jane Doe 3

Dear Mr. Zucker:

I represent Jeffrey Epstein. I have been informed by Producer James Hill that ABC intends to air an interview, conducted by a Good Morning America co-host, of a woman known in court papers as Jane Doe 3.[1] I write to put you on notice that ABC's publication of Jane Doe 3's accusations is grossly negligent or worse. The accusations, many of which relate to my client, relate to alleged conduct that occurred approximately 15 years ago. The current accusations are simply reformatted and embellished echoes of previous allegations, which were first made by Jane Doe 3 to tabloid publications in the United Kingdom in 2011 and which have no independent news value. These allegations were then and remain now uncorroborated and have been refuted or undermined by other, credible evidence. Indeed, a federal judge recently refused to consider these allegations in pending litigation, finding them "immaterial and impertinent", while striking the allegations and denying Jane Doe 3s Motion to Join, See Jane Doe 1 and 2 v. United States, 08-CV-80736-KAM (S.D. Fla.), Dkt 324 at 5. In addition, in that very same litigation, Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent Timothy R. Slater filed a declaration stating that when Jane Doe 3 was interviewed by the FBI in 2007 she refused to cooperate with the investigation of Mr. Epstein declaring she wanted nothing to do with the matter. For ABC to air these untested allegations on national television as "news" when Jane Doe 3 intentionally declined eight years ago to subject these same allegations to verification by the FBI would be grossly irresponsible and severely damaging to Mr. Epstein and others.

[1] Mr. Hill informed me that she was waiving whatever rights to anonymity she might assert but I will, because of certain legal obligations, refer to her as Jane Doe 3.

This is particularly true when ABC knows or should know that several, very specific allegations of Jane Doe 3 have been rebutted and/or demonstrated by others to be false. For example, I understand that she has accused distinguished Professor Alan Dershowitz of Harvard Law School of sexual misconduct involving her. Professor Dershowitz has flatly denied that allegation under oath in a federal court proceeding. I further understand that Professor Dershowitz offered to play a tape recording for Mr. Hill that evidences that Jane Doe 3 has made recent contradictory statements—that is, that she was pressured into including Professor Dershowitz in her allegations and that she has a financial motive in making these allegations.

The Duke of York and the Royal Palace have likewise unequivocally denied Jane Doe's similar allegations against the Duke. Surely, these unequivocal statements of denial of respected members of society are entitled to some deference by ABC, particularly where, as here, there is substantial evidence of bias, improper motive, and serious credibility problems of their accuser.

Moreover, additional claims of Jane Doe 3 can be refuted with objective evidence that is readily obtainable by ABC. For example, she claims she was in the presence of both former President Clinton (after January 20, 2001, and before the summer of 2002) and former Vice President Gore (and his wife) at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. I have been told by Mr. Hill that she claims to be 100% sure of the facts regarding President Clinton. The claims are completely uncorroborated and compellingly contradicted by others. Neither former President Clinton nor former Vice-President Gore and his wife have ever been present at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. A review of United States Secret Service records, obtainable through a Freedom of Information Request would prove the falsity of the claim. Virgin Island government records would provide further confirmation. I also believe that Mr. Hill has been told by individuals with percipient knowledge that former President Clinton has never been to Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. Upon inquiry, I am certain that you would receive similar denials from Mr. and Mrs. Gore either directly or by or through their counsel Mr. Boies. Jane Doe 3's fabrication of these claims against respected former officials undermines completely the trustworthiness of each and every one of her remaining allegations.

We would expect that, in the wake of the damning independent review of Rolling Stone's publications of rape allegations involving students at the University of Virginia, ABC would proceed with similar, uncorroborated allegations with extreme caution. At the very least, ABC has an obligation to verify—with independent evidence—the truthfulness of Jane Doe 3's claims. Merely declining to air those portions of her interview that relate to President Clinton and Vice-President Gore is insufficient. If ABC has concerns about her credibility with respect to <u>any</u> allegation, it must decline to republish <u>all</u> of her allegations.

In June of 2008, Mr. Epstein pleaded guilty to Florida state charges that do not relate to Jane Doe 3. After an extensive investigation, the United States declined to prosecute Mr. Epstein and provided him with a Non-Prosecution Agreement. Mr. Epstein fully conformed to the responsibilities and obligations imposed on him by that agreement. Mr. Epstein is not engaged in public activities. He is a private person who has complied and continues to comply with his legal obligations, and he is attempting to move forward with his life in a productive way. The allegations of Jane Doe 3 are neither credible nor news worthy. ABC should not publish them.

Yours Truly,

/s/Martin G. Weinberg

CC James E Hill, ABC News

From: Roy Black [redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:47:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Alan M. Dershowitz [redacted]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:39 PM
To: Alan M. Dershowitz; Roy Black; Jack Goldberger
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

j
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]
Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Privileged - Redacted

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]
Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Sorry, the suit is attached to this email.

From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
To: 'Martin G. Weinberg'
Subject: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Hi Marty,

The attached lawsuit was filed this week in federal court in California alleging that Jeffrey Epstein and another man, Donald Trump, raped her in 1994. We're planning to publish a story on the suit this afternoon, and we want to make sure it is fair. Is Mr. Epstein available to speak? Or do you want to offer a comment on this behalf?

My number is [redacted] and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.

Thank you in advance.

David Ingram

Correspondent
Reuters News

Thomson Reuters

Office: [redacted]
Mobile [redacted]

[redacted]
Reuters.com

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From: Alan Dershowitz [redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:51:57 PM
To: Roy Black [redacted]
CC: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]
Subject: Re: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my iPhone

On Apr 28, 2016, at 12:47 PM, Roy Black <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:39 PM
To: Alan M. Dershowitz; Roy Black; Jack Goldberger
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

j
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]
Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Privileged - Redacted

Begin forwarded message:

From: [redacted]
Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

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Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
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Subject: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

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My number is [redacted] and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.

Thank you in advance.

David Ingram
Correspondent
Reuters News

Thomson Reuters

Office: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]

Reuters.com

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From: Jack Goldberger[redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:59:27 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Alan M. Dershowitz [redacted]; Roy Black[redacted]
Subject: Re: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

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Sent from my iPhone

> On Apr 28, 2016, at 12:40 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> j
> ---------- Forwarded message ----------
> From: Martin Weinberg[redacted]>
> Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
> Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
> To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com<mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com>>
>
>
>
>
>

Privileged - Redacted

>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
> From: <[redacted]
> Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
> To: [redacted]
> Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
>
> Sorry, the suit is attached to this email.
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> From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
> Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
> To: 'Martin G. Weinberg'
> Subject: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
>
> Hi Marty,
> The attached lawsuit was filed this week in federal court in California alleging that Jeffrey Epstein and another man, Donald Trump, raped her in 1994. We're planning to publish a story on the suit this afternoon, and we want to make sure it is fair. Is Mr. Epstein available to speak? Or do you want to offer a comment on this behalf?
> My number is [redacted] and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.
> Thank you in advance.
>
>
> David Ingram
> Correspondent
> Reuters News
>
> Thomson Reuters
>
> Office: [redacted]
> Mobile: [redacted]
>
>[redacted]
> Reuters.com<http://reuters.com>
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> including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved
> <katie johnson v trump complaint.pdf>

From: Moshe Hoffman [[redacted]]
Sent: 5/3/2016 4:51:28 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Greetings, Thanks, and Top Five Questions for the Social Sciences (which Martin thought may interest you)

Importance: High

Hi Jeff,

Thanks again for making the time for me last time you were in town. And for your introductions to Brockman and Ehud. I have enjoyed all the conversations and been learning a lot. Hopefully, a book or two will come out of it eventually as well. Means a lot to me.

Martin mentioned that you are thinking about the top questions in various fields and suggested I might think of some of my own and pass them on to you.

In case you are interested, I list below the five biggest questions that keep me up at night, motivate my life's work, and which I think ought to keep up every social scientist. Happy to discuss with you, if and when you are interested.

-Moshe

---

1) Where do our moral and political views come from?

The bull shit answers most people accept clearly don't fit the facts; we are not discovering moral truths through reason, and our political views are not motivated by a desire to achieve the best policy outcomes. So what does drive these beliefs? And what causes them to have the weird puzzling features they do (e.g., why is a lie of commission so much worse than a lie of omission)? And what causes them to change over time (e.g., slavery has been accepted as moral at many points in history)? And differ across cultures (e.g., ISIS versus the U.S.)? And across person and context (e.g., Trump vs. Bernie supporters)?

More generally, we believe and argue all sorts of crap (your vote can make a difference, Jesus loves you, all men are created equal). How do these beliefs and arguments work? Are they just random ideas propagated by an amorphous culture, viruses taking advantage of our own psychology for their benefit, ideas that get us to do the bidding of their cynical designers?

2) Similarly, where do our tastes come from? Like the art we like? Or the music?

Some tastes are kinda obvious. E.g., we evolved to like young curvy women because they are the most fertile. And maybe we like art that reminds us of this or of landscapes that are safe or what not. But there are many aspects of art and music (e.g. modern art, rap) that are not universally pleasing. So what makes people like these things? What properties do they need to succeed? What role does the artist or the history of the piece play in what we like? Of course, this question isn't just about art and music, but about all of our peculiar, culturally specific tastes. How does culture shape our tastes? Is it completely arbitrary or is there some logic to its influence?

3) Where do our political and economic institutions come from and what causes them to have the peculiar structure they have?

We have one vote per person, but everyone knows dollars can buy more votes, and voters in small states are better represented than those in large states. Whose interests are being served and why theirs? Many economists and political scientists have thought about "optimal institutions." And much comparative and historical work has been done. But there isn't really a good unified theory of how these evolve, what characteristics are likely to emerge, and in what ways they are or are not optimal.

4) Is there a fundamental theory of human societies that's analogous to Darwin's theory in biology?

Can that framework be as well supported by evidence and as simple as natural selection in biology, that will likewise explain the interesting things humans do, like, and believe, and the institutions we construct? Evolutionary psychologists think this doesn't require a new theory, just an investigation of the mind that biologically evolved on the Savannah. Others like Dawkins have suggested that we are best understood as machines infested by viruses of the mind which themselves evolve to take advantage of our evolved psychology. Anthropologists treat culture as just random inputs. Social psychologists document the funny quirks of our behavior without explaining where they come from. And economists assume people optimize given their tastes and beliefs but take those as given. Is one of these the right theory, if not is there a more compelling theory out there? What will it look like? How will we find it? How will we know we have found it, when we have?

5) How can we fix the perverse incentives in academia?

Researchers get hired and promoted for publishing in top journals. Journal publication is determined by editors and referees. The best way to publish is to make sure your allies are the referees, cite their work, and don't step on their toes, and to convince the editor you are famous enough and your work is flashy enough that it will be well cited and get covered by the nytimes. None of this requires much attention be paid to truth, insight, or originally.

Arguably, this is why the social sciences are such a mess. Few bother to incorporate evidence or arguments from outsiders (e.g., social psychologists don't consult historians, economists barely consult social psychologists). Few bother to question the fundamental assumptions driving their field that make no sense and go unchecked (e.g., anthropologists treat culture as random inputs). And many researchers end up spending their whole careers developing and propagating theories that are completely uninteresting to outsiders, or obviously fallacious to anyone not steeped in their literature.

It is ridiculous that we're still using a system derived from the Society of Letters of the 1500s. Perhaps it's time for something more like Wikipedia, where information gets aggregated and contributors are incentivizes by their reputation as competent editors to integrate information from across disciplines? Or something like Reddit, where quality research is recognized by upvotes that aggregate the opinion of thousands from diverse fields? Or a certification system of sorts, where papers are certified as having done their statistics right or having integrated what's known from certain fields, or not citing irrelevant papers for political reasons? Whatever the solution is, social scientists and engineers who work on this problem will have orders of magnitude more impact on science than scientists doing primary research in our archaic system.

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 5/4/2016 6:25:26 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: woody and deadline

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

Woody has received from his lawyer some questions I asked in in response to the agreement Irwin Tenenbaum sent me....I found that that agreement generous and reasonable (!), and I'm excited to go forward, but I do need those clarifications. We can absolutely agree that we will not give Woody larger or more important billing than Bill Clinton or Joe Biden, and that I'd like to come to him to renew our agreement after five years.

The Harvard week of content in which Woody will appear, if we can sign this, needs to be edited in the next week-10 days. We are out of time, which is why I'm writing

The television show has been picked up by American Public Television, they will distribute nationally, and they've asked for another 5 episodes. I so want Woody to be one of those.

I'd like to see the haiku written by computer. Haiku is not that hard. I'd like to see an elegy written by computer.

Lisa
--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Michael Wolff [redacted]
Sent: 5/25/2016 11:12:16 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Trump

Importance: High

Job is to get the hard ones in without being ejected from the room. What's the one question that pierces through?

On Wednesday, May 25, 2016, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

do you want to be provacative . ? trump shuttle. hawaiin tropic contests. . mortgage on mara lago. ? revenue of golf courses as income.??! , total debt of all cos . ? people dont want to conribute money as he said he is worth over 10b , why should they? , calif already coming up short. . fatther bought chips in the casino to stave off bankruptcy, chips because it was better than a first lien. under the gambling rules. matt his bag man? his loan from his brother in law (JUdges husband) how much did his father leave. his brother robert etc.
otherwise you can just throw easys

On Wed, May 25, 2016 at 7:05 AM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

I'm interviewing him this afternoon. Anything you think I should ask?

--

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From: Michael Wolff [redacted]]
Sent: 5/25/2016 11:19:00 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Trump

Importance: High

What's the thumb nail on Nussbaum/foster?

On Wednesday, May 25, 2016, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
maybe you can ask why bernie nussbaum got vince fosters letter quickly, that is a hillary problem. he would smile then you can ask his realtionsjipwith the elctricians unions and maralago . and out you go

On Wed, May 25, 2016 at 7:12 AM, Michael Wolff [redacted]> wrote:
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otherwise you can just throw easys

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From: Deepak Chopra [redacted]
Sent: 7/29/2016 1:12:10 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Roman poet whose name I forget - " Nothing human is foreign to me . "

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Jul 29, 2016, at 8:35 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1992-07-16/news/9203040348_1_pairs-of-maples-shoes-marla-maples-trump-parc

On Fri, Jul 29, 2016 at 8:33 AM, Deepak Chopra [redacted] wrote:

Fascinating !

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Jul 29, 2016, at 8:29 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

no - i mean her friend was stealing her high heels cutting the backs of the shoes open and fucking the shoe.. its a funny story.

On Fri, Jul 29, 2016 at 8:22 AM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted] wrote:

Let's connect 2PM
FaceTime is easier as I will be out
I've known Marla since those days
Having lunch with her
She seems v troubled right now

Sex with shoes ? You mean shoes on ?

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Jul 29, 2016, at 8:19 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

2 pm, fine, . yes , in fact when she told donald she was pregnant. I lost a 10k dollar bet with him, and sent him a truck of baby food. in payment. but i have not spoken to her in many years since then. she can tell you the story of her friend who was caught having sex with her shoes. yes -shoes.

On Fri, Jul 29, 2016 at 8:16 AM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted]> wrote:

FaceTime may be easier
What no
Mine is [redacted]
I can do 2PM - have meetings before then
I will take you up on your offers re visiting one of your places - when you are there
I can also do 12 noon or any other time tomorrow
Btw - do you know Marla Maples ?
Anything we share is between us
I share nothing with anyone but trust you

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Jul 29, 2016, at 8:09 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

my skype is jeevacation . or we can facetime if you prefer. does 12pm or 1 work for you. ? you are also welcome on my ranch in august in santa fe. anytime you like

On Fri, Jul 29, 2016 at 8:05 AM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted]> wrote:

I can Skype this afternoon or tomorrow afternoon
Let me know what works with you
I took Benadryl at 6 PM and woke up at 3 PM

I will check my Skype no
Have not used it for sometime
Good to know re Harvard program
Amazing what we can do with technology even without understanding how perception occurs
All love

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Jul 29, 2016, at 8:00 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I am in florida. palm beach. . we can skype. today tomrow? you should plan on a visit to my island. you might want to consider taking some benedryl to resest your clock after jet lag. one hour before bedtime you you missed an interesting session up at harvard. perception, , language. , understanding. human and robot interaction

On Fri, Jul 29, 2016 at 3:01 AM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted]> wrote:
I'm available after 2 PM tomorrow if you have time ability and desire for a cup of coffee
I can drop by if you are in town
I have galleys of new book
Best
Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Jul 28, 2016, at 10:03 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

How long New York

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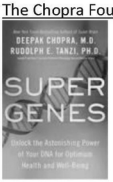
From: Deepak Chopra [[redacted]
Sent: 8/8/2016 8:57:31 AM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: America's Shadow: The Real Secret of Donald J. Trump - SFGate by Deepak Chopra
Attachments: supergenes[2].png

Importance: High

Since Woody was into the subconscious mind I thought I'd share this
See you at 3PM
http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/chopra/article/America-s-Shadow-The-Real-Secret-of-Donald-J-7965248.php

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009
The Chopra Foundation



Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

From: Deepak Chopra [redacted]
Sent: 8/8/2016 9:52:40 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: America's Shadow: The Real Secret of Donald J. Trump - SFGate by Deepak Chopra
Attachments: supergenes[2].png

Importance: High

Yes
Thanks for forwarding it !
It was a fascinating evening !
I've felt a kinship with Woody because he is tortured by existential dilemmas as am I .
The Russian was just being Russian- a socialist with right wing tastes . I actually liked him .
The wife was being a mother to Woody . I think he's needed that all his life .
I will meet you at the Bowery at 230 PM
Send me the address
❤️

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Aug 8, 2016, at 5:43 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

i will forward it . he asked if you would come back again. without the russian. to me it was a woody allen movie . you talking conciousness , his wife more concerned with the salad dressing, and the russian deciding the future of syria. . As you know I find ideas no matter how extreme , the root of possible insight. so the other day I had viisitn the psychedelic crowd. one of them has opened a store on 1 st and the bowery called the alchemist kitchen. . How about we meet there , I want to see the store and you ride with me back uptown. lets say 230? I have left my schedule open after.

On Mon, Aug 8, 2016 at 4:57 AM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted]> wrote:

Since Woody was into the subconscious mind I thought I'd share this
See you at 3PM
http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/chopra/article/America-s-Shadow-The-Real-Secret-of-Donald-J-7965248.php

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009
The Chopra Foundation
<supergenes[2].png>
Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

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Gather, Visualize, Analyze Public Opinion to make Intelligent Decisions

InsightsPod analyzes opinions, sentiments, emotions and attitudes of people from social media. Currently our platform supports Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. We are in the process of integrating Instagram and Pinterest.

Features

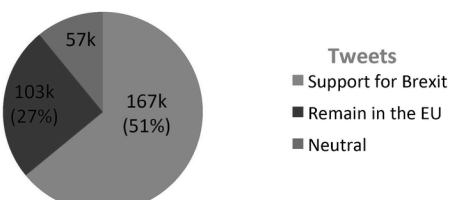
- Gathers real time data from social media sites and conducts sentiment analysis.
- Opinion can be analyzed based on geographic location.
- InsightsPod identifies location and other demographics.
- Ideal for retailers to determine customers' intent and buying habits.
- Graphical reporting.
- InsightsPod supports 71 languages.
- Add triggers to receive updates.

Potential Customers

- **Retail/Brands:** We help businesses/retailers identify which customer is not happy in seconds. We help them determine a customer's intent and buying habits. Also, we aid retailers and businesses with product development ideas and go-to market strategies.
- **Politics:** Through the vast amount of data available across social media, we can not only help politicians to understand what their constituents are talking about but also to influence people, track voters and get them to vote.
- **Stocks:** Investors who predict stock behavior by interpreting news and public sentiment make better trades and informed decisions. InsightsPod can give an insight into public sentiment quickly and can aid financial institutions as well as individuals to make sound investment decisions.

Case Study: BREXIT

We conducted sentiment analysis of more than half a million tweets before the Referendum day. 327K tweets were collected on the day of Referendum on InsightsPod.

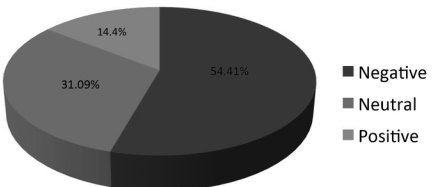


Live Feeds – US Presidential Election, 2016

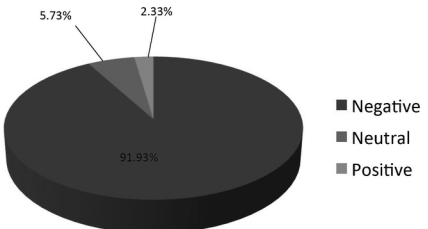
- Up until 17th August 2016 we have processed 85 million tweets related to the US Presidential Election.
- The public feed is for media agencies and to showcase to potential customers, the accuracy and capability of InsightsPod platform.
- InsightsPod can help a potential political candidate understand what their constituents are talking about and also to influence people and track voters.

Live Feeds – US Presidential Election, 2016

Weekly Report: ***Donald Trump***



Weekly Report: ***Hillary Clinton***



Based on data collected from 10th - 17th August 2016

Social Media Activity of Potential Customers

2,941,608 Tweets per day

412,320 Tweets per day

12,690,192 Tweets per day

2,878,608 Tweets per day

Based on data collected on 17th August 2016

Pricing Model for Customers

No. of Impressions (Monthly Subscription)	Cost (USD)
0-100,000	$999
100,001-250,000	$1999
250,001-500,000	$2600
500,001-1000,000	$3500
1000,001-2000,000	$5000

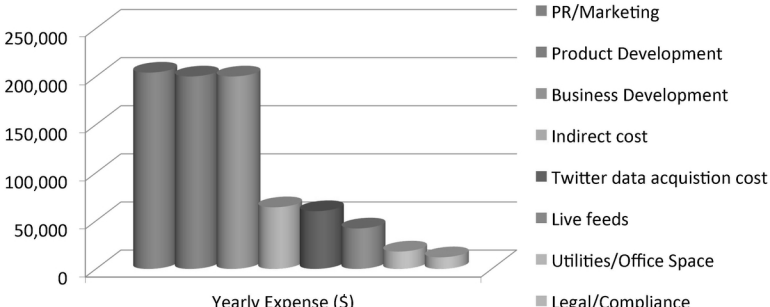
**Impression = 1 Facebook comment or 1 Tweet*

Applications under development

- Mobile application for shoppers to ask questions about products and services – our output will be based on opinion of people on social media.
- Analyze and predict crime

InsightsPod founding Team

- Zubair Khan (CEO)
  - CEO, Tranchulas – A multinational IT Security Company (10 Years)
  - Pursuing MBA from Harvard
  - Bachelors in Business IT from Curtin University of Technology, Australia
  - Accomplished and result oriented with proficiency in IT business management. Analytical expertise in overseeing technology improvement initiatives.
- Anya Rasulova (Director)
  - Business Development and Strategic Partnerships, Google
  - Product Marketing Manager, Google
  - Strategy Manager, Ebay
  - Wharton MBA (Marketing and Operations)
  - BA Economics, Brown University
  - Solid career track record in consulting and internet services



Total Annual Costs = $800k

Sales Forecast

- InsightsPod is pre-revenue
- Estimated break-even point is between 18 to 24 months
- Sales Target is $4m in 2020

Raising $2.4m at $10m valuation to scale

- Required Investment is $2.4m for 3 Years ($800k per year) or Minimum Ticket $1M.
- Use of Proceeds
  - Refine sentiment analysis system – currently 5% false positives
  - Hire a PR Firm
  - Marketing and Sales (American and UK market)
  - Office Space in San Francisco and London

Why Invest?

- First Mover
- Efficient
  - Experienced Team that knows where to focus
- Good Business
  - Subscription Revenue
  - High Margins

From: [redacted]
Sent: 9/17/2016 12:04:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Thank you for the sweatshirts. The thought was very sweet. Next time you send a gift don't put any initials on it so when I regift it no one will suspect. Also in the future think jewelry. You didn't misunderstand. With you I never know what your plans are so since I didn't hear a confirmation from you or your assistant I assumed your plans had changed and you weren't able to do dinner. Just like the Paris trips :-).

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Sep 17, 2016, at 7:54 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

no problem , I thought you told me that you had moved krause so that you could come sunday. . i must have misunderstood. . the sweatshirts were given to a few world leaders yesterday, so i thought you two should also have some. .

On Sat, Sep 17, 2016 at 7:51 AM, <[redacted]> wrote:

We already have plans on Sunday as I didn't hear from you. I don't think I can change them.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Sep 17, 2016, at 6:50 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

trumps guys changing their plans . all at the trump hotel right down the street from the white house. its a bad movie. president trump . down the street from trump hotel. deepak chopra , again, sunday , I know you moved krause to tonight. .

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 9/17/2016 12:33:56 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I didn't call to confirm because I attributed it to your scatterbrained quality and I just assumed that plans had changed and you weren't able to make it. In this civilized society the person being invited doesn't usually have to hound the host. And incidentally Woody doesn't feel dressed unless his clothes have holes in them.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Sep 17, 2016, at 8:24 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

im surprised you didnt call to confirm? :) . re regifting you just have to find people wth the same initials. . i thought that woody might like to try something that is super soft and doesnt have holes

On Sat, Sep 17, 2016 at 8:04 AM, [redacted] wrote:

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Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

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On Sat, Sep 17, 2016 at 7:51 AM, [redacted] wrote:

We already have plans on Sunday as I didn't hear from you. I don't think I can change them.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 9/17/2016 12:44:10 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I just tried calling you. Call me back.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Sep 17, 2016, at 8:36 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

i asked , you told me it was ok that you had changed your plans to be able to make it. i will have someone check that you really mean what you say, ::))

On Sat, Sep 17, 2016 at 8:33 AM, <[redacted]m> wrote:

I didn't call to confirm because I attributed it to your scatterbrained quality and I just assumed that plans had changed and you weren't able to make it. In this civilized society the person being invited doesn't usually have to hound the host. And incidentally Woody doesn't feel dressed unless his clothes have holes in them.

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On Sat, Sep 17, 2016 at 8:04 AM, <[redacted]> wrote:

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On Sat, Sep 17, 2016 at 7:51 AM, <[redacted]> wrote:

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 9/17/2016 3:10:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I had a good idea. Why don't you join us for dinner with Lawrence Krause? That way you get to see us :-). Originally when we got those bundles I thought it was the DNA swabs.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Sep 17, 2016, at 8:36 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

i asked , you told me it was ok that you had changed your plans to be able to make it. i will have someone check that you really mean what you say, ::))

On Sat, Sep 17, 2016 at 8:33 AM, <[redacted]> wrote:

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From: LHS [redacted]]
Sent: 10/2/2016 12:26:35 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: lhsoffice [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump

Importance: High

Yes. Let's briefly discuss. Can u have her write me.

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

On Oct 2, 2016, at 2:32 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

can somoene from the development office show rothschild around harvard sat.?

On Sun, Oct 2, 2016 at 2:32 AM, LHS <[redacted]> wrote:

Jeff

How plausible is idea that trump is real cocaine user?

L

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

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From: LHS[redacted]
Sent: 10/2/2016 12:34:29 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: lhsoffice [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump

Importance: High

What number r u at?

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

On Oct 2, 2016, at 8:32 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Yes

On Sunday, 2 October 2016, LHS <[redacted]> wrote:

Yes. Let's briefly discuss. Can u have her write me.

Sent from my iPhone

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Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
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On Oct 2, 2016, at 2:32 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

can somoene from the development office show rothschild around harvard sat.?

On Sun, Oct 2, 2016 at 2:32 AM, LHS <[redacted]> wrote:

Jeff

How plausible is idea that trump is real cocaine user?

L

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

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From: Deepak Chopra [redacted]
Sent: 11/10/2016 10:30:08 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Thanks

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

On Nov 10, 2016, at 5:17 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

great

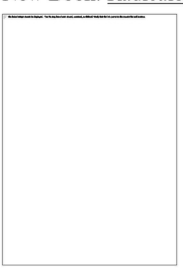
On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 11:16 PM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted]n> wrote:

Good
See you this Sat 230 PM ?

Deepak Chopra

2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92013

New Book: Radicalbeauty.com



On Nov 10, 2016, at 5:15 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

yup

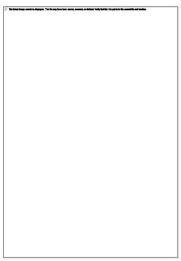
On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 11:14 PM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted]> wrote:

Did she also drop civil case against you ?

Deepak Chopra

2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92013

New Book: Radicalbeauty.com



On Nov 10, 2016, at 5:00 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 11/10/2016 11:02:28 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Tried to call you. Sorry...It's crazy that they bringing this bullshit up again?!

On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 5:00 PM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html
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Sincerely Renata Bolotova

From: Alain Forget [redacted]
Sent: 11/18/2016 11:12:27 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: interesting

Importance: High

Donald Trump's newly named chief strategist and senior counselor, Steve Bannon, laid out his global nationalist vision in unusually in-depth remarks delivered by Skype to a conference held inside the Vatican in the summer of 2014.

Well before victories for Brexit and Trump seemed possible, Bannon declared there was a "global tea party movement" and praised European far-right parties like Great Britain's UKIP and France's National Front. Bannon also suggested that a racist element in far-right parties "all gets kind of washed out," that the West was facing a "crisis of capitalism" after losing its "Judeo-Christian foundation," and he blasted "crony capitalists" in Washington for failing to prosecute bank executives over the financial crisis.

The remarks — beamed into a small conference room in a 15th-century marble palace in a secluded corner of the Vatican — were part of a 50-minute Q&A during a conference focused on poverty hosted by the Human Dignity Institute, which BuzzFeed News attended as part of its coverage of the rise of Europe's religious right. The group was founded by Benjamin Harnwell, a longtime aide to Conservative member of the European Parliament Nirj Deva to promote a "Christian voice" in European politics. The group has ties to some of the most conservative factions inside the Catholic Church; Cardinal Raymond Burke, one of the most vocal critics of Pope Francis who was ousted from a senior Vatican position in 2014, is chair of the group's advisory board.

BuzzFeed News originally posted a transcript beginning 90 seconds into the then-Breitbart News chairman's remarks because microphone placement made the opening mostly unintelligible, but we have completed the transcript from a video of the talk on YouTube. You can hear the whole recording at the bottom of the post.

Here is what he said, unedited:

Steve Bannon: Thank you very much Benjamin, and I appreciate you guys including us in this. We're speaking from Los Angeles today, right across the street from our

headquarters in Los Angeles. Um. I want to talk about wealth creation and what wealth creation really can achieve and maybe take it in a slightly different direction, because I believe the world, and particularly the Judeo-Christian west, is in a crisis. And it's really the organizing principle of how we built Breitbart News to really be a platform to bring news and information to people throughout the world. Principally in the west, but we're expanding internationally to let people understand the depths of this crisis, and it is a crisis both of capitalism but really of the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian west in our beliefs.

It's ironic, I think, that we're talking today at exactly, tomorrow, 100 years ago, at the exact moment we're talking, the assassination took place in Sarajevo of Archduke Franz Ferdinand that led to the end of the Victorian era and the beginning of the bloodiest century in mankind's history. Just to put it in perspective, with the assassination that took place 100 years ago tomorrow in Sarajevo, the world was at total peace. There was trade, there was globalization, there was technological transfer, the High Church of England and the Catholic Church and the Christian faith was predominant throughout Europe of practicing Christians. Seven weeks later, I think there were 5 million men in uniform and within 30 days there were over a million casualties.

That war triggered a century of barbaric — unparalleled in mankind's history — virtually 180 to 200 million people were killed in the 20th century, and I believe that, you know, hundreds of years from now when they look back, we're children of that: We're children of that barbarity. This will be looked at almost as a new Dark Age.

But the thing that got us out of it, the organizing principle that met this, was not just the heroism of our people — whether it was French resistance fighters, whether it was the Polish resistance fighters, or it's the young men from Kansas City or the Midwest who stormed the beaches of Normandy, commandos in England that fought with the Royal Air Force, that fought this great war, really the Judeo-Christian West versus atheists, right? The underlying principle is an enlightened form of capitalism, that capitalism really gave us the wherewithal. It kind of organized and built the materials needed to support, whether it's the Soviet Union, England, the United States, and eventually to take back continental Europe and to beat back a barbaric empire in the Far East.

That capitalism really generated tremendous wealth. And that wealth was really distributed among a middle class, a rising middle class, people who come from really

working-class environments and created what we really call a Pax Americana. It was many, many years and decades of peace. And I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism.

"I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism."

And we're at the very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict, of which if the people in this room, the people in the church, do not bind together and really form what I feel is an aspect of the church militant, to really be able to not just stand with our beliefs, but to fight for our beliefs against this new barbarity that's starting, that will completely eradicate everything that we've been bequeathed over the last 2,000, 2,500 years.

Now, what I mean by that specifically: I think that you're seeing three kinds of converging tendencies: One is a form of capitalism that is taken away from the underlying spiritual and moral foundations of Christianity and, really, Judeo-Christian belief.

I see that every day. I'm a very practical, pragmatic capitalist. I was trained at Goldman Sachs, I went to Harvard Business School, I was as hard-nosed a capitalist as you get. I specialized in media, in investing in media companies, and it's a very, very tough environment. And you've had a fairly good track record. So I don't want this to kinda sound namby-pamby, "Let's all hold hands and sing 'Kumbaya' around capitalism."

But there's a strand of capitalism today — two strands of it, that are very disturbing.

One is state-sponsored capitalism. And that's the capitalism you see in China and Russia. I believe it's what Holy Father [Pope Francis] has seen for most of his life in places like

Argentina, where you have this kind of crony capitalism of people that are involved with these military powers-that-be in the government, and it forms a brutal form of capitalism that is really about creating wealth and creating value for a very small subset of people. And it doesn't spread the tremendous value creation throughout broader distribution patterns that were seen really in the 20th century.

The second form of capitalism that I feel is almost as disturbing, is what I call the Ayn Rand or the Objectivist School of libertarian capitalism. And, look, I'm a big believer in a lot of libertarianism. I have many many friends that's a very big part of the conservative movement — whether it's the UKIP movement in England, it's many of the underpinnings of the populist movement in Europe, and particularly in the United States.

However, that form of capitalism is quite different when you really look at it to what I call the "enlightened capitalism" of the Judeo-Christian West. It is a capitalism that really looks to make people commodities, and to objectify people, and to use them almost — as many of the precepts of Marx — and that is a form of capitalism, particularly to a younger generation [that] they're really finding quite attractive. And if they don't see another alternative, it's going to be an alternative that they gravitate to under this kind of rubric of "personal freedom."

> "Look at what's happening in ISIS … look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism … at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook."

The other tendency is an immense secularization of the West. And I know we've talked about secularization for a long time, but if you look at younger people, especially millennials under 30, the overwhelming drive of popular culture is to absolutely secularize this rising iteration.

Now that call converges with something we have to face, and it's a very unpleasant topic, but we are in an outright war against jihadist Islamic fascism. And this war is, I think, metastasizing far quicker than governments can handle it.

If you look at what's happening in ISIS, which is the Islamic State of Syria and the Levant, that is now currently forming the caliphate that is having a military drive on Baghdad, if you look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism. If you look at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook and modern ways to fundraise, and to use crowdsourcing to fund, besides all the access to weapons, over the last couple days they have had a radical program of taking kids and trying to turn them into bombers. They have driven 50,000 Christians out of a town near the Kurdish border. We have video that we're putting up later today on Breitbart where they've took 50 hostages and thrown them off a cliff in Iraq.

That war is expanding and it's metastasizing to sub-Saharan Africa. We have Boko Haram and other groups that will eventually partner with ISIS in this global war, and it is, unfortunately, something that we're going to have to face, and we're going to have to face very quickly.

So I think the discussion of, should we put a cap on wealth creation and distribution? It's something that should be at the heart of every Christian that is a capitalist — "What is the purpose of whatever I'm doing with this wealth? What is the purpose of what I'm doing with the ability that God has given us, that divine providence has given us to actually be a creator of jobs and a creator of wealth?"

I think it really behooves all of us to really take a hard look and make sure that we are reinvesting that back into positive things. But also to make sure that we understand that we're at the very beginning stages of a global conflict, and if we do not bind together as partners with others in other countries that this conflict is only going to metastasize.

They have a Twitter account up today, ISIS does, about turning the United States into a "river of blood" if it comes in and tries to defend the city of Baghdad. And trust me, that is going to come to Europe. That is going to come to Central Europe, it's going to come to Western Europe, it's going to come to the United Kingdom. And so I think we are in a crisis of the underpinnings of capitalism, and on top of that we're now, I believe, at the beginning stages of a global war against Islamic fascism.

> "With all the baggage that those [right-wing] groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially— but we think that will all be worked through with time."

Benjamin Harnwell, Human Dignity Institute: Thank you, Steve. That was a fascinating, fascinating overview. I am particularly struck by your argument, then, that in fact, capitalism would spread around the world based on the Judeo-Christian foundation is, in fact, something that can create peace through peoples rather than antagonism, which is often a point not sufficiently appreciated. Before I turn behind me to take a question —

Bannon: One thing I want to make sure of, if you look at the leaders of capitalism at that time, when capitalism was I believe at its highest flower and spreading its benefits to most of mankind, almost all of those capitalists were strong believers in the Judeo-Christian West. They were either active participants in the Jewish faith, they were active participants in the Christians' faith, and they took their beliefs, and the underpinnings of their beliefs was manifested in the work they did. And I think that's incredibly important and something that would really become unmoored. I can see this on Wall Street today — I can see this with the securitization of everything is that, everything is looked at as a securitization opportunity. People are looked at as commodities. I don't believe that our forefathers had that same belief.

Harnwell: Over the course of this conference we've heard from various points of view regarding alleviation of poverty. We've heard from the center-left perspective, we've heard from the socialist perspective, we've heard from the Christian democrat, if you will, perspective. What particularly interests me about your point of view Steve, to talk specifically about your work, Breitbart is very close to the tea party movement. So I'm just wondering whether you could tell me about if in the current flow of contemporary politics — first tell us a little bit about Breitbart, what the mission is, and then tell me about the

reach that you have and then could you say a little bit about the current dynamic of what's going on at the moment in the States.

Bannon: Outside of Fox News and the Drudge Report, we're the third-largest conservative news site and, quite frankly, we have a bigger global reach than even Fox. And that's why we're expanding so much internationally.

Look, we believe — strongly — that there is a global tea party movement. We've seen that. We were the first group to get in and start reporting on things like UKIP and Front National and other center right. With all the baggage that those groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially — but we think that will all be worked through with time.

The central thing that binds that all together is a center-right populist movement of really the middle class, the working men and women in the world who are just tired of being dictated to by what we call the party of Davos. A group of kind of — we're not conspiracy-theory guys, but there's certainly — and I could see this when I worked at Goldman Sachs — there are people in New York that feel closer to people in London and in Berlin than they do to people in Kansas and in Colorado, and they have more of this elite mentality that they're going to dictate to everybody how the world's going to be run.

I will tell you that the working men and women of Europe and Asia and the United States and Latin America don't believe that. They believe they know what's best for how they will comport their lives. They think they know best about how to raise their families and how to educate their families. So I think you're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that.

"Putin's … very, very very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of."

Now, with that, we are strong capitalists. And we believe in the benefits of capitalism. And, particularly, the harder-nosed the capitalism, the better. However, like I said, there's two strands of capitalism that we're quite concerned about.

One is crony capitalism, or what we call state-controlled capitalism, and that's the big thing the tea party is fighting in the United States, and really the tea party's biggest fight is not with the left, because we're not there yet. The biggest fight the tea party has today is just like UKIP. UKIP's biggest fight is with the Conservative Party.

The tea party in the United States' biggest fight is with the the Republican establishment, which is really a collection of crony capitalists that feel that they have a different set of rules of how they're going to comport themselves and how they're going to run things. And, quite frankly, it's the reason that the United States' financial situation is so dire, particularly our balance sheet. We have virtually a hundred trillion dollars of unfunded liabilities. That is all because you've had this kind of crony capitalism in Washington, DC. The rise of Breitbart is directly tied to being the voice of that center-right opposition. And, quite frankly, we're winning many, many victories.

On the social conservative side, we're the voice of the anti-abortion movement, the voice of the traditional marriage movement, and I can tell you we're winning victory after victory after victory. Things are turning around as people have a voice and have a platform of which they can use.

Kirk Irwin / Getty Images

Harnwell: The third-largest conservative news website is something to be extremely impressed by. Can you tell for the people here who aren't within the Anglosphere and they might not follow American domestic politics at the moment — there seems to be a substantial sea change going on at the moment in Middle America. And the leader of the majority party, Eric Cantor, was deselected a couple of weeks ago by a tea party candidate. What does that mean for the state of domestic politics in America at the moment?

Bannon: For everybody in your audience, this is one of the most monumental — first off, it's the biggest election upset in the history of the American republic. Eric Cantor was the House majority leader and raised $10 million. He spent, between himself and outside groups, $8 million to hold a congressional district. He ran against a professor who was an evangelical Christian and a libertarian economist. He ran against a professor who raised in total $175,000. In fact, the bills from Eric Cantor's campaign at a elite steak house in Washington, DC, was over $200,000. So they spent more than $200,000 over the course of the campaign wining and dining fat cats at a steak house in Washington than the entire opposition had to run.

Now, Eric Cantor, it was a landslide. He lost 57-43, and not one — outside of Breitbart, we covered this for six months, day in and day out — not one news site — not Fox News, not Politico, no sites picked this up. And the reason that this guy won is quite simple: Middle-class people and working-class people are tired of people like Eric Cantor who say they're conservative selling out their interests every day to crony capitalists.

> "That center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India."

And you're seeing that whether that was UKIP and Nigel Farage in the United Kingdom, whether it's these groups in the Low Countries in Europe, whether it's in France, there's a new tea party in Germany. The theme is all the same. And the theme is middle-class and working-class people — they're saying, "Hey, I'm working harder than I've ever worked. I'm getting less benefits than I'm ever getting through this, I'm incurring less wealth myself, and I'm seeing a system of fat cats who say they're conservative and say they back capitalist principles, but all they're doing is binding with corporatists." Right? Corporatists, to garner all the benefits for themselves.

And that center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India. Modi's great victory was very much based on these Reaganesque principles, so I think this is a global revolt, and we are very fortunate and proud to be the news site that is reporting that throughout the world.

Harnwell: I think it's important to understand the distinction that you're drawing here between what can be understood as authentic, free-market capitalism as a means of promoting wealth that [*unintelligible*] involves everybody with a form of crony capitalism which simply benefits a certain class. And we've watched over the course of our conference, we've watched two video segments produced by the Acton Institute about how

development aid is spent internationally and how that can be driven away from — it damages people on the ground but it also perpetuates a governing class. And the point that you're mentioning here, that I think that you're saying has driven almost a revolution movement in America, is the same phenomenon of what's going on in the developing world, which is a concept of government which is no longer doing what it is morally bound to do but has become corrupt and self-serving. So it's effectively the sa—

Bannon: It's exactly the same. Currently, if you read *The Economist*, you read the *Financial Times* this week, you'll see there's a relatively obscure agency in the federal government that is engaged in a huge fight that may lead to a government shutdown. It's called the Export-Import Bank. And for years, it was a bank that helped finance things that other banks wouldn't do. And what's happening over time is that it's metastasized to be a cheap form of financing to General Electric and to Boeing and to other large corporations. You get this financing from other places if they wanted to, but they're putting this onto the middle-class taxpayers to support this.

"I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that [right-wing parties] have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial … My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right?"

And the tea party is using this as an example of the cronyism. General Electric and these major corporations that are in bed with the federal government are not what we'd consider free-enterprise capitalists. We're backers of entrepreneurial capitalists. They're not. They're what we call corporatist. They want to have more and more monopolistic power and they're doing that kind of convergence with big government. And so the fight here — and that's why the media's been very late to this party — but the fight you're seeing is between entrepreneur capitalism, and the Acton Institute is a tremendous supporter of, and the people like the corporatists that are closer to the people like we think in Beijing and Moscow than they are to the entrepreneurial capitalist spirit of the United States.

Harnwell: Thanks, Steve. I'm going to turn around now, as I'm sure we have some great questions from the floor. Who has the first question then?

Bannon: First of all, Benjamin, I can tell you I could hardly recognize you, you're so cleaned up you are for the conference.
[*Laughter*]
Questioner: Hello, my name is Deborah Lubov. I'm a Vatican correspondent for Zenit news agency, for their English edition. I have some experience working in New York — I was working for PricewaterhouseCoopers auditing investment banks, one of which was Goldman Sachs. And considering this conference is on poverty, I'm curious — from your point of view especially, your experience in the investment banking world — what concrete measures do you think they should be doing to combat, prevent this phenomenon? We know that various sums of money are used in all sorts of ways and they do have different initiatives, but in order to concretely counter this epidemic now, what are your thoughts?

"For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a [financial] bailout."

Bannon: That's a great question. The 2008 crisis, I think the financial crisis — which, by the way, I don't think we've come through — is really driven I believe by the greed, much of it driven by the greed of the investment banks. My old firm, Goldman Sachs — traditionally the best banks are leveraged 8:1. When we had the financial crisis in 2008, the investment banks were leveraged 35:1. Those rules had specifically been changed by a guy named Hank Paulson. He was secretary of Treasury. As chairman of Goldman Sachs, he had gone to Washington years before and asked for those changes. That made the banks not really investment banks, but made them hedge funds — and highly susceptible to changes in liquidity. And so the crisis of 2008 was, quite frankly, really never recovered from in the United States. It's one of the reasons last quarter you saw 2.9% negative growth in a quarter. So the United States economy is in very, very tough shape.
And one of the reasons is that we've never really gone and dug down and sorted through the problems of 2008. Particularly the fact — think about it — not one criminal charge has ever been brought to any bank executive associated with 2008 crisis. And in fact, it gets worse. No bonuses and none of their equity was taken. So part of the prime drivers of the wealth that they took in the 15 years leading up to the crisis was not hit at all, and I think

that's one of the fuels of this populist revolt that we're seeing as the tea party. So I think there are many, many measures, particularly about getting the banks on better footing, making them address all the liquid assets they have. I think you need a real clean-up of the banks balance sheets.

In addition, I think you really need to go back and make banks do what they do: Commercial banks lend money, and investment banks invest in entrepreneurs and to get away from this trading — you know, the hedge fund securitization, which they've all become basically trading operations and securitizations and not put capital back and really grow businesses and to grow the economy. So I think it's a whole area that just — and I will tell you, the underpinning of this populist revolt is the financial crisis of 2008. That revolt, the way that it was dealt with, the way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did, has fueled much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States.

Questioner: Thank you.

Bannon: Great question.

Questioner: Hello, Mr. Bannon. I'm Mario Fantini, a Vermonter living in Vienna, Austria. You began describing some of the trends you're seeing worldwide, very dangerous trends, worry trends. Another movement that I've been seeing grow and spread in Europe, unfortunately, is what can only be described as tribalist or neo-nativist movement — they call themselves Identitarians. These are mostly young, working-class, populist groups, and they're teaching self-defense classes, but also they are arguing against — and quite effectively, I might add — against capitalism and global financial institutions, etc. How do we counteract this stuff? Because they're appealing to a lot of young people at a very visceral level, especially with the ethnic and racial stuff.

Bannon: I didn't hear the whole question, about the tribalist?

"One of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department, 35 [bank] executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on."

Questioner: Very simply put, there's a growing movement among young people here in Europe, in France and in Austria and elsewhere, and they're arguing very effectively against Wall Street institutions and they're also appealing to people on an ethnic and racial level. And I was just wondering what you would recommend to counteract these movements, which are growing.

Bannon: One of the reasons that you can understand how they're being fueled is that they're not seeing the benefits of capitalism. I mean particularly — and I think it's particularly more advanced in Europe than it is in the United States, but in the United States it's getting pretty advanced — is that when you have this kind of crony capitalism, you have a different set of rules for the people that make the rules. It's this partnership of big government and corporatists. I think it starts to fuel, particularly as you start to see negative job creation. If you go back, in fact, and look at the United States' GDP, you look at a bunch of Europe. If you take out government spending, you know, we've had negative growth on a real basis for over a decade.

And that all trickles down to the man in the street. If you look at people's lives, and particularly millennials, look at people under 30 — people under 30, there's 50% really under employment of people in the United States, which is probably the most advanced economy in the West, and it gets worse in Europe.

I think in Spain it's something like 50 or 60% of the youth under 30 are underemployed. And that means the decade of their twenties, which is where you have to learn a skill, where you have to learn a craft, where you really start to get comfortable in your profession, you're taking that away from the entire generation. That's only going to fuel tribalism, that's only going to fuel [*unintelligible*]... That's why to me, it's incumbent upon freedom-loving people to make sure that we sort out these governments and make sure that we sort out particularly this crony capitalism so that the benefits become more of this entrepreneurial spirit and that can flow back to working-class and middle-class people. Because if not, we're going to pay a huge price for this. You can already start to see it.

Questioner: I have a question, because you worked on Wall Street. What is the opinion there on whether they think bank bailouts are justified? Is there a Christian-centered [*unintelligible*] that they think should be bailed out? The crisis starts earlier than 2008. What was the precedent then? What was the feeling on Wall Street when they bailed out the banks? How should Christians feel about advocating or being against that?

Bannon: I think one is about responsibility. For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a bailout. I think the bailouts in 2008 were wrong. And I think, you look in hindsight, it was a lot of misinformation that was presented about the bailouts of the banks in the West.

And look at the [*unintelligible*] it. Middle-class taxpayers, people that are working-class people, right, people making incomes under $50,000 and $60,000, it was the burden of those taxpayers, right, that bailed out the elites. And let's think about it for a second. Here's how capitalism metastasized, is that all the burdens put on the working-class people who get none of the upside. All of the upside goes to the crony capitalists.

The bailouts were absolutely outrageous, and here's why: It bailed out a group of shareholders and executives who were specifically accountable. The shareholders were accountable for one simple reason: They allowed this to go wrong without changing management. And the management team of this. And we know this now from congressional investigations, we know it from independent investigations, this is not some secret conspiracy. This is kind of in plain sight.

In fact, one of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department 35 executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on. Because even with the Democrats, right, in power, there's a sense between the law firms, and the accounting firms, and the investment banks, and their stooges on Capitol Hill, they looked the other way.

So you can understand why middle class people having a tough go of it making $50 or $60 thousand a year and see their taxes go up, and they see that their taxes are going to pay for government sponsored bailouts, what you've created is really a free option. You say to this investment banking, create a free option for bad behavior. In otherwise all the upside goes to the hedge funds and the investment bank, and to the crony capitalist with stock increases and bonus increases. And their downside is limited, because middle class people are going to come and bail them out with tax dollars.

And that's what I think is fueling this populist revolt. Whether that revolt is in the midlands of England, or whether it's in Middle America. And I think people are fed up with it.

And I think that's why you're seeing — when you read the media says, "tea party is losing, losing elections," that is all BS. The elections we don't win, we're forcing those crony capitalists to come and admit that they're not going to do this again. The whole narrative in Washington has been changed by this populist revolt that we call the grassroots of the tea party movement.

And it's specifically because those bailouts were completely and totally unfair. It didn't make those financial institutions any stronger, and it bailed out a bunch of people — by the way, and these are people that have all gone to Yale, and Harvard, they went to the finest institutions in the West. They should have known better.

And by the way: It's all the institutions of the accounting firms, the law firms, the investment banks, the consulting firms, the elite of the elite, the educated elite, they understood what they were getting into, forcibly took all the benefits from it and then look to the government, went hat in hand to the government to be bailed out. And they've never been held accountable today. Trust me — they are going to be held accountable. You're seeing this populist movement called the tea party in the United States.

Harnwell: Okay, I think we've got time for just one or two more questions for Stephen K. Bannon, chairman of Breitbart Media, third-largest news organization in the States. I know you're a very, very busy man, so we're very grateful for the time that you've agreed to put aside for this, to close this conference.

"I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?"

Bannon: I'm never too busy to share with a group that can do as much good as you guys can.

Questioner: What do you think is the major threat today, to the Judeo-Christian Civilization? Secularism, or the Muslim world? In my humble opinion, they're just trying to defend themselves from our cultural invasion. Thank you.

[*Question restated by Harnwell*]

Bannon: It's a great question. I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?

If you go back to your home countries and your proponent of the defense of the Judeo-Christian West and its tenets, often times, particularly when you deal with the elites, you're looked at as someone who is quite odd. So it has kind of sapped the strength.

But I strongly believe that whatever the causes of the current drive to the caliphate was — and we can debate them, and people can try to deconstruct them — we have to face a very unpleasant fact: And that unpleasant fact is that there is a major war brewing, a war that's already global. It's going global in scale, and today's technology, today's media, today's access to weapons of mass destruction, it's going to lead to a global conflict that I believe has to be confronted today. Every day that we refuse to look at this as what it is, and the scale of it, and really the viciousness of it, will be a day where you will rue that we didn't act [*unintelligible*].

> "The way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did has fueled much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States."

Questioner: Thank you very much. I'm [*unintelligible*]. I come from Slovakia. This is actually the source of my two very quick questions. Thank you very much for the work that you do to promote the Judeo-Christian values in the world. I really appreciate it, and I also feel that the danger is very high. I have two minor questions, because you have mentioned, in terms of UKIP and Front National [*unintelligible*]. From the European perspective, listening to the language which has become more and more radical from these two parties, especially before the European Parliament elections, I'm just wondering what are your plans on how to help these partners from Europe to maybe focus on the value issues and not with populist? And also it goes in terms — you have mentioned the involvement of

state in capitalism as one of the big dangers. But these two parties you've mentioned, they actually have close ties with Putin, who is the promoter of this big danger, so I'd like to know your thoughts about this and how you're going to deal with it.

Bannon: Could you summarize that for me?

Harnwell: The first question was, you'd reference the Front National and UKIP as having elements that are tinged with the racial aspect amidst their voter profile, and the questioner was asking how you intend to deal with that aspect.

Bannon: I don't believe I said UKIP in that. I was really talking about the parties on the continent, Front National and other European parties.

I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that they have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial. By the way, even in the tea party, we have a broad movement like this, and we've been criticized, and they try to make the tea party as being racist, etc., which it's not. But there's always elements who turn up at these things, whether it's militia guys or whatever. Some that are fringe organizations. My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right? People understand what pulls them together, and the people on the margins I think get marginalized more and more.

I believe that you'll see this in the center-right populist movement in continental Europe. I've spent quite a bit of time with UKIP, and I can say to you that I've never seen anything at all with UKIP that even comes close to that. I think they've done a very good job of policing themselves to really make sure that people including the British National Front and others were not included in the party, and I think you've seen that also with tea party groups, where some people would show up and were kind of marginal members of the tea party, and the tea party did a great job of policing themselves early on. And I think that's why when you hear charges of racism against the tea party, it doesn't stick with the American people, because they really understand.

I think when you look at any kind of revolution — and this is a revolution — you always have some groups that are disparate. I think that will all burn away over time and you'll see more of a mainstream center-right populist movement.

"Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand."

Question: Obviously, before the European elections the two parties had a clear link to Putin. If one of the representatives of the dangers of capitalism is the state involvement in capitalism, so, I see there, also Marine Le Pen campaigning in Moscow with Putin, and also UKIP strongly defending Russian positions in geopolitical terms.
[*Harnwell restates, but unintelligible*]
Harnwell: These two parties have both been cultivating President Putin [*unintelligible*].
Bannon: I think it's a little bit more complicated. When Vladimir Putin, when you really look at some of the underpinnings of some of his beliefs today, a lot of those come from what I call Eurasianism; he's got an adviser who harkens back to Julius Evola and different writers of the early 20th century who are really the supporters of what's called the traditionalist movement, which really eventually metastasized into Italian fascism. A lot of people that are traditionalists are attracted to that.
One of the reasons is that they believe that at least Putin is standing up for traditional institutions, and he's trying to do it in a form of nationalism — and I think that people, particularly in certain countries, want to see the sovereignty for their country, they want to see nationalism for their country. They don't believe in this kind of pan-European Union or they don't believe in the centralized government in the United States. They'd rather see more of a states-based entity that the founders originally set up where freedoms were controlled at the local level.

> "You're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that."

I'm not justifying Vladimir Putin and the kleptocracy that he represents, because he eventually is the state capitalist of kleptocracy. However, we the Judeo-Christian West really have to look at what he's talking about as far as traditionalism goes — particularly

the sense of where it supports the underpinnings of nationalism — and I happen to think that the individual sovereignty of a country is a good thing and a strong thing. I think strong countries and strong nationalist movements in countries make strong neighbors, and that is really the building blocks that built Western Europe and the United States, and I think it's what can see us forward.

You know, Putin's been quite an interesting character. He's also very, very, very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of. Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand. However, I really believe that in this current environment, where you're facing a potential new caliphate that is very aggressive that is really a situation — I'm not saying we can put it on a back burner — but I think we have to deal with first things first.

Questioner: One of my questions has to do with how the West should be responding to radical Islam. How, specifically, should we as the West respond to Jihadism without losing our own soul? Because we can win the war and lose ourselves at the same time. How should the West respond to radical Islam and not lose itself in the process?

Bannon: From a perspective — this may be a little more militant than others. I think definitely you're going to need an aspect that is [*unintelligible*]. I believe you should take a very, very, very aggressive stance against radical Islam. And I realize there are other aspects that are not as militant and not as aggressive and that's fine.

If you look back at the long history of the Judeo-Christian West struggle against Islam, I believe that our forefathers kept their stance, and I think they did the right thing. I think they kept it out of the world, whether it was at Vienna, or Tours, or other places... It bequeathed to use the great institution that is the church of the West.

And I would ask everybody in the audience today, because you really are the movers and drivers and shakers and thought leaders in the Catholic Church today, is to think, when people 500 years from now are going to think about today, think about the actions you've taken — and I believe everyone associated with the church and associated with the Judeo-Christian West that believes in the underpinnings of that and believes in the precepts of that and want to see that bequeathed to other generations down the road as it was bequeathed to us, particularly as you're in a city like Rome, and in a place like the Vatican,

see what's been bequeathed to us — ask yourself, 500 years from today, what are they going to say about me? What are they going to say about what I did at the beginning stages of this crisis?

Because it is a crisis, and it's not going away. You don't have to take my word for it. All you have to do is read the news every day, see what's coming up, see what they're putting on Twitter, what they're putting on Facebook, see what's on CNN, what's on BBC. See what's happening, and you will see we're in a war of immense proportions. It's very easy to play to our baser instincts, and we can't do that. But our forefathers didn't do it either. And they were able to stave this off, and they were able to defeat it, and they were able to bequeath to us a church and a civilization that really is the flower of mankind, so I think it's incumbent on all of us to do what I call a gut check, to really think about what our role is in this battle that's before us.

From: Alain Forget [redacted]
Sent: 11/18/2016 11:18:14 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: interesting

Importance: High

no,interesting to figure out where it is heading….the funny side it was at the vatican
On Nov 18, 2016, at 12:14 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

your view?

On Fri, Nov 18, 2016 at 7:12 AM, Alain Forget <[redacted]> wrote:

Donald Trump's newly named chief strategist and senior counselor, Steve Bannon, laid out his global nationalist vision in unusually in-depth remarks delivered by Skype to a conference held inside the Vatican in the summer of 2014.
Well before victories for Brexit and Trump seemed possible, Bannon declared there was a "global tea party movement" and praised European far-right parties like Great Britain's UKIP and France's National Front. Bannon also suggested that a racist element in far-right parties "all gets kind of washed out," that the West was facing a "crisis of capitalism" after losing its "Judeo-Christian foundation," and he blasted "crony capitalists" in Washington for failing to prosecute bank executives over the financial crisis.
The remarks — beamed into a small conference room in a 15th-century marble palace in a secluded corner of the Vatican — were part of a 50-minute Q&A during a conference focused on poverty hosted by the Human Dignity Institute, which BuzzFeed News attended as part of its coverage of the rise of Europe's religious right. The group was founded by Benjamin Harnwell, a longtime aide to Conservative member of the European Parliament Nirj Deva to promote a "Christian voice" in European politics. The group has ties to some of the most conservative factions inside the Catholic Church; Cardinal Raymond Burke, one of the most vocal critics of Pope Francis who was ousted from a senior Vatican position in 2014, is chair of the group's advisory board.
BuzzFeed News originally posted a transcript beginning 90 seconds into the then-Breitbart News chairman's remarks because microphone placement made the opening

mostly unintelligible, but we have completed the transcript from a video of the talk on YouTube. You can hear the whole recording at the bottom of the post.
Here is what he said, unedited:
Steve Bannon: Thank you very much Benjamin, and I appreciate you guys including us in this. We're speaking from Los Angeles today, right across the street from our headquarters in Los Angeles. Um. I want to talk about wealth creation and what wealth creation really can achieve and maybe take it in a slightly different direction, because I believe the world, and particularly the Judeo-Christian west, is in a crisis. And it's really the organizing principle of how we built Breitbart News to really be a platform to bring news and information to people throughout the world. Principally in the west, but we're expanding internationally to let people understand the depths of this crisis, and it is a crisis both of capitalism but really of the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian west in our beliefs.
It's ironic, I think, that we're talking today at exactly, tomorrow, 100 years ago, at the exact moment we're talking, the assassination took place in Sarajevo of Archduke Franz Ferdinand that led to the end of the Victorian era and the beginning of the bloodiest century in mankind's history. Just to put it in perspective, with the assassination that took place 100 years ago tomorrow in Sarajevo, the world was at total peace. There was trade, there was globalization, there was technological transfer, the High Church of England and the Catholic Church and the Christian faith was predominant throughout Europe of practicing Christians. Seven weeks later, I think there were 5 million men in uniform and within 30 days there were over a million casualties.
That war triggered a century of barbaric — unparalleled in mankind's history — virtually 180 to 200 million people were killed in the 20th century, and I believe that, you know, hundreds of years from now when they look back, we're children of that: We're children of that barbarity. This will be looked at almost as a new Dark Age.
But the thing that got us out of it, the organizing principle that met this, was not just the heroism of our people — whether it was French resistance fighters, whether it was the Polish resistance fighters, or it's the young men from Kansas City or the Midwest who stormed the beaches of Normandy, commandos in England that fought with the Royal Air Force, that fought this great war, really the Judeo-Christian West versus atheists, right? The underlying principle is an enlightened form of capitalism, that capitalism really gave

us the wherewithal. It kind of organized and built the materials needed to support, whether it's the Soviet Union, England, the United States, and eventually to take back continental Europe and to beat back a barbaric empire in the Far East.

That capitalism really generated tremendous wealth. And that wealth was really distributed among a middle class, a rising middle class, people who come from really working-class environments and created what we really call a Pax Americana. It was many, many years and decades of peace. And I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism.

"I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism."

And we're at the very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict, of which if the people in this room, the people in the church, do not bind together and really form what I feel is an aspect of the church militant, to really be able to not just stand with our beliefs, but to fight for our beliefs against this new barbarity that's starting, that will completely eradicate everything that we've been bequeathed over the last 2,000, 2,500 years.

Now, what I mean by that specifically: I think that you're seeing three kinds of converging tendencies: One is a form of capitalism that is taken away from the underlying spiritual and moral foundations of Christianity and, really, Judeo-Christian belief.

I see that every day. I'm a very practical, pragmatic capitalist. I was trained at Goldman Sachs, I went to Harvard Business School, I was as hard-nosed a capitalist as you get. I specialized in media, in investing in media companies, and it's a very, very tough

environment. And you've had a fairly good track record. So I don't want this to kinda sound namby-pamby, "Let's all hold hands and sing 'Kumbaya' around capitalism."

But there's a strand of capitalism today — two strands of it, that are very disturbing.

One is state-sponsored capitalism. And that's the capitalism you see in China and Russia. I believe it's what Holy Father [Pope Francis] has seen for most of his life in places like Argentina, where you have this kind of crony capitalism of people that are involved with these military powers-that-be in the government, and it forms a brutal form of capitalism that is really about creating wealth and creating value for a very small subset of people. And it doesn't spread the tremendous value creation throughout broader distribution patterns that were seen really in the 20th century.

The second form of capitalism that I feel is almost as disturbing, is what I call the Ayn Rand or the Objectivist School of libertarian capitalism. And, look, I'm a big believer in a lot of libertarianism. I have many many friends that's a very big part of the conservative movement — whether it's the UKIP movement in England, it's many of the underpinnings of the populist movement in Europe, and particularly in the United States.

However, that form of capitalism is quite different when you really look at it to what I call the "enlightened capitalism" of the Judeo-Christian West. It is a capitalism that really looks to make people commodities, and to objectify people, and to use them almost — as many of the precepts of Marx — and that is a form of capitalism, particularly to a younger generation [that] they're really finding quite attractive. And if they don't see another alternative, it's going to be an alternative that they gravitate to under this kind of rubric of "personal freedom."

> "Look at what's happening in ISIS … look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism … at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook."

The other tendency is an immense secularization of the West. And I know we've talked about secularization for a long time, but if you look at younger people, especially millennials under 30, the overwhelming drive of popular culture is to absolutely secularize this rising iteration.

Now that call converges with something we have to face, and it's a very unpleasant topic, but we are in an outright war against jihadist Islamic fascism. And this war is, I think, metastasizing far quicker than governments can handle it.

If you look at what's happening in ISIS, which is the Islamic State of Syria and the Levant, that is now currently forming the caliphate that is having a military drive on Baghdad, if you look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism. If you look at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook and modern ways to fundraise, and to use crowdsourcing to fund, besides all the access to weapons, over the last couple days they have had a radical program of taking kids and trying to turn them into bombers. They have driven 50,000 Christians out of a town near the Kurdish border. We have video that we're putting up later today on Breitbart where they've took 50 hostages and thrown them off a cliff in Iraq.

That war is expanding and it's metastasizing to sub-Saharan Africa. We have Boko Haram and other groups that will eventually partner with ISIS in this global war, and it is, unfortunately, something that we're going to have to face, and we're going to have to face very quickly.

So I think the discussion of, should we put a cap on wealth creation and distribution? It's something that should be at the heart of every Christian that is a capitalist — "What is the purpose of whatever I'm doing with this wealth? What is the purpose of what I'm doing with the ability that God has given us, that divine providence has given us to actually be a creator of jobs and a creator of wealth?"

I think it really behooves all of us to really take a hard look and make sure that we are reinvesting that back into positive things. But also to make sure that we understand that we're at the very beginning stages of a global conflict, and if we do not bind together as partners with others in other countries that this conflict is only going to metastasize.

They have a Twitter account up today, ISIS does, about turning the United States into a "river of blood" if it comes in and tries to defend the city of Baghdad. And trust me, that is going to come to Europe. That is going to come to Central Europe, it's going to come to

Western Europe, it's going to come to the United Kingdom. And so I think we are in a crisis of the underpinnings of capitalism, and on top of that we're now, I believe, at the beginning stages of a global war against Islamic fascism.

> "With all the baggage that those [right-wing] groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially— but we think that will all be worked through with time."

Benjamin Harnwell, Human Dignity Institute: Thank you, Steve. That was a fascinating, fascinating overview. I am particularly struck by your argument, then, that in fact, capitalism would spread around the world based on the Judeo-Christian foundation is, in fact, something that can create peace through peoples rather than antagonism, which is often a point not sufficiently appreciated. Before I turn behind me to take a question —

Bannon: One thing I want to make sure of, if you look at the leaders of capitalism at that time, when capitalism was I believe at its highest flower and spreading its benefits to most of mankind, almost all of those capitalists were strong believers in the Judeo-Christian West. They were either active participants in the Jewish faith, they were active participants in the Christians' faith, and they took their beliefs, and the underpinnings of their beliefs was manifested in the work they did. And I think that's incredibly important and something that would really become unmoored. I can see this on Wall Street today — I can see this with the securitization of everything is that, everything is looked at as a securitization opportunity. People are looked at as commodities. I don't believe that our forefathers had that same belief.

Harnwell: Over the course of this conference we've heard from various points of view regarding alleviation of poverty. We've heard from the center-left perspective, we've heard from the socialist perspective, we've heard from the Christian democrat, if you will,

perspective. What particularly interests me about your point of view Steve, to talk specifically about your work, Breitbart is very close to the tea party movement. So I'm just wondering whether you could tell me about if in the current flow of contemporary politics — first tell us a little bit about Breitbart, what the mission is, and then tell me about the reach that you have and then could you say a little bit about the current dynamic of what's going on at the moment in the States.

Bannon: Outside of Fox News and the Drudge Report, we're the third-largest conservative news site and, quite frankly, we have a bigger global reach than even Fox. And that's why we're expanding so much internationally.

Look, we believe — strongly — that there is a global tea party movement. We've seen that. We were the first group to get in and start reporting on things like UKIP and Front National and other center right. With all the baggage that those groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially — but we think that will all be worked through with time.

The central thing that binds that all together is a center-right populist movement of really the middle class, the working men and women in the world who are just tired of being dictated to by what we call the party of Davos. A group of kind of — we're not conspiracy-theory guys, but there's certainly — and I could see this when I worked at Goldman Sachs — there are people in New York that feel closer to people in London and in Berlin than they do to people in Kansas and in Colorado, and they have more of this elite mentality that they're going to dictate to everybody how the world's going to be run.

I will tell you that the working men and women of Europe and Asia and the United States and Latin America don't believe that. They believe they know what's best for how they will comport their lives. They think they know best about how to raise their families and how to educate their families. So I think you're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that.

"Putin's … very, very very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of."

Now, with that, we are strong capitalists. And we believe in the benefits of capitalism. And, particularly, the harder-nosed the capitalism, the better. However, like I said, there's two strands of capitalism that we're quite concerned about.

One is crony capitalism, or what we call state-controlled capitalism, and that's the big thing the tea party is fighting in the United States, and really the tea party's biggest fight is not with the left, because we're not there yet. The biggest fight the tea party has today is just like UKIP. UKIP's biggest fight is with the Conservative Party.

The tea party in the United States' biggest fight is with the the Republican establishment, which is really a collection of crony capitalists that feel that they have a different set of rules of how they're going to comport themselves and how they're going to run things. And, quite frankly, it's the reason that the United States' financial situation is so dire, particularly our balance sheet. We have virtually a hundred trillion dollars of unfunded liabilities. That is all because you've had this kind of crony capitalism in Washington, DC. The rise of Breitbart is directly tied to being the voice of that center-right opposition. And, quite frankly, we're winning many, many victories.

On the social conservative side, we're the voice of the anti-abortion movement, the voice of the traditional marriage movement, and I can tell you we're winning victory after victory after victory. Things are turning around as people have a voice and have a platform of which they can use.

Kirk Irwin / Getty Images

Harnwell: The third-largest conservative news website is something to be extremely impressed by. Can you tell for the people here who aren't within the Anglosphere and they might not follow American domestic politics at the moment — there seems to be a substantial sea change going on at the moment in Middle America. And the leader of the majority party, Eric Cantor, was deselected a couple of weeks ago by a tea party candidate. What does that mean for the state of domestic politics in America at the moment?

Bannon: For everybody in your audience, this is one of the most monumental — first off, it's the biggest election upset in the history of the American republic. Eric Cantor was the House majority leader and raised $10 million. He spent, between himself and outside groups, $8 million to hold a congressional district. He ran against a professor who was an evangelical Christian and a libertarian economist. He ran against a professor who raised in total $175,000. In fact, the bills from Eric Cantor's campaign at a elite steak house in Washington, DC, was over $200,000. So they spent more than $200,000 over the course of the campaign wining and dining fat cats at a steak house in Washington than the entire opposition had to run.

Now, Eric Cantor, it was a landslide. He lost 57-43, and not one — outside of Breitbart, we covered this for six months, day in and day out — not one news site — not Fox News, not Politico, no sites picked this up. And the reason that this guy won is quite simple: Middle-class people and working-class people are tired of people like Eric Cantor who say they're conservative selling out their interests every day to crony capitalists.

> "That center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India."

And you're seeing that whether that was UKIP and Nigel Farage in the United Kingdom, whether it's these groups in the Low Countries in Europe, whether it's in France, there's a new tea party in Germany. The theme is all the same. And the theme is middle-class and working-class people — they're saying, "Hey, I'm working harder than I've ever worked. I'm getting less benefits than I'm ever getting through this, I'm incurring less wealth myself, and I'm seeing a system of fat cats who say they're conservative and say they back capitalist principles, but all they're doing is binding with corporatists." Right? Corporatists, to garner all the benefits for themselves.

And that center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India. Modi's great victory was very much based on these Reaganesque principles, so I think this is a global revolt, and we are very fortunate and proud to be the news site that is reporting that throughout the world.

Harnwell: I think it's important to understand the distinction that you're drawing here between what can be understood as authentic, free-market capitalism as a means of promoting wealth that [*unintelligible*] involves everybody with a form of crony capitalism which simply benefits a certain class. And we've watched over the course of our conference, we've watched two video segments produced by the Acton Institute about

how development aid is spent internationally and how that can be driven away from — it damages people on the ground but it also perpetuates a governing class. And the point that you're mentioning here, that I think that you're saying has driven almost a revolution movement in America, is the same phenomenon of what's going on in the developing world, which is a concept of government which is no longer doing what it is morally bound to do but has become corrupt and self-serving. So it's effectively the sa—

Bannon: It's exactly the same. Currently, if you read *The Economist*, you read the *Financial Times* this week, you'll see there's a relatively obscure agency in the federal government that is engaged in a huge fight that may lead to a government shutdown. It's called the Export-Import Bank. And for years, it was a bank that helped finance things that other banks wouldn't do. And what's happening over time is that it's metastasized to be a cheap form of financing to General Electric and to Boeing and to other large corporations. You get this financing from other places if they wanted to, but they're putting this onto the middle-class taxpayers to support this.

"I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that [right-wing parties] have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial … My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right?"

And the tea party is using this as an example of the cronyism. General Electric and these major corporations that are in bed with the federal government are not what we'd consider free-enterprise capitalists. We're backers of entrepreneurial capitalists. They're not. They're what we call corporatist. They want to have more and more monopolistic power and they're doing that kind of convergence with big government. And so the fight here — and that's why the media's been very late to this party — but the fight you're seeing is between entrepreneur capitalism, and the Acton Institute is a tremendous supporter of, and the people like the corporatists that are closer to the people like we think in Beijing and Moscow than they are to the entrepreneurial capitalist spirit of the United States.

Harnwell: Thanks, Steve. I'm going to turn around now, as I'm sure we have some great questions from the floor. Who has the first question then?

Bannon: First of all, Benjamin, I can tell you I could hardly recognize you, you're so cleaned up you are for the conference.
[*Laughter*]
Questioner: Hello, my name is Deborah Lubov. I'm a Vatican correspondent for Zenit news agency, for their English edition. I have some experience working in New York — I was working for PricewaterhouseCoopers auditing investment banks, one of which was Goldman Sachs. And considering this conference is on poverty, I'm curious — from your point of view especially, your experience in the investment banking world — what concrete measures do you think they should be doing to combat, prevent this phenomenon? We know that various sums of money are used in all sorts of ways and they do have different initiatives, but in order to concretely counter this epidemic now, what are your thoughts?

"For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a [financial] bailout."

Bannon: That's a great question. The 2008 crisis, I think the financial crisis — which, by the way, I don't think we've come through — is really driven I believe by the greed, much of it driven by the greed of the investment banks. My old firm, Goldman Sachs — traditionally the best banks are leveraged 8:1. When we had the financial crisis in 2008, the investment banks were leveraged 35:1. Those rules had specifically been changed by a guy named Hank Paulson. He was secretary of Treasury. As chairman of Goldman Sachs, he had gone to Washington years before and asked for those changes. That made the banks not really investment banks, but made them hedge funds — and highly susceptible to changes in liquidity. And so the crisis of 2008 was, quite frankly, really never recovered from in the United States. It's one of the reasons last quarter you saw 2.9% negative growth in a quarter. So the United States economy is in very, very tough shape.
And one of the reasons is that we've never really gone and dug down and sorted through the problems of 2008. Particularly the fact — think about it — not one criminal charge has ever been brought to any bank executive associated with 2008 crisis. And in fact, it gets worse. No bonuses and none of their equity was taken. So part of the prime drivers of the

wealth that they took in the 15 years leading up to the crisis was not hit at all, and I think that's one of the fuels of this populist revolt that we're seeing as the tea party. So I think there are many, many measures, particularly about getting the banks on better footing, making them address all the liquid assets they have. I think you need a real clean-up of the banks balance sheets.

In addition, I think you really need to go back and make banks do what they do: Commercial banks lend money, and investment banks invest in entrepreneurs and to get away from this trading — you know, the hedge fund securitization, which they've all become basically trading operations and securitizations and not put capital back and really grow businesses and to grow the economy. So I think it's a whole area that just — and I will tell you, the underpinning of this populist revolt is the financial crisis of 2008. That revolt, the way that it was dealt with, the way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did, has fueled much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States.

Questioner: Thank you.

Bannon: Great question.

Questioner: Hello, Mr. Bannon. I'm Mario Fantini, a Vermonter living in Vienna, Austria. You began describing some of the trends you're seeing worldwide, very dangerous trends, worry trends. Another movement that I've been seeing grow and spread in Europe, unfortunately, is what can only be described as tribalist or neo-nativist movement — they call themselves Identitarians. These are mostly young, working-class, populist groups, and they're teaching self-defense classes, but also they are arguing against — and quite effectively, I might add — against capitalism and global financial institutions, etc. How do we counteract this stuff? Because they're appealing to a lot of young people at a very visceral level, especially with the ethnic and racial stuff.

Bannon: I didn't hear the whole question, about the tribalist?

"One of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department, 35 [bank] executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on."

Questioner: Very simply put, there's a growing movement among young people here in Europe, in France and in Austria and elsewhere, and they're arguing very effectively against Wall Street institutions and they're also appealing to people on an ethnic and racial level. And I was just wondering what you would recommend to counteract these movements, which are growing.

Bannon: One of the reasons that you can understand how they're being fueled is that they're not seeing the benefits of capitalism. I mean particularly — and I think it's particularly more advanced in Europe than it is in the United States, but in the United States it's getting pretty advanced — is that when you have this kind of crony capitalism, you have a different set of rules for the people that make the rules. It's this partnership of big government and corporatists. I think it starts to fuel, particularly as you start to see negative job creation. If you go back, in fact, and look at the United States' GDP, you look at a bunch of Europe. If you take out government spending, you know, we've had negative growth on a real basis for over a decade.

And that all trickles down to the man in the street. If you look at people's lives, and particularly millennials, look at people under 30 — people under 30, there's 50% really under employment of people in the United States, which is probably the most advanced economy in the West, and it gets worse in Europe.

I think in Spain it's something like 50 or 60% of the youth under 30 are underemployed. And that means the decade of their twenties, which is where you have to learn a skill, where you have to learn a craft, where you really start to get comfortable in your profession, you're taking that away from the entire generation. That's only going to fuel tribalism, that's only going to fuel [*unintelligible*]... That's why to me, it's incumbent upon freedom-loving people to make sure that we sort out these governments and make sure that we sort out particularly this crony capitalism so that the benefits become more of this entrepreneurial spirit and that can flow back to working-class and middle-class people. Because if not, we're going to pay a huge price for this. You can already start to see it.

Questioner: I have a question, because you worked on Wall Street. What is the opinion there on whether they think bank bailouts are justified? Is there a Christian-centered [*unintelligible*] that they think should be bailed out? The crisis starts earlier than 2008. What was the precedent then? What was the feeling on Wall Street when they bailed out the banks? How should Christians feel about advocating or being against that?

Bannon: I think one is about responsibility. For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a bailout. I think the bailouts in 2008 were wrong. And I think, you look in hindsight, it was a lot of misinformation that was presented about the bailouts of the banks in the West.

And look at the [*unintelligible*] it. Middle-class taxpayers, people that are working-class people, right, people making incomes under $50,000 and $60,000, it was the burden of those taxpayers, right, that bailed out the elites. And let's think about it for a second. Here's how capitalism metastasized, is that all the burdens put on the working-class people who get none of the upside. All of the upside goes to the crony capitalists.

The bailouts were absolutely outrageous, and here's why: It bailed out a group of shareholders and executives who were specifically accountable. The shareholders were accountable for one simple reason: They allowed this to go wrong without changing management. And the management team of this. And we know this now from congressional investigations, we know it from independent investigations, this is not some secret conspiracy. This is kind of in plain sight.

In fact, one of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department 35 executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on. Because even with the Democrats, right, in power, there's a sense between the law firms, and the accounting firms, and the investment banks, and their stooges on Capitol Hill, they looked the other way.

So you can understand why middle class people having a tough go of it making $50 or $60 thousand a year and see their taxes go up, and they see that their taxes are going to pay for government sponsored bailouts, what you've created is really a free option. You say to this investment banking, create a free option for bad behavior. In otherwise all the upside goes to the hedge funds and the investment bank, and to the crony capitalist with stock increases and bonus increases. And their downside is limited, because middle class people are going to come and bail them out with tax dollars.

And that's what I think is fueling this populist revolt. Whether that revolt is in the midlands of England, or whether it's in Middle America. And I think people are fed up with it.

And I think that's why you're seeing — when you read the media says, "tea party is losing, losing elections," that is all BS. The elections we don't win, we're forcing those crony capitalists to come and admit that they're not going to do this again. The whole narrative in Washington has been changed by this populist revolt that we call the grassroots of the tea party movement.

And it's specifically because those bailouts were completely and totally unfair. It didn't make those financial institutions any stronger, and it bailed out a bunch of people — by the way, and these are people that have all gone to Yale, and Harvard, they went to the finest institutions in the West. They should have known better.

And by the way: It's all the institutions of the accounting firms, the law firms, the investment banks, the consulting firms, the elite of the elite, the educated elite, they understood what they were getting into, forcibly took all the benefits from it and then look to the government, went hat in hand to the government to be bailed out. And they've never been held accountable today. Trust me — they are going to be held accountable. You're seeing this populist movement called the tea party in the United States.

Harnwell: Okay, I think we've got time for just one or two more questions for Stephen K. Bannon, chairman of Breitbart Media, third-largest news organization in the States. I know you're a very, very busy man, so we're very grateful for the time that you've agreed to put aside for this, to close this conference.

> "I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?"

Bannon: I'm never too busy to share with a group that can do as much good as you guys can.

Questioner: What do you think is the major threat today, to the Judeo-Christian Civilization? Secularism, or the Muslim world? In my humble opinion, they're just trying to defend themselves from our cultural invasion. Thank you.

[*Question restated by Harnwell*]

Bannon: It's a great question. I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?

If you go back to your home countries and your proponent of the defense of the Judeo-Christian West and its tenets, often times, particularly when you deal with the elites, you're looked at as someone who is quite odd. So it has kind of sapped the strength.

But I strongly believe that whatever the causes of the current drive to the caliphate was — and we can debate them, and people can try to deconstruct them — we have to face a very unpleasant fact: And that unpleasant fact is that there is a major war brewing, a war that's already global. It's going global in scale, and today's technology, today's media, today's access to weapons of mass destruction, it's going to lead to a global conflict that I believe has to be confronted today. Every day that we refuse to look at this as what it is, and the scale of it, and really the viciousness of it, will be a day where you will rue that we didn't act [*unintelligible*].

> "The way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did has fueled much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States."

Questioner: Thank you very much. I'm [*unintelligible*]. I come from Slovakia. This is actually the source of my two very quick questions. Thank you very much for the work that you do to promote the Judeo-Christian values in the world. I really appreciate it, and I also feel that the danger is very high. I have two minor questions, because you have mentioned, in terms of UKIP and Front National [*unintelligible*]. From the European perspective, listening to the language which has become more and more radical from these two parties, especially before the European Parliament elections, I'm just wondering what are your plans on how to help these partners from Europe to maybe focus on the value issues and not with populist? And also it goes in terms — you have

mentioned the involvement of state in capitalism as one of the big dangers. But these two parties you've mentioned, they actually have close ties with Putin, who is the promoter of this big danger, so I'd like to know your thoughts about this and how you're going to deal with it.

Bannon: Could you summarize that for me?

Harnwell: The first question was, you'd reference the Front National and UKIP as having elements that are tinged with the racial aspect amidst their voter profile, and the questioner was asking how you intend to deal with that aspect.

Bannon: I don't believe I said UKIP in that. I was really talking about the parties on the continent, Front National and other European parties.

I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that they have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial. By the way, even in the tea party, we have a broad movement like this, and we've been criticized, and they try to make the tea party as being racist, etc., which it's not. But there's always elements who turn up at these things, whether it's militia guys or whatever. Some that are fringe organizations. My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right? People understand what pulls them together, and the people on the margins I think get marginalized more and more.

I believe that you'll see this in the center-right populist movement in continental Europe. I've spent quite a bit of time with UKIP, and I can say to you that I've never seen anything at all with UKIP that even comes close to that. I think they've done a very good job of policing themselves to really make sure that people including the British National Front and others were not included in the party, and I think you've seen that also with tea party groups, where some people would show up and were kind of marginal members of the tea party, and the tea party did a great job of policing themselves early on. And I think that's why when you hear charges of racism against the tea party, it doesn't stick with the American people, because they really understand.

I think when you look at any kind of revolution — and this is a revolution — you always have some groups that are disparate. I think that will all burn away over time and you'll see more of a mainstream center-right populist movement.

"Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand."

Question: Obviously, before the European elections the two parties had a clear link to Putin. If one of the representatives of the dangers of capitalism is the state involvement in capitalism, so, I see there, also Marine Le Pen campaigning in Moscow with Putin, and also UKIP strongly defending Russian positions in geopolitical terms.
[*Harnwell restates, but unintelligible*]
Harnwell: These two parties have both been cultivating President Putin [*unintelligible*].
Bannon: I think it's a little bit more complicated. When Vladimir Putin, when you really look at some of the underpinnings of some of his beliefs today, a lot of those come from what I call Eurasianism; he's got an adviser who harkens back to Julius Evola and different writers of the early 20th century who are really the supporters of what's called the traditionalist movement, which really eventually metastasized into Italian fascism. A lot of people that are traditionalists are attracted to that.
One of the reasons is that they believe that at least Putin is standing up for traditional institutions, and he's trying to do it in a form of nationalism — and I think that people, particularly in certain countries, want to see the sovereignty for their country, they want to see nationalism for their country. They don't believe in this kind of pan-European Union or they don't believe in the centralized government in the United States. They'd rather see more of a states-based entity that the founders originally set up where freedoms were controlled at the local level.

"You're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that."

I'm not justifying Vladimir Putin and the kleptocracy that he represents, because he eventually is the state capitalist of kleptocracy. However, we the Judeo-Christian West really have to look at what he's talking about as far as traditionalism goes — particularly the sense of where it supports the underpinnings of nationalism — and I happen to think that the individual sovereignty of a country is a good thing and a strong thing. I think strong countries and strong nationalist movements in countries make strong neighbors, and that is really the building blocks that built Western Europe and the United States, and I think it's what can see us forward.

You know, Putin's been quite an interesting character. He's also very, very, very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of. Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand. However, I really believe that in this current environment, where you're facing a potential new caliphate that is very aggressive that is really a situation — I'm not saying we can put it on a back burner — but I think we have to deal with first things first.

Questioner: One of my questions has to do with how the West should be responding to radical Islam. How, specifically, should we as the West respond to Jihadism without losing our own soul? Because we can win the war and lose ourselves at the same time. How should the West respond to radical Islam and not lose itself in the process?

Bannon: From a perspective — this may be a little more militant than others. I think definitely you're going to need an aspect that is [*unintelligible*]. I believe you should take a very, very, very aggressive stance against radical Islam. And I realize there are other aspects that are not as militant and not as aggressive and that's fine.

If you look back at the long history of the Judeo-Christian West struggle against Islam, I believe that our forefathers kept their stance, and I think they did the right thing. I think they kept it out of the world, whether it was at Vienna, or Tours, or other places... It bequeathed to use the great institution that is the church of the West.

And I would ask everybody in the audience today, because you really are the movers and drivers and shakers and thought leaders in the Catholic Church today, is to think, when people 500 years from now are going to think about today, think about the actions you've taken — and I believe everyone associated with the church and associated with the Judeo-

Christian West that believes in the underpinnings of that and believes in the precepts of that and want to see that bequeathed to other generations down the road as it was bequeathed to us, particularly as you're in a city like Rome, and in a place like the Vatican, see what's been bequeathed to us — ask yourself, 500 years from today, what are they going to say about me? What are they going to say about what I did at the beginning stages of this crisis?

Because it is a crisis, and it's not going away. You don't have to take my word for it. All you have to do is read the news every day, see what's coming up, see what they're putting on Twitter, what they're putting on Facebook, see what's on CNN, what's on BBC. See what's happening, and you will see we're in a war of immense proportions. It's very easy to play to our baser instincts, and we can't do that. But our forefathers didn't do it either. And they were able to stave this off, and they were able to defeat it, and they were able to bequeath to us a church and a civilization that really is the flower of mankind, so I think it's incumbent on all of us to do what I call a gut check, to really think about what our role is in this battle that's before us.

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From: Alain Forget [redacted]
Sent: 11/18/2016 11:30:28 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: interesting

Importance: High

i do not believe in a global tea party…but it is most interesting to see how those ideas will materialize and to witch exdend I ll be most interested to hear your point of wiew
On Nov 18, 2016, at 12:14 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

your view?

On Fri, Nov 18, 2016 at 7:12 AM, Alain Forget [redacted] > wrote:

Donald Trump's newly named chief strategist and senior counselor, Steve Bannon, laid out his global nationalist vision in unusually in-depth remarks delivered by Skype to a conference held inside the Vatican in the summer of 2014.
Well before victories for Brexit and Trump seemed possible, Bannon declared there was a "global tea party movement" and praised European far-right parties like Great Britain's UKIP and France's National Front. Bannon also suggested that a racist element in far-right parties "all gets kind of washed out," that the West was facing a "crisis of capitalism" after losing its "Judeo-Christian foundation," and he blasted "crony capitalists" in Washington for failing to prosecute bank executives over the financial crisis.
The remarks — beamed into a small conference room in a 15th-century marble palace in a secluded corner of the Vatican — were part of a 50-minute Q&A during a conference focused on poverty hosted by the Human Dignity Institute, which BuzzFeed News attended as part of its coverage of the rise of Europe's religious right. The group was founded by Benjamin Harnwell, a longtime aide to Conservative member of the European Parliament Nirj Deva to promote a "Christian voice" in European politics. The group has ties to some of the most conservative factions inside the Catholic Church; Cardinal Raymond Burke, one of the most vocal critics of Pope Francis who was ousted from a senior Vatican position in 2014, is chair of the group's advisory board.

BuzzFeed News originally posted a transcript beginning 90 seconds into the then-Breitbart News chairman's remarks because microphone placement made the opening mostly unintelligible, but we have completed the transcript from a video of the talk on YouTube. You can hear the whole recording at the bottom of the post.

Here is what he said, unedited:

Steve Bannon: Thank you very much Benjamin, and I appreciate you guys including us in this. We're speaking from Los Angeles today, right across the street from our headquarters in Los Angeles. Um. I want to talk about wealth creation and what wealth creation really can achieve and maybe take it in a slightly different direction, because I believe the world, and particularly the Judeo-Christian west, is in a crisis. And it's really the organizing principle of how we built Breitbart News to really be a platform to bring news and information to people throughout the world. Principally in the west, but we're expanding internationally to let people understand the depths of this crisis, and it is a crisis both of capitalism but really of the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian west in our beliefs.

It's ironic, I think, that we're talking today at exactly, tomorrow, 100 years ago, at the exact moment we're talking, the assassination took place in Sarajevo of Archduke Franz Ferdinand that led to the end of the Victorian era and the beginning of the bloodiest century in mankind's history. Just to put it in perspective, with the assassination that took place 100 years ago tomorrow in Sarajevo, the world was at total peace. There was trade, there was globalization, there was technological transfer, the High Church of England and the Catholic Church and the Christian faith was predominant throughout Europe of practicing Christians. Seven weeks later, I think there were 5 million men in uniform and within 30 days there were over a million casualties.

That war triggered a century of barbaric — unparalleled in mankind's history — virtually 180 to 200 million people were killed in the 20th century, and I believe that, you know, hundreds of years from now when they look back, we're children of that: We're children of that barbarity. This will be looked at almost as a new Dark Age.

But the thing that got us out of it, the organizing principle that met this, was not just the heroism of our people — whether it was French resistance fighters, whether it was the Polish resistance fighters, or it's the young men from Kansas City or the Midwest who stormed the beaches of Normandy, commandos in England that fought with the Royal Air

Force, that fought this great war, really the Judeo-Christian West versus atheists, right? The underlying principle is an enlightened form of capitalism, that capitalism really gave us the wherewithal. It kind of organized and built the materials needed to support, whether it's the Soviet Union, England, the United States, and eventually to take back continental Europe and to beat back a barbaric empire in the Far East.

That capitalism really generated tremendous wealth. And that wealth was really distributed among a middle class, a rising middle class, people who come from really working-class environments and created what we really call a Pax Americana. It was many, many years and decades of peace. And I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism.

"I believe we've come partly offtrack in the years since the fall of the Soviet Union and we're starting now in the 21st century, which I believe, strongly, is a crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism."

And we're at the very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict, of which if the people in this room, the people in the church, do not bind together and really form what I feel is an aspect of the church militant, to really be able to not just stand with our beliefs, but to fight for our beliefs against this new barbarity that's starting, that will completely eradicate everything that we've been bequeathed over the last 2,000, 2,500 years.

Now, what I mean by that specifically: I think that you're seeing three kinds of converging tendencies: One is a form of capitalism that is taken away from the underlying spiritual and moral foundations of Christianity and, really, Judeo-Christian belief.

I see that every day. I'm a very practical, pragmatic capitalist. I was trained at Goldman Sachs, I went to Harvard Business School, I was as hard-nosed a capitalist as you get. I specialized in media, in investing in media companies, and it's a very, very tough environment. And you've had a fairly good track record. So I don't want this to kinda sound namby-pamby, "Let's all hold hands and sing 'Kumbaya' around capitalism."

But there's a strand of capitalism today — two strands of it, that are very disturbing.

One is state-sponsored capitalism. And that's the capitalism you see in China and Russia. I believe it's what Holy Father [Pope Francis] has seen for most of his life in places like Argentina, where you have this kind of crony capitalism of people that are involved with these military powers-that-be in the government, and it forms a brutal form of capitalism that is really about creating wealth and creating value for a very small subset of people. And it doesn't spread the tremendous value creation throughout broader distribution patterns that were seen really in the 20th century.

The second form of capitalism that I feel is almost as disturbing, is what I call the Ayn Rand or the Objectivist School of libertarian capitalism. And, look, I'm a big believer in a lot of libertarianism. I have many many friends that's a very big part of the conservative movement — whether it's the UKIP movement in England, it's many of the underpinnings of the populist movement in Europe, and particularly in the United States.

However, that form of capitalism is quite different when you really look at it to what I call the "enlightened capitalism" of the Judeo-Christian West. It is a capitalism that really looks to make people commodities, and to objectify people, and to use them almost — as many of the precepts of Marx — and that is a form of capitalism, particularly to a younger generation [that] they're really finding quite attractive. And if they don't see another alternative, it's going to be an alternative that they gravitate to under this kind of rubric of "personal freedom."

"Look at what's happening in ISIS … look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism … at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook."

The other tendency is an immense secularization of the West. And I know we've talked about secularization for a long time, but if you look at younger people, especially millennials under 30, the overwhelming drive of popular culture is to absolutely secularize this rising iteration.

Now that call converges with something we have to face, and it's a very unpleasant topic, but we are in an outright war against jihadist Islamic fascism. And this war is, I think, metastasizing far quicker than governments can handle it.

If you look at what's happening in ISIS, which is the Islamic State of Syria and the Levant, that is now currently forming the caliphate that is having a military drive on Baghdad, if you look at the sophistication of which they've taken the tools of capitalism. If you look at what they've done with Twitter and Facebook and modern ways to fundraise, and to use crowdsourcing to fund, besides all the access to weapons, over the last couple days they have had a radical program of taking kids and trying to turn them into bombers. They have driven 50,000 Christians out of a town near the Kurdish border. We have video that we're putting up later today on Breitbart where they've took 50 hostages and thrown them off a cliff in Iraq.

That war is expanding and it's metastasizing to sub-Saharan Africa. We have Boko Haram and other groups that will eventually partner with ISIS in this global war, and it is, unfortunately, something that we're going to have to face, and we're going to have to face very quickly.

So I think the discussion of, should we put a cap on wealth creation and distribution? It's something that should be at the heart of every Christian that is a capitalist — "What is the purpose of whatever I'm doing with this wealth? What is the purpose of what I'm doing with the ability that God has given us, that divine providence has given us to actually be a creator of jobs and a creator of wealth?"

I think it really behooves all of us to really take a hard look and make sure that we are reinvesting that back into positive things. But also to make sure that we understand that we're at the very beginning stages of a global conflict, and if we do not bind together as partners with others in other countries that this conflict is only going to metastasize.

They have a Twitter account up today, ISIS does, about turning the United States into a "river of blood" if it comes in and tries to defend the city of Baghdad. And trust me, that is going to come to Europe. That is going to come to Central Europe, it's going to come to

Western Europe, it's going to come to the United Kingdom. And so I think we are in a crisis of the underpinnings of capitalism, and on top of that we're now, I believe, at the beginning stages of a global war against Islamic fascism.

> "With all the baggage that those [right-wing] groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially— but we think that will all be worked through with time."

Benjamin Harnwell, Human Dignity Institute: Thank you, Steve. That was a fascinating, fascinating overview. I am particularly struck by your argument, then, that in fact, capitalism would spread around the world based on the Judeo-Christian foundation is, in fact, something that can create peace through peoples rather than antagonism, which is often a point not sufficiently appreciated. Before I turn behind me to take a question —

Bannon: One thing I want to make sure of, if you look at the leaders of capitalism at that time, when capitalism was I believe at its highest flower and spreading its benefits to most of mankind, almost all of those capitalists were strong believers in the Judeo-Christian West. They were either active participants in the Jewish faith, they were active participants in the Christians' faith, and they took their beliefs, and the underpinnings of their beliefs was manifested in the work they did. And I think that's incredibly important and something that would really become unmoored. I can see this on Wall Street today — I can see this with the securitization of everything is that, everything is looked at as a securitization opportunity. People are looked at as commodities. I don't believe that our forefathers had that same belief.

Harnwell: Over the course of this conference we've heard from various points of view regarding alleviation of poverty. We've heard from the center-left perspective, we've heard from the socialist perspective, we've heard from the Christian democrat, if you will,

perspective. What particularly interests me about your point of view Steve, to talk specifically about your work, Breitbart is very close to the tea party movement. So I'm just wondering whether you could tell me about if in the current flow of contemporary politics — first tell us a little bit about Breitbart, what the mission is, and then tell me about the reach that you have and then could you say a little bit about the current dynamic of what's going on at the moment in the States.

Bannon: Outside of Fox News and the Drudge Report, we're the third-largest conservative news site and, quite frankly, we have a bigger global reach than even Fox. And that's why we're expanding so much internationally.

Look, we believe — strongly — that there is a global tea party movement. We've seen that. We were the first group to get in and start reporting on things like UKIP and Front National and other center right. With all the baggage that those groups bring — and trust me, a lot of them bring a lot of baggage, both ethnically and racially — but we think that will all be worked through with time.

The central thing that binds that all together is a center-right populist movement of really the middle class, the working men and women in the world who are just tired of being dictated to by what we call the party of Davos. A group of kind of — we're not conspiracy-theory guys, but there's certainly — and I could see this when I worked at Goldman Sachs — there are people in New York that feel closer to people in London and in Berlin than they do to people in Kansas and in Colorado, and they have more of this elite mentality that they're going to dictate to everybody how the world's going to be run.

I will tell you that the working men and women of Europe and Asia and the United States and Latin America don't believe that. They believe they know what's best for how they will comport their lives. They think they know best about how to raise their families and how to educate their families. So I think you're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that.

"Putin's … very, very very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of."

Now, with that, we are strong capitalists. And we believe in the benefits of capitalism. And, particularly, the harder-nosed the capitalism, the better. However, like I said, there's two strands of capitalism that we're quite concerned about.

One is crony capitalism, or what we call state-controlled capitalism, and that's the big thing the tea party is fighting in the United States, and really the tea party's biggest fight is not with the left, because we're not there yet. The biggest fight the tea party has today is just like UKIP. UKIP's biggest fight is with the Conservative Party.

The tea party in the United States' biggest fight is with the the Republican establishment, which is really a collection of crony capitalists that feel that they have a different set of rules of how they're going to comport themselves and how they're going to run things. And, quite frankly, it's the reason that the United States' financial situation is so dire, particularly our balance sheet. We have virtually a hundred trillion dollars of unfunded liabilities. That is all because you've had this kind of crony capitalism in Washington, DC. The rise of Breitbart is directly tied to being the voice of that center-right opposition. And, quite frankly, we're winning many, many victories.

On the social conservative side, we're the voice of the anti-abortion movement, the voice of the traditional marriage movement, and I can tell you we're winning victory after victory after victory. Things are turning around as people have a voice and have a platform of which they can use.

Kirk Irwin / Getty Images

Harnwell: The third-largest conservative news website is something to be extremely impressed by. Can you tell for the people here who aren't within the Anglosphere and they might not follow American domestic politics at the moment — there seems to be a substantial sea change going on at the moment in Middle America. And the leader of the majority party, Eric Cantor, was deselected a couple of weeks ago by a tea party candidate. What does that mean for the state of domestic politics in America at the moment?

Bannon: For everybody in your audience, this is one of the most monumental — first off, it's the biggest election upset in the history of the American republic. Eric Cantor was the House majority leader and raised $10 million. He spent, between himself and outside groups, $8 million to hold a congressional district. He ran against a professor who was an evangelical Christian and a libertarian economist. He ran against a professor who raised in total $175,000. In fact, the bills from Eric Cantor's campaign at a elite steak house in Washington, DC, was over $200,000. So they spent more than $200,000 over the course of the campaign wining and dining fat cats at a steak house in Washington than the entire opposition had to run.

Now, Eric Cantor, it was a landslide. He lost 57-43, and not one — outside of Breitbart, we covered this for six months, day in and day out — not one news site — not Fox News, not Politico, no sites picked this up. And the reason that this guy won is quite simple: Middle-class people and working-class people are tired of people like Eric Cantor who say they're conservative selling out their interests every day to crony capitalists.

> "That center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India."

And you're seeing that whether that was UKIP and Nigel Farage in the United Kingdom, whether it's these groups in the Low Countries in Europe, whether it's in France, there's a new tea party in Germany. The theme is all the same. And the theme is middle-class and working-class people — they're saying, "Hey, I'm working harder than I've ever worked. I'm getting less benefits than I'm ever getting through this, I'm incurring less wealth myself, and I'm seeing a system of fat cats who say they're conservative and say they back capitalist principles, but all they're doing is binding with corporatists." Right? Corporatists, to garner all the benefits for themselves.

And that center-right revolt is really a global revolt. I think you're going to see it in Latin America, I think you're going to see it in Asia, I think you've already seen it in India. Modi's great victory was very much based on these Reaganesque principles, so I think this is a global revolt, and we are very fortunate and proud to be the news site that is reporting that throughout the world.

Harnwell: I think it's important to understand the distinction that you're drawing here between what can be understood as authentic, free-market capitalism as a means of promoting wealth that [*unintelligible*] involves everybody with a form of crony capitalism which simply benefits a certain class. And we've watched over the course of our conference, we've watched two video segments produced by the Acton Institute about

how development aid is spent internationally and how that can be driven away from — it damages people on the ground but it also perpetuates a governing class. And the point that you're mentioning here, that I think that you're saying has driven almost a revolution movement in America, is the same phenomenon of what's going on in the developing world, which is a concept of government which is no longer doing what it is morally bound to do but has become corrupt and self-serving. So it's effectively the sa—

Bannon: It's exactly the same. Currently, if you read *The Economist*, you read the *Financial Times* this week, you'll see there's a relatively obscure agency in the federal government that is engaged in a huge fight that may lead to a government shutdown. It's called the Export-Import Bank. And for years, it was a bank that helped finance things that other banks wouldn't do. And what's happening over time is that it's metastasized to be a cheap form of financing to General Electric and to Boeing and to other large corporations. You get this financing from other places if they wanted to, but they're putting this onto the middle-class taxpayers to support this.

"I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that [right-wing parties] have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial … My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right?"

And the tea party is using this as an example of the cronyism. General Electric and these major corporations that are in bed with the federal government are not what we'd consider free-enterprise capitalists. We're backers of entrepreneurial capitalists. They're not. They're what we call corporatist. They want to have more and more monopolistic power and they're doing that kind of convergence with big government. And so the fight here — and that's why the media's been very late to this party — but the fight you're seeing is between entrepreneur capitalism, and the Acton Institute is a tremendous supporter of, and the people like the corporatists that are closer to the people like we think in Beijing and Moscow than they are to the entrepreneurial capitalist spirit of the United States.

Harnwell: Thanks, Steve. I'm going to turn around now, as I'm sure we have some great questions from the floor. Who has the first question then?

Bannon: First of all, Benjamin, I can tell you I could hardly recognize you, you're so cleaned up you are for the conference.
[*Laughter*]
Questioner: Hello, my name is Deborah Lubov. I'm a Vatican correspondent for Zenit news agency, for their English edition. I have some experience working in New York — I was working for PricewaterhouseCoopers auditing investment banks, one of which was Goldman Sachs. And considering this conference is on poverty, I'm curious — from your point of view especially, your experience in the investment banking world — what concrete measures do you think they should be doing to combat, prevent this phenomenon? We know that various sums of money are used in all sorts of ways and they do have different initiatives, but in order to concretely counter this epidemic now, what are your thoughts?

"For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a [financial] bailout."

Bannon: That's a great question. The 2008 crisis, I think the financial crisis — which, by the way, I don't think we've come through — is really driven I believe by the greed, much of it driven by the greed of the investment banks. My old firm, Goldman Sachs — traditionally the best banks are leveraged 8:1. When we had the financial crisis in 2008, the investment banks were leveraged 35:1. Those rules had specifically been changed by a guy named Hank Paulson. He was secretary of Treasury. As chairman of Goldman Sachs, he had gone to Washington years before and asked for those changes. That made the banks not really investment banks, but made them hedge funds — and highly susceptible to changes in liquidity. And so the crisis of 2008 was, quite frankly, really never recovered from in the United States. It's one of the reasons last quarter you saw 2.9% negative growth in a quarter. So the United States economy is in very, very tough shape.
And one of the reasons is that we've never really gone and dug down and sorted through the problems of 2008. Particularly the fact — think about it — not one criminal charge has ever been brought to any bank executive associated with 2008 crisis. And in fact, it gets worse. No bonuses and none of their equity was taken. So part of the prime drivers of the

wealth that they took in the 15 years leading up to the crisis was not hit at all, and I think that's one of the fuels of this populist revolt that we're seeing as the tea party. So I think there are many, many measures, particularly about getting the banks on better footing, making them address all the liquid assets they have. I think you need a real clean-up of the banks balance sheets.

In addition, I think you really need to go back and make banks do what they do: Commercial banks lend money, and investment banks invest in entrepreneurs and to get away from this trading — you know, the hedge fund securitization, which they've all become basically trading operations and securitizations and not put capital back and really grow businesses and to grow the economy. So I think it's a whole area that just — and I will tell you, the underpinning of this populist revolt is the financial crisis of 2008. That revolt, the way that it was dealt with, the way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did, has fueled much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States.

Questioner: Thank you.

Bannon: Great question.

Questioner: Hello, Mr. Bannon. I'm Mario Fantini, a Vermonter living in Vienna, Austria. You began describing some of the trends you're seeing worldwide, very dangerous trends, worry trends. Another movement that I've been seeing grow and spread in Europe, unfortunately, is what can only be described as tribalist or neo-nativist movement — they call themselves Identitarians. These are mostly young, working-class, populist groups, and they're teaching self-defense classes, but also they are arguing against — and quite effectively, I might add — against capitalism and global financial institutions, etc. How do we counteract this stuff? Because they're appealing to a lot of young people at a very visceral level, especially with the ethnic and racial stuff.

Bannon: I didn't hear the whole question, about the tribalist?

"One of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department, 35 [bank] executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on."

Questioner: Very simply put, there's a growing movement among young people here in Europe, in France and in Austria and elsewhere, and they're arguing very effectively against Wall Street institutions and they're also appealing to people on an ethnic and racial level. And I was just wondering what you would recommend to counteract these movements, which are growing.

Bannon: One of the reasons that you can understand how they're being fueled is that they're not seeing the benefits of capitalism. I mean particularly — and I think it's particularly more advanced in Europe than it is in the United States, but in the United States it's getting pretty advanced — is that when you have this kind of crony capitalism, you have a different set of rules for the people that make the rules. It's this partnership of big government and corporatists. I think it starts to fuel, particularly as you start to see negative job creation. If you go back, in fact, and look at the United States' GDP, you look at a bunch of Europe. If you take out government spending, you know, we've had negative growth on a real basis for over a decade.

And that all trickles down to the man in the street. If you look at people's lives, and particularly millennials, look at people under 30 — people under 30, there's 50% really under employment of people in the United States, which is probably the most advanced economy in the West, and it gets worse in Europe.

I think in Spain it's something like 50 or 60% of the youth under 30 are underemployed. And that means the decade of their twenties, which is where you have to learn a skill, where you have to learn a craft, where you really start to get comfortable in your profession, you're taking that away from the entire generation. That's only going to fuel tribalism, that's only going to fuel [*unintelligible*]... That's why to me, it's incumbent upon freedom-loving people to make sure that we sort out these governments and make sure that we sort out particularly this crony capitalism so that the benefits become more of this entrepreneurial spirit and that can flow back to working-class and middle-class people. Because if not, we're going to pay a huge price for this. You can already start to see it.

Questioner: I have a question, because you worked on Wall Street. What is the opinion there on whether they think bank bailouts are justified? Is there a Christian-centered [*unintelligible*] that they think should be bailed out? The crisis starts earlier than 2008. What was the precedent then? What was the feeling on Wall Street when they bailed out the banks? How should Christians feel about advocating or being against that?

Bannon: I think one is about responsibility. For Christians, and particularly for those who believe in the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West, I don't believe that we should have a bailout. I think the bailouts in 2008 were wrong. And I think, you look in hindsight, it was a lot of misinformation that was presented about the bailouts of the banks in the West.

And look at the [*unintelligible*] it. Middle-class taxpayers, people that are working-class people, right, people making incomes under $50,000 and $60,000, it was the burden of those taxpayers, right, that bailed out the elites. And let's think about it for a second. Here's how capitalism metastasized, is that all the burdens put on the working-class people who get none of the upside. All of the upside goes to the crony capitalists.

The bailouts were absolutely outrageous, and here's why: It bailed out a group of shareholders and executives who were specifically accountable. The shareholders were accountable for one simple reason: They allowed this to go wrong without changing management. And the management team of this. And we know this now from congressional investigations, we know it from independent investigations, this is not some secret conspiracy. This is kind of in plain sight.

In fact, one of the committees in Congress said to the Justice Department 35 executives, I believe, that they should have criminal indictments against — not one of those has ever been followed up on. Because even with the Democrats, right, in power, there's a sense between the law firms, and the accounting firms, and the investment banks, and their stooges on Capitol Hill, they looked the other way.

So you can understand why middle class people having a tough go of it making $50 or $60 thousand a year and see their taxes go up, and they see that their taxes are going to pay for government sponsored bailouts, what you've created is really a free option. You say to this investment banking, create a free option for bad behavior. In otherwise all the upside goes to the hedge funds and the investment bank, and to the crony capitalist with stock increases and bonus increases. And their downside is limited, because middle class people are going to come and bail them out with tax dollars.

And that's what I think is fueling this populist revolt. Whether that revolt is in the midlands of England, or whether it's in Middle America. And I think people are fed up with it.

And I think that's why you're seeing — when you read the media says, "tea party is losing, losing elections," that is all BS. The elections we don't win, we're forcing those crony capitalists to come and admit that they're not going to do this again. The whole narrative in Washington has been changed by this populist revolt that we call the grassroots of the tea party movement.

And it's specifically because those bailouts were completely and totally unfair. It didn't make those financial institutions any stronger, and it bailed out a bunch of people — by the way, and these are people that have all gone to Yale, and Harvard, they went to the finest institutions in the West. They should have known better.

And by the way: It's all the institutions of the accounting firms, the law firms, the investment banks, the consulting firms, the elite of the elite, the educated elite, they understood what they were getting into, forcibly took all the benefits from it and then look to the government, went hat in hand to the government to be bailed out. And they've never been held accountable today. Trust me — they are going to be held accountable. You're seeing this populist movement called the tea party in the United States.

Harnwell: Okay, I think we've got time for just one or two more questions for Stephen K. Bannon, chairman of Breitbart Media, third-largest news organization in the States. I know you're a very, very busy man, so we're very grateful for the time that you've agreed to put aside for this, to close this conference.

> "I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?"

Bannon: I'm never too busy to share with a group that can do as much good as you guys can.

Questioner: What do you think is the major threat today, to the Judeo-Christian Civilization? Secularism, or the Muslim world? In my humble opinion, they're just trying to defend themselves from our cultural invasion. Thank you.

[*Question restated by Harnwell*]

Bannon: It's a great question. I certainly think secularism has sapped the strength of the Judeo-Christian West to defend its ideals, right?

If you go back to your home countries and your proponent of the defense of the Judeo-Christian West and its tenets, often times, particularly when you deal with the elites, you're looked at as someone who is quite odd. So it has kind of sapped the strength.

But I strongly believe that whatever the causes of the current drive to the caliphate was — and we can debate them, and people can try to deconstruct them — we have to face a very unpleasant fact: And that unpleasant fact is that there is a major war brewing, a war that's already global. It's going global in scale, and today's technology, today's media, today's access to weapons of mass destruction, it's going to lead to a global conflict that I believe has to be confronted today. Every day that we refuse to look at this as what it is, and the scale of it, and really the viciousness of it, will be a day where you will rue that we didn't act [*unintelligible*].

> "The way that the people who ran the banks and ran the hedge funds have never really been held accountable for what they did has fueled much of the anger in the tea party movement in the United States."

Questioner: Thank you very much. I'm [*unintelligible*]. I come from Slovakia. This is actually the source of my two very quick questions. Thank you very much for the work that you do to promote the Judeo-Christian values in the world. I really appreciate it, and I also feel that the danger is very high. I have two minor questions, because you have mentioned, in terms of UKIP and Front National [*unintelligible*]. From the European perspective, listening to the language which has become more and more radical from these two parties, especially before the European Parliament elections, I'm just wondering what are your plans on how to help these partners from Europe to maybe focus on the value issues and not with populist? And also it goes in terms — you have

mentioned the involvement of state in capitalism as one of the big dangers. But these two parties you've mentioned, they actually have close ties with Putin, who is the promoter of this big danger, so I'd like to know your thoughts about this and how you're going to deal with it.

Bannon: Could you summarize that for me?

Harnwell: The first question was, you'd reference the Front National and UKIP as having elements that are tinged with the racial aspect amidst their voter profile, and the questioner was asking how you intend to deal with that aspect.

Bannon: I don't believe I said UKIP in that. I was really talking about the parties on the continent, Front National and other European parties.

I'm not an expert in this, but it seems that they have had some aspects that may be anti-Semitic or racial. By the way, even in the tea party, we have a broad movement like this, and we've been criticized, and they try to make the tea party as being racist, etc., which it's not. But there's always elements who turn up at these things, whether it's militia guys or whatever. Some that are fringe organizations. My point is that over time it all gets kind of washed out, right? People understand what pulls them together, and the people on the margins I think get marginalized more and more.

I believe that you'll see this in the center-right populist movement in continental Europe. I've spent quite a bit of time with UKIP, and I can say to you that I've never seen anything at all with UKIP that even comes close to that. I think they've done a very good job of policing themselves to really make sure that people including the British National Front and others were not included in the party, and I think you've seen that also with tea party groups, where some people would show up and were kind of marginal members of the tea party, and the tea party did a great job of policing themselves early on. And I think that's why when you hear charges of racism against the tea party, it doesn't stick with the American people, because they really understand.

I think when you look at any kind of revolution — and this is a revolution — you always have some groups that are disparate. I think that will all burn away over time and you'll see more of a mainstream center-right populist movement.

"Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand."

Question: Obviously, before the European elections the two parties had a clear link to Putin. If one of the representatives of the dangers of capitalism is the state involvement in capitalism, so, I see there, also Marine Le Pen campaigning in Moscow with Putin, and also UKIP strongly defending Russian positions in geopolitical terms.
[*Harnwell restates, but unintelligible*]
Harnwell: These two parties have both been cultivating President Putin [*unintelligible*].
Bannon: I think it's a little bit more complicated. When Vladimir Putin, when you really look at some of the underpinnings of some of his beliefs today, a lot of those come from what I call Eurasianism; he's got an adviser who harkens back to Julius Evola and different writers of the early 20th century who are really the supporters of what's called the traditionalist movement, which really eventually metastasized into Italian fascism. A lot of people that are traditionalists are attracted to that.
One of the reasons is that they believe that at least Putin is standing up for traditional institutions, and he's trying to do it in a form of nationalism — and I think that people, particularly in certain countries, want to see the sovereignty for their country, they want to see nationalism for their country. They don't believe in this kind of pan-European Union or they don't believe in the centralized government in the United States. They'd rather see more of a states-based entity that the founders originally set up where freedoms were controlled at the local level.

"You're seeing a global reaction to centralized government, whether that government is in Beijing or that government is in Washington, DC, or that government is in Brussels. So we are the platform for the voice of that."

I'm not justifying Vladimir Putin and the kleptocracy that he represents, because he eventually is the state capitalist of kleptocracy. However, we the Judeo-Christian West really have to look at what he's talking about as far as traditionalism goes — particularly the sense of where it supports the underpinnings of nationalism — and I happen to think that the individual sovereignty of a country is a good thing and a strong thing. I think strong countries and strong nationalist movements in countries make strong neighbors, and that is really the building blocks that built Western Europe and the United States, and I think it's what can see us forward.

You know, Putin's been quite an interesting character. He's also very, very, very intelligent. I can see this in the United States where he's playing very strongly to social conservatives about his message about more traditional values, so I think it's something that we have to be very much on guard of. Because at the end of the day, I think that Putin and his cronies are really a kleptocracy, that are really an imperialist power that want to expand. However, I really believe that in this current environment, where you're facing a potential new caliphate that is very aggressive that is really a situation — I'm not saying we can put it on a back burner — but I think we have to deal with first things first.

Questioner: One of my questions has to do with how the West should be responding to radical Islam. How, specifically, should we as the West respond to Jihadism without losing our own soul? Because we can win the war and lose ourselves at the same time. How should the West respond to radical Islam and not lose itself in the process?

Bannon: From a perspective — this may be a little more militant than others. I think definitely you're going to need an aspect that is [*unintelligible*]. I believe you should take a very, very, very aggressive stance against radical Islam. And I realize there are other aspects that are not as militant and not as aggressive and that's fine.

If you look back at the long history of the Judeo-Christian West struggle against Islam, I believe that our forefathers kept their stance, and I think they did the right thing. I think they kept it out of the world, whether it was at Vienna, or Tours, or other places... It bequeathed to use the great institution that is the church of the West.

And I would ask everybody in the audience today, because you really are the movers and drivers and shakers and thought leaders in the Catholic Church today, is to think, when people 500 years from now are going to think about today, think about the actions you've taken — and I believe everyone associated with the church and associated with the Judeo-

Christian West that believes in the underpinnings of that and believes in the precepts of that and want to see that bequeathed to other generations down the road as it was bequeathed to us, particularly as you're in a city like Rome, and in a place like the Vatican, see what's been bequeathed to us — ask yourself, 500 years from today, what are they going to say about me? What are they going to say about what I did at the beginning stages of this crisis?

Because it is a crisis, and it's not going away. You don't have to take my word for it. All you have to do is read the news every day, see what's coming up, see what they're putting on Twitter, what they're putting on Facebook, see what's on CNN, what's on BBC. See what's happening, and you will see we're in a war of immense proportions. It's very easy to play to our baser instincts, and we can't do that. But our forefathers didn't do it either. And they were able to stave this off, and they were able to defeat it, and they were able to bequeath to us a church and a civilization that really is the flower of mankind, so I think it's incumbent on all of us to do what I call a gut check, to really think about what our role is in this battle that's before us.

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Sent: 12/12/2016 6:26:29 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: From Politico Magazine

Any ideas?

Begin forwarded message:

From: Margaret Slattery <[redacted]>
Subject: From Politico Magazine
Date: November 28, 2016 at 3:04:51 PM CST
To: '[redacted]' <[redacted]u>

Dear Joi,

Hello, I'm writing from Politico Magazine, where we're working on a special package of stories timed to Donald Trump's inauguration in January, and I wondered if you would be interested in contributing.

As he prepares to take office, our plan is to publish a handful of out-of-the box ideas for President Trump, suggested by writers and thinkers from a variety of fields and ideological positions. Whether the idea has to do with politics, policy, personnel or governing style, we're looking for suggestions that are specific and, above all, surprising; something inventive if slightly far-fetched is better than a pet cause or a well-trod policy proposal. (This exercise doesn't require that you support or even agree with Trump, but it does require a willingness to engage.)

Do you have an idea along these lines that you wish the new president would consider, whether something in economics or otherwise? If so, I'd love to hear, and we can discuss next steps from there. Ultimately, we're aiming to publish a handful of short pieces (about 800 words each) as a package of proposals.

Many thanks, and please let me know if you have questions.

Margy Slattery

—
Deputy Editor, Politico Magazine
[redacted], [redacted]

From: David Grosof [redacted]
on behalf of David Grosof[redacted]
Sent: 1/20/2017 6:28:10 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Your Special Day

Importance: High

At 10:13 PM 01/19/17, you wrote:

all good.Â Â thx.Â Â areas of interest,Â Â Â Â distribuitionsÂ in nature. .Â Â Â Â 2 deception.Â 3.Â sleep . 4.Â power. 5 money.Â 6 music and the brain. 7 , signal intellignece in the biologocal systems

Excellent alignment with some of my interests or those of people I like and think are smart!
The rest of the truncated message has been sent.

1. What's been stimulating as a source of good questions for the "distributions in nature" issue?
7. "Signal intelligence in biol. systems" seems to cover all of neurophysiology: Jonathan Victor, whom you met a few years ago in your office, is powerfully thoughtful on the issues of neural coding. Are there specific examples that have stimulated you to better questions or turned your thinking around?

6. Are you aware of apps that purport to play music to enhance productivity and focus on tasks at hand? My buddy Reese Jones has backed that; he has a fascinating set of beliefs and projects around what may soon be understood as "consciousness hacking." He's on the board of Singularity University as one of the founders. (His father was a pioneer UCSF MD researcher of hallucinogens, I believe!)

More to come in a day or so.
Thanks!
You're up late or you're not so east of my SF location!
David

PS How to trade the Trump-GOP demolition of the welfare state, erratic elevation of risks of trade disruptions and war? Has anyone from the rational center or left given thought to how to respond to a national emergency to cope with a kakistocratic seizure of emergency powers? The Patriot Act was on a 'shelf' as you know, ready to be used. What should the better folks in this country have at hand if, say, a port is subject to a radiological attack of unknown origin?

On Fri, Jan 20, 2017 at 1:07 AM, David Grosof <grosof@sloan.mit.edu> wrote:
Dear Jeffrey,
Â Congratulations on another spin around the sun.
Â I would like to offer you a birthday present: my best efforts for a few hours on something where I might be able to contribute either to making something good happen for you or help you prevent the bad.
We haven't talked much at all for quite some time, so I'm not sure of the nature of your current interests but here are some of mine, where I feel I either have some special capability or can get access to those who have such.
* open science -- open access publishing, data publishing, and open culture institutions considered as a network with largely consistent and mutually reinforcing values: Public Library of Science (PLoS), Wikipedia, Internet

Archive, Electronic Frontier Foundation, and Creative Commons, along with allied US, UK, European governmental and NGO funding sources and other institutions.
* early-stage life science-based ventures, especially those with one or more of these technologies: optics, wearable-sensors, brain-computer interface, behavioral engineering that goes beyond robo-noodging. I am not up to speed on synthetic bio and CRISPR, but I have a good friend who is.
* cybersecurity for you and your life. I have carefully monitored the web for articles about you and I have reason to think that those will persist indefinitely. I would be remiss as your friend if I did not encourage you to be as diligent and smart as possible in using tools like Signal, two-factor/multi-factor authentication, taking webmail archives off the web onto your own secure privately maintained archive or deleted (unlike Podesta), and other measures.
* publicity for your cool-ass creative and important philanthropy in support of really good and adventuresome, high-risk basic science research. Most obvious benefit: it would be nice to know you hung out with the bright

David Grosof
[redacted]

--
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David Grosof
[redacted]
*

From: Jeremy Rubin [redacted]
Sent: 2/1/2017 5:18:08 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Greetings from Japan

Importance: High

Hey Jeffrey,

Thought I'd check in and see what's up on your end.

- I've been watching closely Trump's appointees and there, he might be putting Balaji (a big bitcoiner) as FDA head, and Allison seems to be somewhat in favor of something like Bitcoin. And of course, Thiel has said that Bitcoin is what Paypal should have been... Curious to hear where your head is at on this matter.

- Last week, I presented my research at Stanford's BPASE, it was well received. The most interesting thing I came up with for that is an inverse-input contract; i.e., funds that are "locked" to be spent only in the case where there are other funds that are not used in a specific way. An example of something that could be built with this: a matching donation contract, where you agree to donate your money to charity if someone else donates to charity, and you would not be able to release your funds from that agreement until they use their funds not for charity.

- I'm in Japan this week, teaching a class to 100 Japanese Engineers to get the up to speed on bitcoin (with DG). It's very interesting to see the trepidation first hand that they have with respect to the technology, despite their debit-based society being more geared for it in any case (DG felt that even putting Bitcoin in the course name would scare away students). One of my friends (a hedge fund manager) told me that female japanese engineers are very good, and drastically under-valued. I made sure to get a few invited to the class, we'll see if he's right. On the whole, it will be interesting to see the caliber of engineer Japan has to offer on this front.

Best,

Jeremy

--
@JeremyRubin

From: ji@media.mit.edu [redacted]
Sent: 2/3/2017 3:16:15 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Fwd:

Importance: High

Can't seem to open the attachment...

Sent from my iPhone

On Feb 2, 2017, at 20:24, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Robert Trivers** <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, Feb 2, 2017 at 6:45 PM
Subject:
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Dear Jeffrey

Two questions.

1—do you believe the stock market will continue to climb given what we have now seen of Trump-land? [Strictly confidential]

2—what do you think of the attached (N=1)? You do not drink or smoke, probably do not inject etc. you swim or exercise every day, so your heartbeat is expected to be low and less variable than average. Is your ability to predict heart rate accurately—without holding your neck or wrist—positively related to your ability to succeed in the financial world—as the attached strongly suggests. Just give me and N=1.

Remember you asked me, what does self-knowledge have to do with anything—and here is a most intriguing example.

I will send you a joke shortly

All best

bob

--
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<Interocept stock trading.pdf>

From: Jeremy Rubin [redacted]
Sent: 2/4/2017 4:18:58 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Greetings from Japan

Importance: High

Are you around here?

--
@JeremyRubin

On Wed, Feb 1, 2017 at 7:56 PM, Jeremy Rubin <[redacted]> wrote:

Feb 12th.

--
@JeremyRubin

On Wed, Feb 1, 2017 at 7:50 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

how long will you be there?

On Wed, Feb 1, 2017 at 12:18 AM, Jeremy Rubin <[redacted]> wrote:

Hey Jeffrey,

Thought I'd check in and see what's up on your end.

- I've been watching closely Trump's appointees and there, he might be putting Balaji (a big bitcoiner) as FDA head, and Allison seems to be somewhat in favor of something like Bitcoin. And of course, Thiel has said that Bitcoin is what Paypal should have been... Curious to hear where your head is at on this matter.

- Last week, I presented my research at Stanford's BPASE, it was well received. The most interesting thing I came up with for that is an inverse-input contract; i.e., funds that are "locked" to be spent only in the case where there are other funds that are not used in a specific way. An example of something that could be built with this: a matching donation contract, where you agree to donate your money to charity if someone else donates to charity, and you would not be able to release your funds from that agreement until they use their funds not for charity.

- I'm in Japan this week, teaching a class to 100 Japanese Engineers to get the up to speed on bitcoin (with DG). It's very interesting to see the trepidation first hand that they have with respect to the technology, despite their debit-based society being more geared for it in any case (DG felt that even putting Bitcoin in the course name would scare away students). One of my friends (a hedge fund manager) told me that female japanese engineers are very good, and drastically under-valued. I made sure to get a few invited to the class, we'll see if he's right. On the whole, it will be interesting to see the caliber of engineer Japan has to offer on this front.

Best,

Jeremy

--
@JeremyRubin

--

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From: Jeremy Rubin [redacted]
Sent: 2/4/2017 1:53:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Greetings from Japan

Importance: High

At digital garage

On Sat, Feb 4, 2017 at 8:00 PM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
where in tokyo are you lecturing? no im in new york

On Fri, Feb 3, 2017 at 11:18 PM, Jeremy Rubin <[redacted]> wrote:
Are you around here?

--
@JeremyRubin

On Wed, Feb 1, 2017 at 7:56 PM, Jeremy Rubin <[redacted]> wrote:
Feb 12th.

--
@JeremyRubin

On Wed, Feb 1, 2017 at 7:50 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
how long will you be there?

On Wed, Feb 1, 2017 at 12:18 AM, Jeremy Rubin <[redacted]> wrote:
Hey Jeffrey,

Thought I'd check in and see what's up on your end.

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- I'm in Japan this week, teaching a class to 100 Japanese Engineers to get the up to speed on bitcoin (with DG). It's very interesting to see the trepidation first hand that they have with respect to the technology, despite their debit-based society being more geared for it in any case (DG felt that even putting Bitcoin in the course name would scare away students). One of my friends (a hedge fund manager) told me that female japanese engineers are very good, and drastically

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Best,

Jeremy

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@JeremyRubin

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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 6/1/2017 12:12:02 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

:-)

> On Jun 1, 2017, at 6:00 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> when i told reid that obama just wanted to make money, he thought i was being cynical, as he was sure that doing good was going to be the goal
>
> https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/31/us/obama-buys-house-washington-kalorama.html?module=WatchingPortal&region=c-column-middle-span-region&pgType=Homepage&action=click&mediaId=thumb_square&state=standard&contentPlacement=6&version=internal&contentCollection=www.nytimes.com&contentId=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.nytimes.com%2F2017%2F05%2F31%2Fus%2Fobama-buys-house-washington-kalorama.html&eventName=Watching-article-click
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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 6/1/2017 12:16:28 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Not yet. I will when I talk to him next - but not sure when that is.

BTW, should be expecting funding yet or after we figure out the pitch?

- Joi

> On Jun 1, 2017, at 8:12 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> did you talk to reid about the donor advised fund?
>
> On Thu, Jun 1, 2017 at 8:12 AM, Joi Ito [redacted] wrote:
> :-)
>
> > On Jun 1, 2017, at 6:00 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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> >
> > https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/31/us/obama-buys-house-washington-kalorama.html?module=WatchingPortal&region=c-column-middle-span-region&pgType=Homepage&action=click&mediaId=thumb_square&state=standard&contentPlacement=6&version=internal&contentCollection=www.nytimes.com&contentId=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.nytimes.com%2F2017%2F05%2F31%2Fus%2Fobama-buys-house-washington-kalorama.html&eventName=Watching-article-click
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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 6/1/2017 12:37:55 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

:-)

Thanks

—
(Tip: Use NRR to mean No Reply Required - thank you!)

On Jun 1, 2017, at 8:21 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

i need to edit and hand . sorry, i will try to get to it this weekend. soo swamped here. its so much fun.

On Thu, Jun 1, 2017 at 8:16 AM, Joi Ito [redacted] wrote:
Not yet. I will when I talk to him next - but not sure when that is.

BTW, should be expecting funding yet or after we figure out the pitch?

- Joi

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From: Nowak, Martin A. [redacted]
Sent: 7/25/2017 12:57:37 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

i will talk to here this morning
her Skype contact is in moscow.
is this correct?

On Jul 25, 2017, at 6:47 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: Masha Drokova <[redacted]>
Date: Tue, Jul 25, 2017 at 5:53 AM
Subject: Re:
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Still waiting Nowak to respond about when he can call(I'll keep following up with him, not a prob)

Found this looking for the details of what is happening with the federal budget for science

https://www.congress.gov/congressional-report/115th-congress/house-report/231/1

Here's a list of outlets to approach about what you are going to bridge the funding gap:

* MIT Technology Review
* Nature
* Washington Post
* Science
* Wall Street Journal
* WIRED

Topic to approach
https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-07-21/for-the-impact-of-trump-slashing-science-funding-look-north?utm_content=politics&utm_campaign=socialflow-organic&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&cmpid%3D=socialflow-twitter-politics

On Jul 25, 2017, at 1:41 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Progress?
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From: Masha Drokova [redacted]
Sent: 7/30/2017 6:18:25 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

had a great conversation with Martin. He loves you. I'm also glad that what he said about you pretty much matches what I thought of you :-)

Working on finding/choosing right reporters for the story. Will keep you posted

On Jul 25, 2017, at 2:53 AM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

Still waiting Nowak to respond about when he can call(I'll keep following up with him, not a prob)

Found this looking for the details of what is happening with the federal budget for science

https://www.congress.gov/congressional-report/115th-congress/house-report/231/1

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* Washington Post
* Science
* Wall Street Journal
* WIRED

Topic to approach
https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-07-21/for-the-impact-of-trump-slashing-science-funding-look-north?utm_content=politics&utm_campaign=socialflow-organic&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&cmpid%3D=socialflow-twitter-politics

On Jul 25, 2017, at 1:41 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Progress?
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Dear Harvard Business School,

I am extremely excited to share my application with you. For years now it has been my dream to attend your MBA program, studying amongst the world's best professors and most achieved students to earn the education that will influence the rest of my career and the future of my company. To explain how much I also hope to contribute at Harvard, I would like to tell you three stories that characterize who I am.

My first story is about family.

A small-town Italian from a modest family, my father worked locally as an industrial designer after high school, but he always wanted to be an entrepreneur. Thirty-four years ago, at the age of 22, as soon as he saw a market opportunity, he quit his job (defying his parents), linked his talents for design and sports, and hand-built his first piece of gym equipment in his garage; that was the beginning of Technogym. By the time I arrived, seven years later, Technogym had earned a respected place in the international market. Nine years later, when my younger brother was born, it was the world-leading and most innovative manufacturer of fitness equipment, digital wellness solutions and rehabilitation systems. It now has annual revenues of over 555m€ and 35 million daily users in over 100 countries. My father directs some 2,000 staff as CEO and Chairman.

Thousands of talented people have contributed to Technogym, among them my mother, my brother, and I. Technogym has been like my older sibling, and has always been the main topic of conversation at dinner. We plan our vacations around it and have supported one another through its ups and downs. We have all made sacrifices – but gladly, as one always does for family.

My father's vision to bring "wellness" to people around the world inspired me to get involved at a very young age, so many of my childhood memories involve weekends at the office with my dad. These early experiences embedded in me the entrepreneurial values that make my father such a successful person, values such as taking calculated risks and investing in innovation. I have attended countless meetings at his side and worn a company T-shirt at every Olympics from Athens 2004 to Rio 2016, as Technogym has been the games' official supplier since 2000.

Growing up in a family business has given me access to a vast network of people and I have sought to learn as much as I could from inspiring people like Richard Branson and Marc Benioff; however, the person I admire the most is my mother, who put aside her own education and career to commit to our family and company. She's been at my father's side since she was 16. Women have played a huge role in business and society, and I want to do my part to further opportunities for women, joining the long legacy of leaders who proudly call themselves Harvard alumnae. I intend to participate in the Women's Student Association to become one of the voices that carries this power beyond the campus. A Harvard education will help me develop the vision, leadership and credibility that I will need throughout my career, and in furthering great causes that mean a lot to me.

Next, I'd like to talk about commitment.

I understood early that I would always participate with my father's legacy and lead Technogym. I committed myself to learning languages at school, becoming a good teammate and competitor through sports, and spending my university holidays exploring different industries through internships. Yet I still wanted to set my own career and earn my own credibility. Whether conducting analyses at JP Morgan in Paris, selling high-priced artwork in Mexico City, or developing marketing campaigns for iconic brands like Bulgari and Tifany&Co., I have built my own identity thanks to working alongside diverse, accomplished people. By adapting to different countries, cultures and industries, I have adopted new ways of thinking, working, and even speaking while also asserting myself and learning to make measurable contributions quickly.

My most impactful experience was volunteering for a UN's World Food Program microfinance initiative in El Salvador, one of the world's poorest and most dangerous countries. I helped design and develop "Fondo para Agricultura," an investment fund supporting 75,000 small farmers. There, I was warned not to walk alone or explore the city, but I have never seen such warm and generous people as the Salvadorans. I made lifelong friends with my colleagues and many locals, and I witnessed how even small efforts can impact the lives of many. I became active in our company's foundation to spread goodwill in my own community.

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heard inspiring leaders talk about making the world a better place. As a 'Next Gen' myself, I joined the Family Business Community. There I discovered impact investing, which in turn led me to take the Harvard Kennedy School course *Impact Investing for the Next Generation*. Working on projects with other Next Gen associates has given me a taste of courses and case study groups at Harvard, and I love it. I have since, through our family office, been eyeing for investment projects that could make a measurable positive difference on communities around the world.

Finally, I'd like to talk about awakening.

After decades of managing and growing his company, my father returned to his original passion of sharing "wellness" to build sustainable communities. He created the "Wellness Foundation," a non-profit aiming to bring healthy lifestyles to people around the world. One of our international partners is the Clinton Foundation, and during our annual Wellness Congress in 2012, former President Clinton even delivered the keynote speech and I am currently helping to bring high profile speakers to our 25th Congress that will be held next year.

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For several years, this project was, like Technogym, an endeavour outside my job at Luxottica. I joined that company as a marketing intern and was soon promoted to manage an important licensed brand, Tiffany&Co. It turned out my previous experience had prepared me well for this first big management opportunity, and I truly enjoyed it.

Exploring the workings of a complex international firm of 80,000 employees, I began to re-examine my family's business. When Technogym had its IPO in early 2016, I joined its Board of Directors and looked deep into the company's potential and my own role. The time was right to take on new responsibilities. Resigning from Luxottica and training my replacement, I dove into a new Technogym project, the first of its kind. I'm currently working with the Senior Retail VP to develop a B2C sales channel through new experiential stores in Milan and London, where I direct staff, strategy, and new revenue streams. Moreover, I recently took responsibility over the development of a new business unit with the launch of a clothing line, including the evaluation of potential partnerships and acquisitions, aimed at increasing our presence in the consumer sector at a higher pace. These are uphill endeavours, but I am energetic to face them. My two years on the Board of Enervit – a listed health-food company, and another family business – have given me useful insights.

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Now you understand more about me, my family, our company and why my dream has brought me to you. I have worked hard to learn from peers, friends, and mentors and will continue to do so in a new setting that will help me grow – as a woman, a manager, a leader, and, I hope, an example to others.

Dear Harvard Business School,

I am extremely excited to share my application with you. For years now it has been my dream to attend your MBA program, studying amongst the world's best professors and most achieved students to earn the education that will influence the rest of my career and the future of my company. To explain how much I also hope to contribute at Harvard, I would like to tell you three stories that characterize who I am.

My first story is about family.

A small-town Italian from a modest family, my father worked locally as an industrial designer after high school, but he always wanted to be an entrepreneur. Thirty-four years ago, at the age of 22, as soon as he saw a market opportunity, he quit his job (defying his parents), linked his talents for design and sports, and hand-built his first piece of gym equipment in his garage; that was the beginning of Technogym. By the time I arrived, seven years later, Technogym had earned a respected place in the international market. Nine years later, when my younger brother was born, it was the world-leading and most innovative manufacturer of fitness equipment, digital wellness solutions and rehabilitation systems. It now has annual revenues of over 555m€ and 35 million daily users in over 100 countries. My father directs some 2,000 staff as CEO and Chairman.

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From: Lawrence Summers [redacted]
Sent: 10/11/2017 3:04:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: lhsoffice [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric

Importance: High

Your pal should stay out of press.

Public link to manafort will be a disaster.

This is a staggering shit show.

Sent from my iPad

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: "**The Washington Post**" <email@e.washingtonpost.com>
Date: Wed, Oct 11, 2017 at 9:04 AM -0400
Subject: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric
To: "Summers, Lawrence H." < [redacted]

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Trending Now Wed., Oct. 11, 2017 9:01 a.m.

Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric

Billionaire Thomas J. Barrack Jr. has done what few others in Trump's orbit have done: He told the president, in effect, that he was wrong. "In my opinion, he's better than this," Barrack said.

Trump's relationship with Barrack is one of the most important, if little understood, of the president's life, offering a case study of what it takes to remain close to him in a time of such turmoil.

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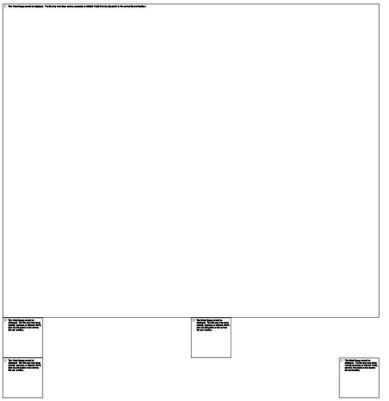

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From: Larry Summers[redacted]
Sent: 10/27/2017 2:59:48 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric

Importance: High

Was there. Spoke well. Spent time w Softbank deputy Najeev or some such PIF guy too.

Flying back.

How is life among the lucrative and louche?

Sent from my iPad

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Friday, October 27, 2017 6:51 PM
Subject: Re: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric
To: Lawrence Summers <[redacted]>

saudi?

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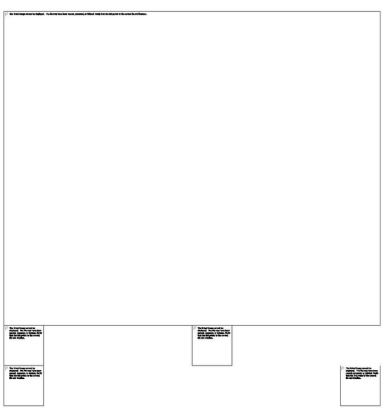

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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 11/22/2017 6:14:38 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Lots of stuff going on that week but I'm in town.

#metoo is quite amazing...

Madars is doing well. His PhD paper won an award and he found a vulnerability in ING's new crypto currency.

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 22, 2017, at 10:57, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

maybe week of 3rd not seeing anything that exciting or new ? you? with all these guys getting busted for harassment , i have moved slightly up on the repuation ladder and have been asked everday for advice etc. this morning I have Ken Starr coming to point out how if clinton cigar lewinsky were to be outed today the world would be a different place

On Wed, Nov 22, 2017 at 10:51 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

Pretty good. Had a pinched nerve in my neck that screwed me up for awhile. How about you? Any plans to come to Boston?

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 22, 2017, at 10:44, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

all good?

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From: anasalrasheed[redacted]
Sent: 12/8/2017 11:13:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

like always .. it was pleasure and fun to visit you. thnx for the nice gift

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 8, 2017, at 11:38 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

no come now !!!

On Fri, Dec 8, 2017 at 9:37 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:
i m at the door but i will wait for my time.. i dont want to come early to find trump in your house

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 8, 2017, at 9:55 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Yes

On Fri, Dec 8, 2017 at 2:10 PM <[redacted]> wrote:
sorry that is [redacted] for the gate

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 6, 2017, at 5:44 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

10pm should I bring special cake from New York

On Wed, Dec 6, 2017 at 9:37 AM <[redacted]> wrote:
very well .. just send me the address again and the code to the door so i can get to the second floor? and send me the day and time.
thnx

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 6, 2017, at 5:17 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

You are welcome at my house always . And more private

On Wed, Dec 6, 2017 at 9:12 AM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Of courses

On Wed, Dec 6, 2017 at 9:08 AM <[redacted]> wrote:
???

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 5, 2017, at 2:34 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

at the moment i was flying to paris on the 8th. . I can leave eariler and get to paris by 830 . if you like to meet there. geneve difficult to fly out of at night . or lunch sat in paris. ,

On Tue, Dec 5, 2017 at 5:03 AM, <[redacted]> wrote:

can we have dinner in geneva on the 8th? i will be there on 7 and 8 dec and going back to kuwait on the 9th

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 5, 2017, at 3:34 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I am planning to be in paris starting the 9th for the week. any chance to see you

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From: Robert Lawrence Kuhn [redacted]
Sent: 12/29/2017 10:03:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Kuhn - Breakthroughs (and Trump)

Importance: High

Agree! 'Get It Right' is singular priority - we think alike. This is the Role and Importance of pre-production. Funds adequate.

Clarity critical, as is charisma. However, given intimacy of TV interviews, it's not always apparent upfront who communicates well. Usually by not always. Sometimes someone who is a great lecturer to 500 students falls flat or off puts as arrogant. Sometimes a mousey introvert with intense eye and facial expressions sparkles and radiates. There is no substitute, however, for clarity.

Looking forward to discussion.

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 29, 2017, at 3:35 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

it need to be about the topic and the person. some of these people are not engaging at all. I m happy to pay for more preprduction to get it right.

On Fri, Dec 29, 2017 at 3:21 PM, Robert Kuhn [redacted] wrote:

Terrific; looking forward.

Excited to go through math candidates on the list, others too.

Equally important, discuss edits/modifications to the 13 episodes (cutting blahs), expanding math episodes - see below. Assuming we expand math episodes, we will need more mathematicians.

How's late afternoon after 5:30 pm / early evening today? - or weekend, day/times? (Family issues today - mother 102 in May.)

RADICAL BREAKTHROUGHS - Initial Revisions (working model for discussion, red is new)

Expand and Modify Mathematical Breakthrough episodes

1. **Mathematics and Truth / Overview / Show Excitement/Importance**

2. **Mathematical Fields / Diverse New Kinds and Categories**

3. **How Math Works in Disparate Areas of Knowledge (from fundamental physics to chemistry, biology [molecular and evolutionary[, psychology, sociology, economics, etc.)**

4. **Power Laws**

5. **Mathematical Biology**

6. Foundations of Mathematics / Philosophy/Meaning of Math (discovered/invented?)

ADD/Exchange to Biological Breakthrough episodes

9/10. Replicability Crisis - Problems in Statistics in Search for Truth. Deep problems of replicability in biomedical and psychological research - the scandal in recent years.

In the non-Closer To Truth world….

Did CNN Intl this morning on Trump's China-oil-N.Korea-cheating tweet "Caught RED HANDED..." [pun deliberate?]

My favorite fun lines (there are so many) in Trump's NYTimes spontaneous interview.

2) "I like very much President Xi. He treated me better than anybody's ever been treated in the history of China."

Ever (~5,000 year history)

1) *"I know the details of taxes better than anybody — better than the greatest CPA."*

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Sent: 12/31/2017 1:04:06 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Kuhn - Breakthroughs (and Trump)

Importance: High

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From: Robert Kuhn [redacted]]
Sent: 12/31/2017 9:35:13 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Kuhn - Math, Breakthroughs

Importance: High

I'll call in 5

On Dec 31, 2017, at 4:33 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

[redacted]

On Sun, Dec 31, 2017 at 4:32 PM, Robert Kuhn <[redacted]> wrote:
OK

On Dec 31, 2017, at 4:32 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

5 min

On Sun, Dec 31, 2017 at 4:21 PM, Robert Kuhn <[redacted]> wrote:
Ready when you are - let me know and I can call.

Skype = [redacted]

FaceTime = email.

On Dec 31, 2017, at 5:50 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

either

On Sat, Dec 30, 2017 at 8:58 PM, Robert Kuhn <[redacted]> wrote:
After 4 good.

Skype? FaceTime? Phone?

On Dec 30, 2017, at 8:57 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

guest s here until 4 . after good

On Sat, Dec 30, 2017 at 8:04 PM, Robert Kuhn <[redacted]> wrote:
Tomorrow Sunday after 1:00 pm? Flexible. Anytime.
Skype? FaceTime? Phone?

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From: Robert Kuhn [redacted]
Sent: 1/1/2018 10:36:46 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Kuhn - Breakthroughs (and Trump)

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: Robert Kuhn <[redacted]>
Subject: Kuhn - Breakthroughs (and Trump)
Date: December 29, 2017 at 3:21:43 PM EST
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From: Robert Trivers[redacted]
Sent: 3/19/2018 3:19:49 AM
To: Haig, David [[redacted] Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Attachments: TRIVERS on PETER.docx

Importance: High

dear men

i am writing you both because i am attaching a still not-quite-complete response to Peter Richerson, a gene-culture co-evolutionist—without the genes

i do so because four lines down i tell the "Gruterites"—Gordon Getty's echo chamber—that i have added you two to the list

so here is your chance to say "no way" and i will delete that from the message and likewise not ask Gruter's assistant to add your names to the list

having said that, i find Gordon's missives much less burdensome than those from EDGE and certainly without the egomaniacal nonsense that infects John Brockman—the key is to get the brightest minds in a room and have them tell each other what they think is most important—or some such nonsense

neither David nor i can think of a single scientific advance achieved that way—most of what we do is simply concentrated sustained thought directed toward the foundations of a problem

i doubt Jeffrey has made a huge amount of money via the EDGE program

unless you say otherwise, i will shortly send you the key Getty missives in which he asserts, i believe correctly, that Trump is an archetypal narcissistic psychopath—or whatever the precise term is—and that he must be opposed with full force on that basis

—

meanwhile, David has heard plenty about you Jeffrey, a financial/mathematical mind of exceptional quality and you should know that David is one of the very top evolutionary geneticists still breathing and my teacher on every detail large and small

in haste and all best

bob

FORGIVE ME FOR CONTINUING WITH PETER'S RESPONSE TO MY RESPONSE TO GORDON'S TWO POSTS.

I HAVE LEARNED DIRECTLY FROM PETER BUT MORE OFTEN INDIRECTLY—HE HAS FORCED ME TO THINK THROUGH MATTERS AND **IDENTIFY EXACTLY WHERE HE IS WRONG**.

I AM FINISHED WITH THAT NOW. LIFE IS SHORT AND MINE IS GETTING SHORTER BY THE DAY, SO I WILL REPEAT MY PIECE AND PETER'S RESPONSE TO IT (IN YELLOW) **AND THEN MY CURRENT RESPONSE—IN CAPITAL LETTERS.**

I AM ALSO ADDING TWO NAMES TO GORDON'S LIST. DAVID HAIG WHO IS A BRILLIANT EVOLUTIONARY GENETICIST AT HARVARD AND JEFFREY EPSTEIN WHO IS A BRILLIANT FUND AND INVESTMENT MANAGER (PALM BEACH, NYC, US VIRGIN ISLANDS) WITH BROAD SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS.

Dear Gruterites

Gordon has now brought the argument full circle and given the project a larger meaning. The most powerful nation on earth, with the greatest power to vent harm—or, in theory, confer benefits—is ruled by an organism that fits the definition of a psychopath—of the narcissistic kind—or a malevolent narcissist. This presents serious dangers that need to be addressed.

Peter Richerson has made several valuable points:

1—Causality could go entirely in the other direction than the one I suggested—people avoid more psychopathic relatives the more experience they have had due to closer relatedness. And the paper I attached does not allow discrimination. The fact that psychopaths show only a weak and insignificant tendency to migrate further from place of birth is mildly interesting but has nothing to do with who is causing any difference in migration.

As far as I can think it through, selection pressures on psychopaths and relatives of psychopaths should be roughly equal and therefore equally likely. Peter is biased toward reaction by others, perhaps because of his bias toward "cultural" explanations. First, psychopaths always have the first move in the co-evolutionary struggle and relatives getting out of the way is the next move. Secondly, it is very easy for a psychopath to simply discriminate against harming his relatives but harder for them to study and react. Peter claims that they are often spotted early in life which I heartily doubt.

<<On why cultural explanations are important: It is, at root, a simple, fundamental Darwinian point. Evolution works on heritable variation. Human culture is much more variable than human genes, so the scope for cultural evolution is much greater than for genetic evolution. A simple example is the cultural adaptive radiation of humans in the Holocene. We recently spoke about 7,000 languages, most of them associated with more or less distinctive social and subsistence systems. A few languages—Spanish, English, Chinese—are spoken in societies with a great deal of internal social and economic diversity. Culturally we are sort of like thousands of species, but genetically we are only 1. To understand this adaptive radiation without understanding cultural evolution is impossible Boyd and I and our colleagues argue. On the longer time scale the whole human adaptation is all about exploiting cultural evolution to adapt to spatial and temporal variation. See Boyd's and my Not By Genes Alone: How Culture Transformed Human Evolution (Chicago, 2005) for the argument in full. Putting scare quotes around culture is simply whistling past the graveyard. If you are a Darwinian you ought to follow the variation, no?

WELL, IS CULTURAL ARGUMENTATION SUFFICIENT WITHOUT GENETIC LOGIC? FOR EXAMPLE, WE KNOW THAT LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY PER UNIT AREA IS POSITIVELY ASSOCIATED WITH INTENSITY OF PARASITE SELECTION. THE STRONGER SUCH SELECTION, THE MORE YOU ARE SELECTED TO AVOID STRANGERS WHO MAY BE CARRYING PARASITES TO WHICH THEY ARE ADAPTED BUT NOT YOURSELF.

IN GENERAL PETER—AS WITH HIS ILK—SEEMS OBLIVIOUS TO THE POWERFUL EFFECTS OF C0-EVOLVING PARASITES ON HUMAN SOCIAL EVOLUITON IN THE PAST 40,000 YEARS. FOR EXAMPLE, PHONEME DIVERSITY HAS BEEN SHOWN TO OBEY THE SAME RULE AS GENETIC DIVERSITY—AS "WE" MOVED OUT OF ARICA IN THE LATEST WAVE ABOUT 100,000 YEARS AGO—SERIAL FOUNDER EFFECTS REDUCED GENETIC DIVERSITY AND ALSO PHONEMIC DIVERSITY STEADILY FROM THE COMPLEX CLICK-SOUNDS OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN TO SOUTH AMERICAN LANGUAGES. A VERY RECENT PAPER SHOWS THE MATTER IS MORE COMPLEX IN AN INTERESTING WAY.

"It is, at root, a simple, fundamental Darwinian point. Evolution works on heritable variation. Human culture is much more variable than human genes, so the scope for cultural evolution is much greater than for genetic evolution."

THIS IS PURE BULLSHIT

THERE IS NO UNIT OF HERITABLE CULTURAL VARIATION. THIS IS JUST A METAPHOR. CAN YOU NAME A UNIT THAT REMAINS CONSTANT OVER AN INDIVIDUAL'S LIFETIME AND THEN IS INHERITED UNCHANGED, ABSENT

RECOMBINGATION? OF COURSE NOT. BUT THAT WOULD A TRULY **DARWINIAN** SYSTEM…

INCIDENTALLY CANCER DOES EVOLVE IN US BUT IT IS A ONE-GENERATION WONDER, BEING ONLY PASSED ON IN ONLY A COUPLE OF SPECIES OF THE DOG FAMILY (where it has become a sexually transmitted disease). IN OURSELVES IT EVOLVES GENETICALLY IN ONE LIFETIME AND WE KNOW THE UNITS THAT ARE SELECTED FOR. PROBLEM IS THAT THERE ARE AN ALMOST INFINITE VARIETY OF CANCERS AND AS WE LEARN TO TREAT ONE, OTHERS COME TO THE FORE.

The evidence for early onset of psychopathic and related symptoms is fairly convincing. See:

Frick, P. J., & White, S. F. (2008). Research Review: The importance of callous-unemotional traits for developmental models of aggressive and antisocial behavior. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 49*(4), 359-375. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01862.x

The current paper reviews research suggesting that the presence of a callous and unemotional interpersonal style designates an important subgroup of antisocial and aggressive youth. Specifically, callous-unemotional (CU) traits (e.g., lack of guilt, absence of empathy, callous use of others) seem to be relatively stable across childhood and adolescence and they designate a group of youth with a particularly severe, aggressive, and stable pattern of antisocial behavior. Further, antisocial youth with CU traits show a number of distinct emotional, cognitive, and personality characteristics compared to other antisocial youth. These characteristics of youth with CU traits have important implications for causal models of antisocial and aggressive behavior, for methods used to study antisocial youth, and for assessing and treating antisocial and aggressive behavior in children and adolescents.

NONSENSE—THE AUTHORS ARE NOT EVEN TALKING ABOUT PSYCHOPATHiC BEHAVIOR BUT RATHER 'AGGRESSIVE AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR'

I don't know of any real data that can be used to estimate how selection falls on psychopaths and their relatives, only anecdotes. Anecdotally, psychopaths make lousy mates and parents, suggesting that relatives do indeed suffer from having a psychopathic relative. In simple societies individuals who seem like psychopaths are often exiled or assassinated often with the assent of their families. If psychopathy is in a frequency dependent equilibrium, selection on family members that might share genes (or culture) for psychopathy would be part of the selection against it. pjr>>

TRUMP IS NOT THE PERFECT MATE BUT IS HE REALLY A 'LOUSY FATHER'?—ASK HIS CHILDREN, IVANKA, DONALD JR ETC—THEY SURE DON'T ACT LIKE THEY HATE HIM. HOW ABOUT VICTIMS OF HINDU AND MUSLIM HONOR KILLINGS WHO ARE 'ASSASSINATED' 'WITH THE ASSENT OF THEIR FAMILIES'—ARE THE VICTIMS PSYCHOPATHS OR ARE THEIR KILLERS? FOR THE **EVOLUTIONARY GENETICS** OF HONOR KILLINGS—SEE BELOW. NOTE THAT CULTURAL PEOPLE HAVE OFFERED LITTLE OR NOTHING OF VALUE ON THIS SUBJECT BUT EVOLUTINARY GENETICS AT ONCE SUGGESTS AN INTERESTING AND VERY STRONG EFFECT.

2— His suggestion that chimpanzee dominance hierarchies consist of a version of psychopathy is utterly novel to me and most interesting. I had always thought of dominance hierarchies as being associated with tyranny and despotism—but are these not often associated with psychopathy?!

<<Yes, dominants seem to be pretty callous, lacking in empathy, and out for themselves. Human evolution involves getting something like psychopathy from near fixation down to a low roar. See my former students and my 2016 BBS paper. It is on my web site. pjr>>

"NEAR FIXATION"—SEZ WHO? OH YOU AND YOUR STUDENTS—NOW THAT'S A SURPRISE.

Consider the "Butcher of Bagdad" Saddam Hussein or the sadistic Basir Assad. The only thing they didn't do is specialize in rape, although Saddam's son Uday did and we can be sure each had greater than average reproductive success but note how sensitive each is to degree of relatedness writ large. Saddam was most biased toward people that came from his place of birth, along the Tigrit River, then people in the surrounding province and then Sunnis over Shia.

Since he was willing to kill others on a large scale—200,000 Shia slaughtered when the idiotic first Bush allowed Saddam to retain his Airforce after we had marched to Bagdad after flinging Saddam's troops out of Kuwait. Or for that matter, Saddam's attack on Shia Iran which claimed more than a million lives on both sides.

<<Psychiatrists discourage the diagnosis of leaders without proper clinical interviews, especially on the part of layfolk. I would not defend the above guys, but I think it is important to understand that the fractious, low trust, multi-ethnic, multi-confessional turf they ruled would lead to psychopath-like behavior even if those leaders were clinically sane. GW Bush's (and Obama's re Gaddafi and drone assassinations) big mistake was assuming that once the bad leaders were toppled the problem was mainly solved. In Afghanistan, Libya, and Iraq, decapitating the bad guys hasn't worked very well even when we go at it wholesale as in drone assassinations. Getting Assad out of the way in Syria will not solve the bitter Sunni/Shia/Kurdish/secular feuding there. The American attempts to do good, if that is even the correct characterization, in the Middle East has been a fiasco. We need to learn from our errors I reckon. One general definition of insanity is doing the same thing again and again and expecting a different result. US attempts to police bits of Asia (small, poor bits at that) have not succeeded since the stalemate in Korea. And yet we keep thinking that we can make the apparently unworkable work. pjr>>

I FEEL CERTAIN I HAVE HAD FAR MORE EXPERIENCE WITH PSYCHIATRISTS THAN PETER HAS. AM I A "LAY PERSON"? WHO KNOWS? IF ALL NON-PSYCHIATRISTS ARE LAY PEOPLE THEN PSYCHIATRISTS ARE MERELY PUFFING THEMSELVES UP AND ROPING THEMSELVES OFF, SOMETHING THEY HAVE BEEN DOING SINCE THE TIME OF FREUD.

"One general definition of insanity is doing the same thing again and again and expecting a different result."

NOT REALLY—THIS IS A FAMOUS JOKE OF EINSTEIN'S BUT, HEY, WHO'SE COUNTING?

TRUMP AS AN ORGANISM—AS SEEN BY A "LAY PERSON"

STRONGLY BIASED TOWARD CLOSE FAMILY
STRONGLY BIASED AGAINST DISTANT RELATIVES—A RACIST OF THE FIRST RANK
EXTREME NARCISSIST
A STRATEGY OF RANDOM MOVES—TO FOOL OTHERS? AND/OR KEEP ATTENTION PERPETUALLY FOCUSED ON HIM?—INCREDIBLE HOW HE WILL GO AGAINST THE NRA ONE DAY AND INVITE IN THEIR LEADERS THE FOLLOWING DAY
LYING CONTINUOUSLY--VERY CREATIVE AND OBSTINATE—PRODUCING AN ENTIRE ALTERNATE UNIVERSE, PERMITTING HIM TO REVERSE COURSE AND COVER TRACKS AT THE SAME TIME

Minor matters:

Peter points out that Mealy (1995) was the first reference he knows of on psychopathy being under frequency dependent selection. An earlier paper, cited in the one I attached, developed the same argument—Harpending and Sobus 1987.

Peter characterizes sickle cell anemia as a "crude adaptation to malaria". Crude? In what sense?

A single copy of the sickle gene gives you anemia, in which the normal shape of the red blood cell—a flat round pill—changes under low oxygen tension into a sickle shape which crushes the malarial Plasmodium inside it. The low oxygen tension is caused by the parasite itself, since it consumes oxygen in the red blood cell. The cell then quickly flips back into normal shape as the oxygen tension returns to normal levels. A sickle individual without malaria suffers no cost at all, since all red blood cells have oxygen tension well above the level that would cause sickling.

Sickle cell DISEASE by contrast refers to an individual with two sickle genes and this is a serious condition since there is extensive sickling in a person who is otherwise normal and lacks, for example, malaria. The survival rate of such individuals in Jamaica (where 10% of the population have a sickle gene and 1% two copies) is 57 years, a good 10+ years below normal—nor is life pleasant or easy. This is the only crudity in the same, the failure to ameliorate the negative effects of two copies.

It is correct as Peter says, that relatively recent human invasion by malaria (~10,000 years ago) was probably in response to large population increases due to agriculture and so on. This short time period has also prevented much selection to ameliorate the sickle cell disease. It is not true, however, that "it and many other crude adaptations" result from the "ability of the malarial parasites to outwit the immune system". First of all, other "adaptations" are no more crude than the sickle trait. For example, the Duffy antigen, a surface protein on red blood cells, is designed to spot Plasmodium and prevent entry. And the parasite does not "outwit the immune system". It is one of the very few Protozoa (or for that matter bacteria) that live WITHIN cells and thus escape the immune system entirely (except see below). Viruses live inside cells, precisely why we can't use antibiotics against them.

And here is a joke for you. Bacteria, as we know, are rapidly evolving resistance to almost all antibiotics but on many tips of the branches of the bacterial bush, species are evolving that DEPEND on antibiotics for their food—stop treating them with antibiotics and they die of hunger!

Plasmodium reproduces within its red blood cell and the offspring are released into the blood as the cell bursts. Now the immune system responds strongly and all hell breaks loose, fever and chills, bed-ridden and sometimes dead. When given a choice, mosquitos preferentially bite sick people, perhaps because they are too weak to swat the mosquitos away. Once in a mosquito, they do nothing to harm it other than congregate in its mouth near the biting organ, the better to arrive new human.

<<A more sophisticated adaptation could be had by duplicating the hemoglobin gene and selecting for haplotypes that have one normal and one sickling allele at the duplicated loci. This haplotype could evolve to fixation because everyone would functionally be the analog of a heterozygote. The production of hemoglobin from each locus would have to halved at the same time so as not to overproduce it. Perhaps the reason this adaptation has not yet evolved is due to the problem of needing the conjunction of two rare events, the duplication and downregulation, at one time.

In general, I think maladaptations are common and interesting. After all, Darwinian's strongest plank in the argument against creationism is the relative crudity of the materialistic evolutionary process. An Omniscient Designer would have duplicate and downregulated the hemoglobin gene in the face of malaria rather than wait for hundreds or thousands of generations for natural selection to get on with it. pjr>>

MY, MY—SO NOW WE ARE IN THE BUSINESS OF TELLING THE WORLD HOW GOD WOULD HAVE HANDLED THE WHOLE MATTER. I BARELY UNDERSTAND MY LITTLE CORNER OF THE WORLD MUCH LESS THE MIND OF THE OMNISCIENT CREATOR. WHO SAYS SHE OR HE IS BIASED TOWARD HUMANS? PERHAPS SHE HAS AN AFFECTION FOR PLASMODIUM, AS IN HALDANE'S FAMOUS JOKETO WHEN ASKED BY A CLERIC WHAT A LIFETIME STUDY OF EVOLUTION HAD TAUGHT HALDANE ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE CREATOR—"AN INORDINATE FONDNESS FOR BEETLES"—AT THAT TIME, 1/3RD OF ALL ANIMAL SPECIES—300,000—WERE BEETLES.

I enjoyed Brian Mannix's comment, most especially "Pseven". His argument for cooperation is the same as that of Adam Smith in the Wealth of Nations. Once a medium of exchange is introduced into a system of barter, itself a reciprocal relationship, it can be vastly extended, with specialization such that one individual no longer produces ten pencils/day, but ten people are specialized to produce a single pencil—and thus a thousand/day. I too share an aversion to cultural/group selection though perhaps for other reasons. But I side with Peter in feeling that male self-domestication is more important in damping male psychopathy than female choice—Richard Wrangham vs Sarah Hrdy among evolutionary anthropologists.

<<I don't think scientists should have aversions to hypothesis. They should be cool analysts of data and models rather than depend on emotional hunches. I think our BBS paper at least establishes that cultural group selection is a viable explanation for human cooperation. If you think otherwise we describe how you can kill the hypothesis: show that (1) culture does not act as an inheritance system, or that (2) between group cultural variation is too low as it generally is for genetic variation, or that (3) cultural variation is not consequential for human competition, or that (4) human competition does not have a group-organized component. The trouble for your aversion is that the pretty plain evidence is that all four of these statements are counterfactual. pjr>>

Peter's argument on reduction of inter-birth interval in humans again veers off into culture-land when one does not need it—paternal investment, grandmother investment and older sibling investment are all expected on genetic grounds. The authority on the subject is David Haig at Harvard.

<<Humans are such funny old things! We create cultural institutions to manage things for which you and Haig say can, *in theory*, be managed by kinship and reciprocity. Marriage and kinship systems are a great example. Why do societies generally have one or a few marriage contracts and kinship systems on offer even tho marriage and kinship are quite variable cross-culturally?

Why the devil do we bother with cultural institutions when plain old evolutionary biology ought to do the trick? There is at least arguably some slip between "in principle" and "in fact" that ought to make an evolutionist curious. I like this argument (see Rob's or Sarah's web site):

Mathew, S., Boyd, R., & Van Veelen, M. (2013). Human cooperation among kin and close associates may require enforcement of norms by third parties. In P. J. Richerson & M. Christiansen (Eds.), *CulturalEvolution* (pp. 45-60). Cambridge MA: MIT Press. pjr>>

IF THIS IS TRUE—THAT "HUMAN COOPERATION AMONG KIN" and also AMONG "CLOSE ASSOCIATES"—"**MAY REQUIRE ENFORCEMENT OF NORMS BY THIRD PARTIES**", THEN I HAVE WASTED 40 YEARS OF MY LIFE ON THESE TOPICS.

THE MORE GENERAL PROBLEM WITH PETER'S BIAS IS THAT SO LITTLE OF INTEREST HAS EMERGED FROM CULTURAL ARGUMENTATION. CONTRAST GENETIC. FOR EXAMPLE, WE NOW KNOW THAT WHEN **MATERNAL** GRANDMOTHERS INVEST IN THEIR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN, BOTH GRANDDAUGHTERS AND GRANDSONS BENEFIT, WHILE WHEN **PATERNAL** GRANDMOTHERS DO THE INVESTING, GRANDDAUGHTERS BENEFIT WHILE GRANDSONS ARE HARMED. THIS WAS PREDICTED BASED ON THE DIFFERENT WAY IN WHICH THE GRANDMOTHER'S X CHROMOSOME IS INHERITED IN THE TWO SYSTEMS. NO "CULTURAL" ARGUMENTATION HAS COME ANYWHERE CLOSE.

OR TAKE THE LOGIC OF SO-CALLED HONOUR KILLINGS, WHICH I HAVE NOW WORKED ON INTENSIVELY FOR TWO YEARS. NOTHING OF USE FROM CULTURAL "THEORY" BUT A POWERFUL ARGUMENT BASED ON THE EFFECTS OF REPEATED FIRST COUSIN MARRIAGES IN MUSLIM SOCIETIES—AND IN HINDU SOCIETIES ENDOGAMOUS CASTES IN COMPETITION WITH EACH OTHER. See my talk in Barcelona, Spain https://youtu.be/F_4Lr13rnx

From: Haig, David[redacted]
Sent: 3/19/2018 9:10:54 AM
To: Robert Trivers[redacted]; Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Hi Bob (and hello Jeffrey),

I would be happy at the moment not to be on another mailing list. There are just too many different things I am trying to attend to (including imprinted green beards),

David

From: Robert Trivers [redacted]
Date: Sunday, March 18, 2018 at 11:22 PM
To: "Haig, David" <[redacted], Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: <no subject>

dear men

i am writing you both because i am attaching a still not-quite-complete response to Peter Richerson, a gene-culture co-evolutionist—without the genes

i do so because four lines down i tell the "Gruterites"—Gordon Getty's echo chamber—that i have added you two to the list

so here is your chance to say "no way" and i will delete that from the message and likewise not ask Gruter's assistant to add your names to the list

having said that, i find Gordon's missives much less burdensome than those from EDGE and certainly without the egomaniacal nonsense that infects John Brockman—the key is to get the brightest minds in a room and have them tell each other what they think is most important—or some such nonsense

neither David nor i can think of a single scientific advance achieved that way—most of what we do is simply concentrated sustained thought directed toward the foundations of a problem

i doubt Jeffrey has made a huge amount of money via the EDGE program

unless you say otherwise, i will shortly send you the key Getty missives in which he asserts, i believe correctly, that Trump is an archetypal narcissistic psychopath—or whatever the precise term is—and that he must be opposed with full force on that basis

—

meanwhile, David has heard plenty about you Jeffrey, a financial/mathematical mind of exceptional quality and you should know that David is one of the very top evolutionary geneticists still breathing and my teacher on every detail large and small

in haste and all best

bob

The Special Counsel's office, nearly leak-proof since its inception more than a year ago and seemingly immune to the President's constant taunts, might appear to be operating in some parallel universe unmoved by the every-day political turmoil. But in the course of conversations I've had recently, as a I research a new book on President Trump and the forces arrayed against him, what has become clear is that Robert Mueller and his office are preparing for a life or death confrontation with the President and the mother of all constitutional crises.

My discussions have been with both White House advisors and people close to the investigation. No source involved in this story would speak on the record. But one source allowed me to review some of the documents related to the Special Counsel's strategy. Aspects of the Special Counsel's strategy have been confirmed by both White House sources and lawyers closely involved with the Justice Department.

Since at least April the Special Counsel has had in place proposed charges, a bill of particulars, and an aggressive legal theory for the indictment of the president for obstruction of Justice. In the last few weeks, as the President has indulged his pardon authority, the Mueller team has also developed a legal strategy to oppose what the Special Counsel believes will be a likely pardon of former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, who had previously struck a plea bargain which could include his testimony against the President.

Robert Mueller, according to one person familiar with the Special Counsel's thinking, could hardly contain his disgust when Rudy Giuliani, the President's new lawyer—hired to makes a television case for the President and to push back against the Mueller team—in May airily dismissed the notion that a president can be indicted. Adding insult to injury, Giuliani—who a White House source said had likely learned of aspects of the pending indictment—said Mueller agreed with that assessment. White House sources believe Giuliani was daring the Special Counsel to tip his hand. Mueller, in character, contained his outrage and continued to hold his cards close as his team finished preparing the obstruction case and refined the legal theories under which it would claim the right to haul the president into court.

At this point, the case for indictment has, in effect, a judge of one. The Mueller team, according to sources both near the investigation and the White House, has prepared the case, but it requires the approval of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, who—with the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the Russia-related investigation—

oversees the Mueller team. Indeed, Rosenstein, as recently as April, publicly declared that the President was not a target. This may have been a form of fig leaf to soothe a President who regularly demands aides assure him he is not being pursued: the President does not become a formal target until Rosenstein agrees to designate him as one.

The proposed indictment confronts Rosenstein with matters with which he has been intimately involved. The case, according to my conversations with White House and other sources familiar with the investigation, is fundamentally Trump versus the FBI, Justice Department, and Mueller investigation itself. In many ways, it boils down to the word of former FBI Director James Comey against the word of Donald Trump. Rosenstein, at the President's behest, drafted a memo justifying the Comey firing for how the former FBI Director handled the Hillary Clinton email investigation. But that justification, in an embarrassment for Rosenstein, was shortly brushed aside by the President when he admitted that he fired Comey to disrupt the Russian investigation. What's more, the indictment is said to charge that the firing of Andrew McCabe, the former Deputy Director of the FBI, who reported directly to Rosenstein after the Comey dismissal, was an instance of illegal retaliation by the President against a potential witness.

According to a source with knowledge of the proposed indictment, it will be all the more controversial because if finds the entire narrative of the case for obstruction in plain sight. Almost nothing about the case involves new information. "This indictment could have been drafted without anyone being interviewed," said this source. Rather it takes well covered public events and moves them to a set of circumstantial conclusions. There is no smoking gun beyond the often flagrant, custom-breaking, events of the President's 16 months in office. Indeed, much of the evidence is based on the President's public statements and tweets about those events.

This is, according to White House sources who have gotten wind of this approach, good news: the case then, is just an issue of what motives you ascribe to the President's behavior—behavior that is, the President's supporters believe it is easy to show, impulsive and not thought out. Hence no intent. For the Mueller team, it is precisely that careless behavior and flagrant disregard for the rules that they aim to put on trial.

There is no certainty that the Special Counsel's office will

ultimately pursue its plan to indict the President. But, according to a source involved in the legal strategy, the plan is "more advanced" than it was when the indictment was drafted in April. The investigation continues and new evidence or other factors might push both prosecutors and the grand jury in another direction. Just passing its first anniversary, the Mueller investigation has conducted itself with remarkable secrecy. Descriptions of the proposed indictment provide one of the few insights into its strategy and its sense of the political peril in front of it.

It may be noteworthy that there appears now not to be plan for an indictment related to collusion, although, legal experts say, that could come later.

The White House view is that without the underlying collusion charge, Mueller will be presenting a weak and politically-motivated case. The Mueller view seems to be that the obstruction charges go to the heart of exposing how Trump has abused his power and turned the White House into a corrupt fiefdom.

The President's scheme to obstruct the FBI's investigation into connections between the Trump campaign and Russian efforts to undermine the U.S. election, according to the Mueller indictment, began on the 7th day of the Trump administration. Three days prior to this, on January 24, National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, lied to the FBI about his contacts with the Russian Ambassador, Sergey Kislyak. These were contacts, directed by an unnamed but ranking member of the Presidential Transition team.

That unnamed person, in the view of several lawyers who discussed the case with me, is very likely Trump himself, and might imply that Trump encouraged Flynn to lie to the FBI, promising to protect him—using his influence or pardon powers.

On January 27th, seven days after Donald Trump's inauguration, the President had the one-on-one dinner with FBI Director James Comey—recounted in Comey's congressional testimony and in his recent book, "A Higher Loyalty"—at which the President asked Comey if he "wanted to stay on as FBI Director." The President then requested a loyalty pledge in an effort, according to Comey's testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, to "create some sort of patronage relationship"—a characterization the indictment accepts.

Flynn resigned on February 13. The next day, the President

cleared a meeting of its other attendees and privately asked Comey to "let this go, to let Flynn go." The indictment accepts Comey's understanding that the President was "requesting that [the FBI] drop any investigation of Flynn in connection with false statements about his conversations with the Russian ambassador in December."

On March 30, 2017, ten days after Comey told the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that the FBI was investigating links between the President's campaign and the Russian government, the President asked Comey to "lift the cloud" of the Russian investigation, further telling Comey that the investigation was creating problems for him and expressing the "hope" that Comey "would find a way to get it out that [the FBI] [wasn't] investigating him."

On April 11, according to the indictment, the President asked the FBI Director what he "had done about this request that [Comey] 'get out' that [the President] is not personally under investigation," saying that "the cloud" was "getting in the way of his ability to do his job." Comey asked the President to send his request to the appropriate parties at the Department of Justice. The President agreed but reminded Comey that he had been "very loyal to you [Comey], very loyal; we had that thing, you know."

On May 9, the President fired Comey, publicly saying that the "Russian thing" played a role in his decision to fire the FBI Director. The next day, the President said he'd "faced great pressure because of Russia," and as a result of the firing, that pressure had been "taken off."

On May 17, soon after learning about the appointment of the Special Counsel by Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein—in his role as acting Attorney General, after the recusal of Attorney General Jefferson Sessions—the President accused Sessions of "disloyalty" for recusing himself from the Russian investigation. In June 2017, the indictment alleges, the President ordered Robert Mueller to be fired, reversing course only when the White House counsel, Don McGahn, refused to implement the order.

On July 8, after reports of a meeting between the President's son, Donald Trump, Jr., and a Russian agent, Natalia Veselnitskaya, during the 2016 campaign, the President, in furtherance of a cover-up, the indictment alleges, directed his son to state that he and Veselnitskaya had "primarily discussed a program about the adoption of children," when, in fact, according to the indictment, the meeting was organized so that "Russia and its government" could provide the Presidential

campaign with "official documents and information that would incriminate" Hillary Clinton, the presumed Democratic candidate for President.

According to the indictment, by June 7, 2017, news outlets were reporting that the Deputy Director of the FBI, Andrew McCabe, could corroborate James Comey's allegation that the President had asked for Comey's loyalty before firing him. As part of the cover-up, the indictment alleges, on July 26, 2017, the President called upon the Attorney General to fire McCabe.

On December 21, 2017, McCabe testified before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that the President had in fact asked Comey for his loyalty before firing him. Six days later, in retaliation, the President tweeted that McCabe was "racing the clock to retire with full benefits," and implying by use of a question mark, that it was uncertain whether McCabe had "90 days to go?!!!"

On March 16, 2018, McCabe was dismissed, depriving him of his pension. According to the indictment, the President directed McCabe to be fired with the intent to threaten and retaliate against him, the FBI, and the Office of the Special Counsel, "or to impede their respective abilities to assist or carry out the work of the FBI, DOJ, the Office of the Special Counsel, the Congressional Intelligence Committees, and the grand jury."

Together with its narrative of Presidential behavior with, it contends, the certain intention of subverting ongoing investigations, the Mueller office is also ready to argue its right and obligation to charge a sitting president with a criminal violation.

It is the outline of this argument that White House sources say both prompted Rudy Giuliani to scoff at the idea of indictment and, several weeks later, for the President and his lawyer to make sweeping claims about Presidential authority.

It is a coming battle of absolutist positions.

The Special Counsel, according to reports from both the investigation and from the White House, has spelled out an argument—one that appears to be at odds with Department of Justice standing policy that precludes charging a sitting president with a crime—that nothing in the Constitution or in an statute suggests a status with regard to criminal prosecution for the President different from any other federal office. Nor is there any statute or case law that finds that impeachment has to come before an indictment. The Mueller team

dismisses the argument made most aggressively by Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz—who offers frequent legal advice to the President both in person and via television—and repeated recently by the President, and in the recently revealed letter sent by his lawyers to the Special Counsel in January, that a president cannot be prosecuted for exercising his constitutional prerogatives, even if they foster crimes. Again, the team argues that there is no statute or constitutional authority that puts the President above the law or that allows him to contribute to breaking the law.

Curiously, the tradition breakers in the White House—supported by a many lawyers, both right and left leaning—now argue that the President's traditional and constitutionally mandated executive powers give him wide latitude for how he carries out his duties. "I don't think you are going to find a court who will not see the president's role as unique," said one White House advisor. "The Mueller theories are wishful thinking."

Such an indictment is described in similar ways by both Mueller and White House insiders: it puts the President's public behavior on trial. The nature of that behavior, for the Mueller team, is corrupt; this, according to the White House, is how voters elected the President to behave.

The Mueller team may have a high hurdle in convincing Rosenstein to approve the indictment. Giuliani recently put standing DOJ policy against the indictment of a president in hyperbolic terms: the President could kill James Comey if he wanted to without fear of prosecution. But, according to one former senior DOJ lawyer, Rosenstein in this circumstance may have the power to override the DOJ guidelines. The Mueller team appears to believe that Rosenstein's pledge before congress that, absent malfeasance, he will support the Special Counsel's independence with regard to the Russian investigation, means he will let the indictment go forward. In one view—and in the suspicion of some in the White House—he may have already authorized Mueller to proceed with the indictment.

The counsel's office does, however, according to the papers I have reviewed, worry about the possibility that Trump will replace Rosenstein with someone who will fire Mueller or curtail the investigation. Indeed, the Mueller investigation seems concerned or shadowed by daily procedural questions of an existential nature—

anticipating its own demise and what consequences that might bring.

It believes that in the inevitable Supreme Court battle that would follow a direct attempt by the President to fire the Special Counsel, the Court would surely rebuff such an expansion of Presidential authority. At the same time, according to its internal research, the Mueller team understands that the President, acting with only somewhat more subtlety, would have the authority to order the Attorney General—even given his prior recusal—to repeal the Special Counsel regulations and close down the investigation, and fire the Attorney General if he refuses. The President, could, too, according to the Special Counsel's analysis, fire Rosenstein and seek someone else to oversee the investigation in ways more to his liking. Both of these actions could, the Special Counsel believes, become part of the behavior that it argues in the indictment amounts to a prima facie case for obstruction of justice.

The team does yet believe it is protected by political realities—the President can not know how Congress might respond—and by bureaucratic ones. Changes to the Special Counsel authorization might require an extended comment period.

Still, what if the President acting unilaterally does shut it down? This, people around the President say is the unknown legal area that might be advantageous to the President. Delays and disruption might well be the President's legal friends.

What, for instance, happens to all the work the Special Counsel's office had done, and, indeed, to the sitting Grand Juries reviewing the evidence? The special counsel's view, according to insiders working on the issues, is that nobody knows. The optimistic legal view is that the Office and staff would survive the Special Counsel's ouster and their work preserved. And that actions taken by the Grand Jury would remain in effect.

This, however, would probably not be true if the Attorney General refused the next Special Counsel's budget request—due on July 1. That would shut down the whole operation—the Special Counsel staff and grand juries. There might, however, according to research the team has prepared, be enough time between the order and the shuttering for the Special Counsel to share the grand jury evidence with other federal prosecutors.

The President's constitutional pardon powers appear to be some of the most troubling and threatening issues for the Special Counsel. The Counsel's office believes the President will use his pardon power as an

instrument to undermine the investigation.

According to present and former White House advisors, the President's recent spates of pardons are in part his way of taunting the Special Counsel. The White House, according to these sources, is aware that the Special Counsel has concluded the pardon power is near absolute: the President can certainly pardon himself, and others involved in the investigation.

Early in June, the Special Counsel, believing that a pardon for Michael Flynn was imminent, rushed to build a case that might form an exception to the President's pardon authority. The argument, perhaps a slim thread one, tries to undermine what both the White House and many outside legal authorities, and much of the Special Counsel's own research, believes to be one of the few unchallengeable powers granted the President. In effect, the Special Counsel continues the theme of it's case: there is a level of obstruction of justice that all reasonable men might know when they see it. If you pardon someone to get yourself off the hook, that's a "corrupt" action. Since the President is in charge of upholding the constitution and much of the constitution is about preventing corrupt acts, the pardon, in the case of Michael Flynn, is unconstitutional. What's more, since there is an impeachment process in place—or there at least several impeachment resolutions before congress—and impeachment is the province of Congress, a pardon of a potential witness in this impeachment is an unconstitutional trampling on the separation of powers.

As the President, by nature and design, tries to claim aggressive new powers, the Mueller team, almost in equal proportion, is trying to limit the theory of Presidential power and, even, to criminalize an expansive exercise of those powers.

People who know and have worked with Mueller find it, at best, unexpected that such a traditional, and by the book, G-man, would be pursuing such far-reaching legal theories. One view, shared by the White House, is that Mueller is overly reliant on his staff. In this scenario, the legal charge is being led by his number two, Andrew Weissman, the aggressive prosecutor whose pursuit of the accounting firm Arthur Anderson in the Enron debacle end in its conviction—a judgement reversed well after the firm's bankrupcy and dissolution. Weissman is a particular bet noir and favorite whipping boy for the White House.

But in another view it is precisely because Mueller, a former Marine, is so by the book and Semper Fi that he finds Trump's behavior to be personally offensive, and, on its face, corrupt. "Bob Mueller is all about limits and rules. Donald Trump has none and acknowledges none."

It may yet be even a more profound clash then that, the executive branch at war with itself—the Justice Department against the White House.

Indeed, it is a war strategy, in the view of some legal observers. Such an indictment would be litigated to the hilt. It would force both the substantive issues of obstruction and abuse of power and the meta issues of Presidential immunity—the hot button issues of the President's claims to being above the law—into open court for a long and painful review and dissection that might shadow the November election.

Legal experts believe that the Mueller team might well prevail in lower courts with a less likely, but not at all certain outcome, in the Supreme Court.

"Might such an expansive claim win, yes. Should it win, no. But everyone knows the reality: weak president's lose cases, strong president's win them."

Were the case to reach the Supreme Court after the November election, it might well be the results of that election that help seal the President's fate not just in Congress but also in the courts.

MORE TK

From: Robert Kuhn [redacted]
Sent: 8/19/2018 3:53:57 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Kuhn - Radical Breakthroughs
Attachments: CNN - Kuhn - US-China Tariffs, Trade War - CNN Today - 8.2.2018.pdf; Untitled attachment 200384.htm

Importance: High

Jeffrey:

How's all in our crazy world?

I'm in NY until August 31 (then again, after Beijing, Sept. 25 – Oct. 14). If you are in town, meet?

When convenient, I'd like you to meet Peter Getzels, Closer To Truth producer/director (I've worked with Peter for 12 years); he would very much like to meet you in person, describe the Radical Breakthroughs process in detail, get your feedback. He would come up from DC. We can always do Skype, of course, but Peter would appreciate to meet in person early in the process. Breakthroughs is a Big Project, big opportunity for impact. All are truly excited.

Below are highlights of Breakthroughs progress.

Attached is latest CNN on trade war and below are links (caution: a few weeks old is ancient history in Trump time).

The US trade war against China: The view from Beijing
https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d514f3551544f78457a6333566d54/share_p.html

How should China handle the trade war?
https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d774d3449544d79457a6333566d54/share_p.html

Love to discuss stuff.

Robert

Radical Breakthrough Development Work

• Research on each of the 13 episodes is ongoing and we are moving towards creating a short list of the top contributors per episode (with some contributors in multiple episodes).

• We are aggregating the top contributors around 4 to 5 central locations, such as SF Bay Area, LA, Chicago, Boston, New York, Santa Fe, London, Oxford, and Cambridge for the main shoots.

• We are creating a short list of locations for the secondary shoot - i.e. the more observational shoots on specific labs and research facilities, such as the Music Lab at McGill, the Sleep Lab at Harvard.

• We are planning a recce in the autumn to assess locations and meet some of the key contributors.

• We've brought on a production manager / line producer as we develop detailed research, contributors, locations, budgets.

• Our team is working toward interviewing and hiring a top science-literate associate producer / dedicated research producer. We've been coordinating with colleagues at HHMI (Howard Hughes Medical Association) as well as National Geographic for staffing referrals, and now have a strong short list. This is a critical, long-term position.

• We are assessing graphics and animation companies and researching styles and graphic ideas that we might use to communicate some of the more complex ideas.

• Our digital team is researching a web extension for the www.closertotruth.com website, developing ideas for a dedicated site neighborhood for "Radical Breakthroughs." We are in discussions with several website design companies, including the company that designed and built our original CTT site, for ideas and bids on creating the expanded site.

• By mid-October, we expect to begin to schedule the shoots.

CNN TODAY

US-China Tariffs, Trade War

Robert Lawrence Kuhn, August 2, 2018

Host: To talk about the potential impact [of tariffs]…. Robert Lawrence Kuhn is a long-time advisor to China's leaders and the Chinese government. He is also the author of *How China's Leaders Think*. You are the perfect person to have on to get China's perspective. Thank you so much for joining us. **RLK: A Pleasure.** **Host: So Trump is obviously hoping for some kind of trade deal, but is this going to work? Tariffs to get Chinese officials to the table?**	
RLK: Certainly from China's point of view, they were very happy with the status quo before this occurred. They blame the U.S. for starting a trade war. They think the U.S. will suffer and, indeed in a trade war, everybody suffers. There are some serious problems, though, that American experts, American government [policies], reflect. Very few people in the U.S. actually support the tariffs themselves. There will be higher prices for consumers. There will be more people affected – [there are] more industries that use steel than produce steel.	

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029176

RLK: So there's a significant impact [on the US]. The US hope is that China will be pressured to make changes in its policy. Now the [tariff] policy is not just [targeting] the trade deficit. The policies are, what are called, China's closed market, intellectual property protection, industrial espionage, tech transfers and JVs (to get the Chinese market) and government support for tech. And for each of these, China has responses. China says it was doing what was appropriate under the WTO because it was a developing country. Now that it's advanced, it's opening markets.	
China has a "negative list" telling people [companies] what it cannot do, making it much easier; China is also opening further in autos and financial services. But they need to be pushed more. Even economists in China recognize that, that coming out of this, if we have cool heads and smart brains, both sides can be better off. **HOST: So are there other ways to do this? You listed that Trump wants to close a trade deficit. He's hitting back at these closed markets. He wants to prevent the stealing of intellectual property. What is an effective way to do this besides heaping these tariffs on China?**	

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029177

RLK: Well some people would say that tariffs have at least got China's attention. Even some leading people tell me privately in China that in that sense China needs to move faster in doing things like opening markets, like intellectual property protection. Now they are doing some things. They have an intellectual property court. I visited it in Shanghai a few months ago. It's working really well. Much more progress needs to be done. So in that sense the tariffs are a beacon that tells everybody we need to deal because everybody is going to suffer by tariffs. The question is how we deal with it.	
China needs to make some specific changes regarding markets, IPR, some of these other things — they should be done subtlety and not publicly. That's the way to get things done. **HOST: I see. You know, President Trump has infamously said that trade wars are good and they're easy to win. And you wrote about this, why the Chinese don't think that the U.S. could ever win a trade war with Beijing. It was a very long list but tell us the highlights of that.** **RLK: Right — in the early days of the so-called trade war, the Chinese media and Chinese experts were talking very frequently about how the U.S. can't win.**	

Examples were the U.S. is divided on tariffs which is certainly true. China is not because publicly people don't speak against the Chinese government, so that may be a little bit artificial, but nonetheless it is a matter of public policy in China to support the government. There's a nationalistic pride in China. Americans will be affected by their pocket book. They're going to pay more for baseball gloves and television sets and dishwashers. And people are not going to be happy about that. There will be industries that will be affected — and technology and soybeans we know. So there will be many, many interest groups in the U.S. that will argue and fight against tariffs.	
So the basic reason is that the U.S. has a divided approach to tariffs, and that's certainly true. Most experts deny that tariffs are an effective way. Quiet diplomacy, putting pressure on China in the right way is the way because China does need to make some changes. People in China recognize that. **HOST: As China is saying they will not be blackmailed to doing these things. We're going to have to leave it there. Robert Lawrence Kuhn, we appreciate your expertise. Thank you very much for your time.** **RLK: Thank you.**	

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CC: Lawrence Krauss[redacted]
Subject: Fwd: October 19, Heidelberg

Importance: High

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Am 07.06.2018 um 17:40 schrieb Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]>:

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On Aug 29, 2018, at 11:06 AM, Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]> wrote:

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Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] | Assistant [redacted]
| twitter.com/lkrauss1 | **www.lawrencemkrauss.com**

Begin forwarded message:

From: Jakob Köllhofer <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: October 19, Heidelberg
Date: August 29, 2018 at 4:49:53 AM PDT
To: Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]>

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I deeply regret these limitations but I cannot ignore redlines.

So please let me know if you can or cannot come.

As ever Jakob

Jakob J. Köllhofer
Direktor
DAI

Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]
www.dai-heidelberg.de

Am 26.08.2018 um 22:04 schrieb Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]>:

Hi.. update.. noam cannot do anything anyway.. nor UK that week.. So, I have been able confirm I can get the ticket for the discounted amount of 4500 Euros.. Are you game with my proposal? I have until end of Sept to buy out the old ticket before they cancel it.

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School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department

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What would our share be?

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Could you save him?…

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Jakob J. Köllhofer
Direktor
DAI

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Fax: [redacted]
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Am 07.06.2018 um 17:40 schrieb Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]>:

Will do.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 87287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office (Cynthia): [redacted]
krauss@asu.edu
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

<DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png>

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P.S I`ll cc Michael!

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Lawrence

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Research Office: [redacted] | Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]
krauss@asu.edu
origins.asu.edu | twitter.com/lkrauss1 | krauss.faculty.asu.edu

<image002.png>

On Jun 6, 2018, at 2:15 AM, Michael Braun <[redacted]> wrote:

Dear Lawrence Kraus,

my name is Michael Braun and I am working on the DAI Heidelberg's fall program brochure.

May I ask you if you settled on a topic for your Heidelberg talk?

If so, could you send me title and a short abstract for me to include in the brochure and on our website?

Best
Michael

Mit besten Grüßen

Michael Braun
Referent für Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit

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Sofienstraße 12, 69115 Heidelberg

tel: [redacted]
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Schurman-Gesellschaft e.V.
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From: Lawrence Kraus [redacted]
Sent: 8/29/2018 11:01:49 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: October 19, Heidelberg

Importance: High

Talk in 40?

Lawrence M. Krauss
Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted]
Assistant [redacted]
[redacted]
| **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 29, 2018, at 12:19 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

3 hrs

On Wed, Aug 29, 2018 at 3:07 PM Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]> wrote:

please call me asap

Lawrence M. Krauss
Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]
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On Aug 29, 2018, at 11:56 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

What was Justin bill ? nd total to date?

On Wed, Aug 29, 2018 at 2:29 PM Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]> wrote:

actually I found I can buy an economy (YUK) ticket for only $1300.. so maybe I can buy that and try to upgrade it using miles..

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From: Deepak Chopra[redacted]
Sent: 11/30/2018 3:32:06 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I'm getting there v late on Sunday
Have filming for Al Gore before
See my text re Monday ?

Deepak Chopra MD

2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009
Chopra Foundation
Jiyo
Chopra Center for Wellbeing

www.discoveringyourcosmicself.com

On Nov 30, 2018, at 10:24 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

george church and i having lunch at my istittue at harvard sunday. join.?

--

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/27/2014 6:58:54 PM
To: Joi Ito [redacted]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune

[redacted]

On Sunday, April 27, 2014, Joi Ito <[redacted] wrote:
Can you talk now?

On Apr 27, 2014, at 04:41 , Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

>[redacted] if you havetime
>
>
> On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted] wrote:
>
> President Obama's response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader's hidden wealth.
> http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow
>
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
>
>
> --
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--
Please use my alternative address.[redacted]o avoid email auto responder

--
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Date: Friday, June 20 2014 10:50 AM
Subject: good for the gay comminuty
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: [redacted]

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/21/us/politics/obama- to-extend-array-of-marriage-benefits-to-gay-couples.html?hp

--

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/14/2014 9:45:41 AM
To: Ed Boyden [redacted]
Subject: Re: deception

definitely

On Mon, Jul 14, 2014 at 4:50 AM, Ed Boyden <[redacted]> wrote:

Sorry again for that last minute cancellation in the Spring -- alas, the perils of running a new center, that I no longer control my schedule like in the good old days. But the Obama BRAIN Initiative is running strong, and MIT has a good bid for a seat at the table, so that is good. Want to revisit a time for a chat? My schedule is now much more free, thanks to these BRAIN initiative activities launching...

Best,
Ed

On Fri, Dec 6, 2013 at 7:08 AM, Lesley Groff <[redacted]> wrote:
> Good morning Neil…I am afraid Jeffrey must cancel his trip up today…he is sick in bed and not well. I am so very sorry to do this last minute. Hopefully we can circle back to this soon.
>
> Thank you,
> Lesley
> Assistant to Jeffrey Epstein
> [redacted]
>
>
> On Dec 6, 2013, at 12:32 AM, Neil Gershenfeld <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Confirming lunch noon Friday at my office, E15-401. Sunglasses and beach balls optional, hopefully this will be a warm-up for meeting in more entertaining venues.
>>
>> Neil
>>
>

--
Ed Boyden, Ph. D.
Leader, Synthetic Neurobiology Group
Associate Professor, MIT Media Lab and McGovern Institute,
Departments of Biological Engineering and Brain and Cognitive Sciences
Co-Director, MIT Center for Neurobiological Engineering
New York Stem Cell Foundation-Robertson Investigator
MIT, Room E15-421, 20 Ames St., Cambridge, MA 02139
email - [redacted]

office - [redacted]
cell - [redacted]
fax - [redacted]
skype - [redacted]
web - http://syntheticneurobiology.org
twitter - http://twitter.com/eboyden3

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/17/2014 1:47:48 PM
To: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Subject: Re: Reminder Ed Boyden.

Today or tomorowb

On Thursday, July 17, 2014, Lesley Groff <[redacted] wrote:

Reminder: Would you like me to set up a call for you with Ed Boyden?

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Ed Boyden <[redacted]1>
Date: July 14, 2014, 4:50:47 AM EDT
To: Lesley Groff <[redacted]
Cc: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: deception
Reply-To: [redacted]

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MIT, Room E15-421, 20 Ames St., Cambridge, MA 02139
email - [redacted]
office - [redacted]
cell - [redacted]
fax - [redacted]
skype - [redacted]
web - http://syntheticneurobiology.org
twitter - http://twitter.com/eboyden3

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Sent: 9/19/2014 11:48:18 AM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

"girls?",, careful i will renew an old habit, . this week, thiel, summers,bill burns, gordon brown, jagland, (council of europe and nobel chairman). mongolia pres , hardeep puree (india), boris (gates). jabor (qatar). sultan (dubai,), kosslyn (harvard), leon black, woody. you are a welcome guest at any..... also if you think there are interesting people in town, everyone here for climate summit , clinton ,security council, holy shit im on [redacted] for next 30 minutes

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 7:15 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Most girls do not have to worry about this crap.

On Sep 19, 2014 7:09 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

understood. it comes down to high risk / reward / low risk / reward. professional , emotional. and fiinancial

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 6:15 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Agreed, but I need to be prepared to say yes before I talk to him.

Sent from my iPad

On Sep 19, 2014, at 1:21 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

You need to talk to boss

--

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 9/19/2014 7:48:29 PM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Re: Fwd:

Importance: High

[redacted] if you have a chance

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 3:46 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Correct. One time, maybe. Twice, no way.

On Sep 19, 2014 3:45 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

of course not , he wouldnt have been so stupid.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Kathy Ruemmler** <[redacted]>
Date: Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 3:44 PM
Subject: Re:
To: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Gov is not jewish

On Sep 19, 2014 3:42 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

reid or governor

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 3:02 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Uh, yeah. We will now go through a period of self-reflection and despair.

On Sep 19, 2014 3:00 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

double whoops

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 2:59 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Yep. And now he is a repeat offender.

On Sep 19, 2014 2:58 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

and thats after turning down misdeameors? whoops

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 2:57 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Reid's guy went down on all 7 counts.

On Sep 19, 2014 8:01 AM, "Kathy Ruemmler" <[redacted]> wrote:

Yes, trains exist -- people ride them to get from one place to another.....germ factories, however. DC today, back in NY on Sunday morning.

On Sep 19, 2014 7:57 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

train? yes , i will be like the emergency room doctor at lenox hill, put that crazy in room 1, gunshot in surgery, and the
"cook" welll -- he can wait

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 7:54 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Doesn't look like you are prioritizing your schedule very effectively.....how are you going to manage all of that? this is unga week so the boss will be in town too.....I'll be here all week -- you may get sick of me....just sat down on the train so can't talk freely.

On Sep 19, 2014 7:48 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

"girls?",, careful i will renew an old habit, . this week, thiel, summers,bill burns, gordon brown, jagland, (council of europe and nobel chairman). mongolia pres , hardeep puree (india), boris (gates). jabor (qatar). sultan (dubai,), kosslyn (harvard), leon black, woody. you are a welcome guest at any..... also if you think there are interesting people in town, everyone here for climate summit , clinton ,security council, holy shit im on [redacted] for next 30 minutes

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/9/2014 10:15:19 AM
To: Lawrence Summers [redacted]
Subject: Re: Post Exclusive: Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal

i have some ideas . call when you have a moment .

On Wed, Oct 8, 2014 at 11:39 PM, Lawrence Summers <[redacted]> wrote:

I fear she should have pulled out last week.

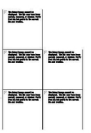
Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

Begin forwarded message:

Resent-From: <[redacted]>
From: The Washington Post <newsletters@email.washingtonpost.com>
Date: October 8, 2014 at 10:05:38 PM EDT
To: "Summers, Lawrence" <[redacted]>
Subject: Post Exclusive: Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal
Reply-To: The Washington Post <newslettersFS772X.4900074@email.washingtonpost.com>



Breaking news and original journalism only at The Washington Post • Wed., Oct. 8, 2014

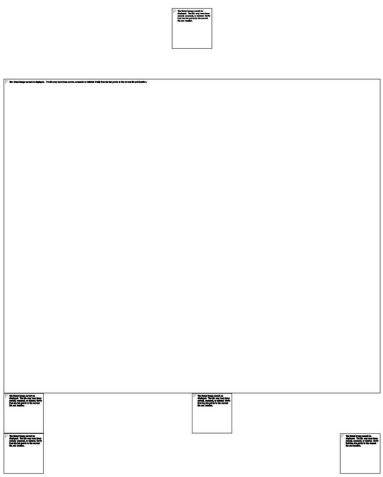
View in your Web browser

Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal

As nearly two dozen Secret Service agents and members of the military were punished or fired following a 2012 prostitution scandal in Colombia, Obama administration officials repeatedly denied that anyone from the White House was involved.

But new details drawn from government documents and interviews show that senior White House aides were given information at the time suggesting that a prostitute was an overnight guest in the hotel room of a presidential advance-team member — yet that information was never thoroughly investigated or publicly acknowledged.

Read more



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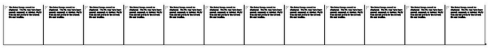

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/27/2014 3:53:38 PM
To: Lisa New[redacted]
Subject: Re: writing up proposal

Importance: High

I think the proposal for 500k is optimistic but can't hurt. .

On Mon, Oct 27, 2014 at 9:48 AM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:

Dear Jeffrey,

Larry has told me that you and a friend would like to contribute to my project (hallelujah and thank you a million times, Jeffrey) and that I ought to write up a proposal asking for 500,000. This is wonderful. If this comes to pass, the best way for that money to come, I think, is as a gift to Poetry in America, an initiative at EdLabs at Harvard University. This will give me discretion over its disbursement to HarvardX and WGBH, but this will be absolutely be a Harvard gift that will count as Campaign success and from which Harvard will take some (but not as much)overhead. . So far the best finance people I've met are at EdLabs and they are happy to manage these funds for me. There are other ways to give me this money that leave Harvard out, but my understanding is that your friend would like this to be a Harvard gift.

Here's a draft of what I'd like to do with that money.

I'd like 500,000 to do post-production and distribution of a whole *historical period* of American poetry (1914-1945 is what I'm thinking--Modernism) and including *three episodes of tv*.

The raw materials for that period include interviews with Bill Clinton (including footage not yet used by WGBH), Peter Gallison, Walter Isaacson, Lena Dunham, Woody Allen (whose lawyers didn't like our release a while ago, but we're hoping will soften over time), Harrison Ford (still a maybe), Robert Polito, Sarah Kay, Al Filreis, Rafael Campo, Susan Howe, kids from Nantucket High School, kids from Brookline High School, Alfre Woodard, Jane Pickering, Jay Parini, Ray Dalio, Leon Wieseltier, Richard Dawkins and others; and footage shot in Harlem, Greenwich Village, midtown, Chicago, London (if I have the money to hire a crew there; don't now), at museums including the Fogg, Harvard Museum of Natural History, Frost's house in Ripton Vermont and more.

This allows the donor to give to a big Harvard Campaign priority, Teaching and Learning , by supporting Poetry in America, allowing me to produce the crucial segment of the online course with the highest (TV quality) production values and so also supplying higher quality video to WGBH as a way also to cut their costs.

Currently, HarvardX skimps (on lighting, for instance--see the Bill Clinton interview) and while WGBH ladles money raised by others into everything. I have been pounding away at my friends at WGBH and I know that WGBH producer will work with HarvardX if they can give him footage of the right quality. . That is, we'll use HarvardX as the backlot for WGBH so as to squeeze three episodes out for 250.

This proposal does not include experiments in schools or the curricular development into courses for teachers that you've seen in other (million dollar_) proposals. But the courses for teachers can't happen before the footage is developed, and these courses will have as their centerpiece the WGBH episodes, and so this funding will make all the rest possible.

I can polish this narrative and or edit it, if there are things you think I have wrong.

And I can attach a draft budget based on real Harvard numbers (what my Harvard video editor, producer, media manager cost) as well as a draft WGBH budget I'll now go an negotiate with them. Or we can do that at a second stage.

Let me know what you think? And when are we reading Whitman together. Why don't we set a date for Feb when *Poetry in America 3: Whitman* is running online and we could screen a little video and then have a discussion around your table with you and some friends?

Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

--

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/4/2015 10:25:34 AM
To: Joi Ito[redacted]

Importance: High

bad press in fulll swing . she also claims to have dinner on my island with clinton. lots of details where he was sitting etc however he was NEVER on the island NEVER. its silly, but she has lots of traction

--

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/4/2015 12:19:34 PM
To: Joi Ito [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Kabuki Sec royals money

On Sunday, January 4, 2015, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

Interesting…. Heard Alan is not the type to give up.

> On Jan 4, 2015, at 7:25 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> bad press in fulll swing . she also claims to have dinner on my island with clinton. lots of details where he was sitting etc however he was NEVER on the island NEVER. its silly, but she has lots of traction
>
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Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/10/2015 5:22:52 PM
To: Mortimer Zuckerman [redacted]
Subject: time to publish this instead of the trite.

ore
15 of **141,013**

Fwd: Statement for Press

From: Carolyn Cohen [redacted]m>
Date: February 10, 2015 at 10:40:57 AM EST
To: Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]>
Subject: Statement for Press

Alan Dershowitz's Statement: We can now prove that Jane Doe #3 has no credibility and lied about Clinton, the Gores and Dershowitz.

Dershowitz's lawyers have filed a detailed reply to Jane Doe #3 false charges. In it they definitively respond to all of the alleged evidence presented by Jane Doe #3 and her lawyers. Since that filing Mr. Dershowitz's lawyers have uncovered additional evidence that Jane Doe #3 has lied about her alleged contacts with former President Clinton and former Vice President Gore and the then Mrs. Gore. In her first affidavit to the court she repeats the claim that she had earlier sold to a British tabloid: namely that "former President Bill Clinton was present on the island [Jeffrey Epstein's private island] at a time when [Jane Doe #3] was also present on the Island."

This statement, sworn under oath, summarizes a far more elaborate fantasy that she sold to a British tabloid which has since been repeated by the international media. In neither statement, does she provide any specific dates or times, but she does weave an imaginative fantasy about her fictional meeting with former President Clinton. She "describes" how Mr. Clinton's Secret Service detail allowed Ghislaine Maxwell, then a novice helicopter pilot, to fly the former President to Epstein's private island on a large black helicopter—an obvious lie. She then purports to "describe" specific seating locations at a fictional dinner party that included her, Mr. Clinton, Jeffrey Epstein and two other underage "olive-skinned brunettes" whose identities she could not provide:

"I flew to the Caribbean with Jeffrey and then Ghislaine Maxwell went to pick up Bill in a huge black helicopter that Jeffrey had bought her. She'd always wanted to fly and Jeffrey paid for her to take lessons, and I remember she was very excited because she got her licence around the first year we met. I used to get frightened flying with her but Bill had the Secret Service with him and I remember him talking about what a good job she did. I only ever met Bill twice but Jeffrey had told me that they were good friends. I asked, "How come?" and he laughed and said, "He owes me some favours." Maybe he was just joking but it constantly surprised me that people with as much to lose as Bill and [Prince] Andrew weren't more careful. She said that when dining that night, Maxwell sat at

President Clinton's left, while they were joined by two 'olive-skinned brunettes' who had been flown in from New York...

I'd never met them before. I'd say they were no older than 17, very innocent-looking.

They weren't there for me. They weren't there for Jeffrey or Ghislaine because I was there to have sex with Jeffrey on the trip.

Maybe Jeffrey thought they would entertain Bill, but I saw no evidence that he was interested in them. He and Jeffrey and Ghislaine seemed to have a very good relationship. Bill was very funny.

He made me laugh a few times. And he and Jeffrey and Ghislaine told blokey jokes and the brunettes listened politely and giggled.

After dinner I gave Jeffrey an erotic massage. I don't remember seeing Bill again on the trip but I assume Ghislaine flew him back..."

Jane Doe #3 also concocted another meeting with a powerful political figure for the British tabloid, this time claiming to have met former Vice President Gore and his then wife, Tipper, on the same Island, again providing no specific dates or times, but only personal interest details designed to enhance the value of her fictional account:

"[Jane Doe #3] disclosed that Mr Clinton's vice-president Al Gore and his wife, Tipper, were also guests of Epstein on his island... 'I had no clue that anything was up,' [Jane Doe #3] says. 'The Gores seemed like a beautiful couple when I met them. All I knew was that Mr Gore was a friend of Jeffrey's and Ghislaine's. Jeffrey didn't ask me to give him a massage... There might have been a couple of other girls there on that trip but I could never have imagined this guy would do anything wrong. I was planning to vote for him when I turned 18. I thought he was awesome.'"

These fabrications, which are obvious on their face, could easily have been determined to be false by any reasonable investigation. Our investigation has turned up evidence that Mr. Clinton was never on Mr. Epstein's island, that neither Mr. Gore, nor his former wife, have ever been on the island, and that Mr. and Mrs. Gore do not even know Mr. Epstein. Jane Doe #3's salaciously detailed accounts, sold for money to a tabloid are made up and were purposely designed to titillate the interests of readers eager for such salacious material. Jane Doe #3's even more salacious "descriptions" of her alleged sexual encounters with Dershowitz are also fabricated.

If it turns out that Jane Doe #3 deliberately lied about seeing former President Clinton on the island, she would be guilty of perjury.

Mr. Dershowitz's legal team has uncovered additional evidence, which it is in the process of verifying, that proves a pattern of lying and false accusations that casts even further doubt on Jane Doe #3's credibility. This evidence will be disclosed once it has been confirmed by their investigation.

Web Clip
ESPN.com - Sources: Sherman avoids surgery, for now - 25 minutes ago

Inbox x

Alan Dershowitz 11:46 AM (1 hour ago)

to Darren, me, Martin

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/19/2015 9:15:06 PM
To: Martin Weinberg [redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

On Thursday, March 19, 2015, Martin Weinberg [redacted] wrote:

Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.

20 Park Plaza, Suite 1000

Boston, MA 02116

[redacted]

==========

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On Thursday, March 19, 2015 3:54 PM, Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]> wrote:

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Sullivan, John" <[redacted]
Date: March 19, 2015 at 2:57:44 PM EDT
To: "[redacted]>
Subject: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein

Good Afternoon Mr. Dershowitz,

I'm John Sullivan, a reporter at The Washington Post. I've been reading with great interest stories about allegations that former President Clinton spent time on Jeffrey Epstein's Caribbean Island. In a declaration you filled in federal court you state that you have reason to believe this is not true. Are you available to discuss this with me? Thank you for your time.

John Sullivan

John Sullivan
Reporter
[redacted]
1150 15th Street NW
Washington DC 20071
Phone:[redacted]
Mobile:[redacted]
Email:[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/19/2015 9:43:40 PM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Fwd: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein
Attachments: image001.gif

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]>
Date: Thursday, March 19, 2015
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>, [redacted]

Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.

20 Park Plaza, Suite 1000

Boston, MA 02116

[redacted]

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On Thursday, March 19, 2015 3:54 PM, Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]> wrote:

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Sullivan, John" <[redacted]
Date: March 19, 2015 at 2:57:44 PM EDT
To: [redacted] <[redacted]>
Subject: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein

Good Afternoon Mr. Dershowitz,

I'm John Sullivan, a reporter at The Washington Post. I've been reading with great interest stories about allegations that former President Clinton spent time on Jeffrey Epstein's Caribbean Island. In a declaration you filled in federal court you state that you have reason to believe this is not true. Are you available to discuss this with me? Thank you for your time.

John Sullivan

John Sullivan
Reporter
[redacted]
1150 15th Street NW
Washington DC 20071
Phone: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]

Email: [redacted]

--

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 9/18/2015 4:08:16 PM
To: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.

Importance: High

you can invite depp to visit us when you are in the caribean

On Thu, Sep 10, 2015 at 4:10 PM, Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]> wrote:

Ps. My piece argued against fanaticism.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office[redacted] Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office[redacted]
krauss@asu.edu
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 10, 2015, at 12:02 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I think religion plays a major positive role in many lives. . i dont like fanaticism on either side. . sorry

On Thu, Sep 10, 2015 at 7:52 PM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

Thanks for sending. A wide area of agreement, but not total.

On confronting dogma, I of course agree – though in my opinion the secular religions – nationalist fanaticism, etc. – are much more dangerous. And if some find rational discussion offensive – as, for example, mainstream academics find dismantling myths of "American exceptionalism" or "Israeli self-defense" or Obama's mass murder campaign, etc., offensive – so be it.

But I don't see why that should extend to ridicule. That includes astrologists. Astronomers can refute astrology, while recognizing that perfectly honest and deluded people may believe it and should be treated with respect, while their beliefs are confronted with evidence. I also don't see why we should ridicule religious dogma, just as I don't think we should ridicule the much more pernicious secular dogmas. Rather, we should respond to irrational belief with argument and evidence, while recognizing that their advocates (like most of the intellectual world in the case of secular dogma) are people who we should be responding to but without ridiculing them. It may be hard sometimes. For example, when the icon and founding father of sober non-sentimental Realism in International Affairs informs us that the US, unlike other countries, has a "transcendental purpose," and the fact that it constantly acts in contradiction to its purpose doesn't matter because the facts are just "abuse of history" while real history is "the evidence of history as our minds reflect it," then it's hard to avoid ridicule. But we should. There's no point ridiculing

virtually the entire IR profession and the major journals, even though such extraordinary irrationality leads to major human disasters.

On Davis, I frankly think that's a non-issue. If she decides she cannot do her job as the conditions of employment require (including following the law), then she can quit and look for another job. As in any other such case.

Noam

From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

hope all is well.

Lawrence

http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Co-Director, Cosmology Initiative

Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department

Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404

Research Office:[redacted] Assistant [redacted]

Origins Office [redacted]

krauss@asu.edu

origins.asu.edu | twitter.com/lkrauss1 | krauss.faculty.asu.edu

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/25/2015 11:46:21 AM
To: Joi Ito [redacted]

Importance: High

another idea for obama . not as good as bio signal intelligence. . the cinese are willing to build a new collider. they will put up the money and build it , but need american tech. if he were to call it the obama xi collider. his legazy would be great in scinece and the project takes 15 -30 years.

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Tuesday, Nov. 24, 2015 | 11:29 a.m.

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Posted: 7:00 a.m. Tuesday, Nov. 24, 2015

Epstein victims "complicit" so not truly victims, government says

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By Michele Dargan

Daily News Staff Writer

A routine status check Monday on a 2008 federal lawsuit tied to sex offender Jeffrey Epstein's plea deal ended with a new allegation from the government.

The two victims who filed the lawsuit — Jane Doe No. 1 and Jane Doe No. 2 — aren't actually victims because they procured other girls for Epstein and received money for it, Assistant United States Attorney Dexter Lee said in West Palm Beach federal court.

If someone "is complicit in the offenses," they can't be considered victims under the federal Crime Victims' Rights Act , Lee said.

"A Crime Victims' Rights Act action is part of a criminal proceeding normally, but there's nothing normal about this case," Lee said.

Doe 1 and 2 are among more than two dozen underage girls who filed lawsuits or settled claims against Epstein, alleging they were lured to his Palm Beach mansion to give him sexually charged messages and/or sex in exchange for money. They were 14 and 13 at the time.

"Today is the first we've heard that the victims were complicit and this disqualifies them," said victims' attorney Brad Edwards. "This is an additional issue, which will lead to other issues."

Edwards added that although only two victims are named as plaintiffs, they represent dozens of victims who were named by the government as having been victimized by Epstein. Edwards said he plans to have other victims testify at trial.

Doe 1 and 2 are trying to overturn a federal non-prosecution agreement struck between Epstein and federal prosecutors without notice to the victims — a violation of the victims' rights act. The agreement kept Epstein from facing serious federal charges and extensive prison time.

Epstein signed the agreement in September 2007, but victims weren't notified until January and May 2008, according to emails and court documents.

As part of the deal, Epstein pleaded guilty to two state charges in June 2008, serving 13 months of an 18-month prison sentence in a vacant wing of the Palm Beach County stockade. He was awarded liberal work-release privileges.

In January, another Epstein victim alleged in court papers that Epstein forced her to have sex with Britain's Prince Andrew and high-profile attorney Alan Dershowitz when she was a minor. Both have vigorously denied her claims. Dershowitz and Edwards are suing each other in Broward County Circuit Court, alleging defamation.

Edwards told U.S. District Judge Kenneth Marra that he and attorney Paul Cassell will file a 50-page motion for summary judgment by Dec. 15. If that motion is denied, Edwards said he thinks it would be possible that the case could be ready for trial by mid-summer.

That was before Lee interjected the new issue.

"There are no deadlines at this point," Marra said. "That is the reason for this hearing, so that it doesn't linger."

Marra asked both sides to get together in the next few weeks and "agree on a schedule to get things done."

After the hearing, Edwards said, "I'm disappointed that they would attempt to call these girls anything less than victims and it's no doubt offensive to the victims. To raise this issue for the first time eight years later is not right."

4 0 4 14

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/2/2015 3:31:35 PM
To: Lisa New [redacted]
Subject: Re: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

I'm in Cambridge sat?

On Wednesday, 2 December 2015, Lisa New [redacted] > wrote:

Dear Jeffrey,

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-Lisa

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designed to meet the needs of English Language Arts and Social Studies teachers in the US and internationally.

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- A recent partnership with Greenwich Country Day School and the Success Academy Network of charter schools will provide a base for the production of a new collection of classroom-ready educational material on ***The Poetry of Art, Sport, and Play***. This collection will include discussions on poems filmed everywhere from sports fields to Broadway theaters, and will feature dancers, athletes, fashion designers, and more.

- With a growing archive of footage capturing teachers and students reading American poems, **we are eager to expand our reach and move into America's schools, disseminating, testing, and learning from teachers and students** using our materials. We hope to be able to begin work evaluating the impact of poetry on literacy levels and character development and, eventually, to produce a full suite of materials that foster character development along with intellectual growth.

Working closely with such partners as The Nantucket Project, Nautilus Magazine, The Aspen Ideas Festival, and The Big Think, and, of course, **HarvardX**, Harvard's provider of free open online courses, we are continuing to **create rich educational media on poetry for adult learners and lifelong learners.** These materials include short form videos such as this one on Robert Pinsky's "Shirt" (as featured in *The New Yorker*), and, this spring, the **sixth module of the free seven-part *Poetry in America* MOOC, which has registrants in over 150 countries.**

Growing rapidly, and outpacing our current staff and infrastructure, *Poetry in America* has a fundraising goal this year of 2.5 million dollars to fund its expanding group of projects. We've taken a big step, hiring the design agency **Threespot** to help us develop our web presence. Our website— to launch early 2016— will eventually serve as an online hub for our TV show and educational projects. We hope you'll join us then for a virtual launch!

Finally, Jeffrey, you have been such a wonderful supporter of my Poetry in America project. The Leon Black gift changed everything for me last year. It paid salaries for staff I desperately needed to complete projects (detail below), but first and foremost, it gave me leverage, enabling me to set down a solid Harvard base for my activities by giving the school something to point to: this public humanities project among the list of projects the Dean supports. The money did it: as soon as they heard about the gift, they took my project more seriously. Because of that gift, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which is space-stingy, found and rewired a studio space for me to house my video production operation and team. That gift woke up the Deans to the importance of Harvard's role in producing the highest quality humanities content for the WORLD, and not just for Harvard students. My main employee has half of her salary paid with these funds, and the foundation of our collection for PBS LearningMedia is being made with this support. This gift represented one of the most consequential shifts of the last year, allowing me create content and launch projects this year that make future projects that much more likely. If I can keep this base sturdy at Harvard, refilling these coffers, I will be that much more able to keep working.

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With abundant gratitude,
Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/2/2015 5:52:40 PM
To: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Lisa New** <[redacted]
Date: Wednesday, 2 December 2015
Subject: Poetry Update and Thank You
To: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>

That's ideal. Larry's away and I'll be working all day. I'm free any time.

On Wed, Dec 2, 2015 at 10:31 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
I'm in Cambridge sat?

On Wednesday, 2 December 2015, Lisa New <[redacted] wrote:
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/2/2015 5:58:02 PM
To: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Subject: Re: Poetry Update and Thank You

I'd like to speak to her

On Wednesday, 2 December 2015, Lesley Groff <[redacted]> wrote:
did you want to send the below to Lisa? (or have me ask her?)

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Do you know Chomsky , he Is with me

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Date: Wednesday, 2 December 2015
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- ***Poetry in America*'s many initiatives to reach Middle and High School teachers and their students are taking root.** Our first online course for Middle and High School Teachers, **Poetry of the City**, will launch this Spring with the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Companion materials to this course will be made available for free on PBS LearningMedia. This course is designed to meet the needs of English Language Arts and Social Studies teachers in the US and internationally.

- We are eager to begin production of **The Poetry of Earth, Sea, and Sky.** Designed, too, for Middle and High School teachers, The Poetry of Earth, Sea, and Sky will draw English Language Arts instruction into dialogue with science, and will include extraordinary footage of the natural world, conversations with poets, scholars, and scientists as well as footage shot in class and in the field with great teachers.

- A recent partnership with Greenwich Country Day School and the Success Academy Network of charter schools will provide a base for the production of a new collection of classroom-ready educational material on ***The Poetry of Art, Sport, and Play***. This collection will include discussions on poems filmed everywhere from sports fields to Broadway theaters, and will feature dancers, athletes, fashion designers, and more.

- With a growing archive of footage capturing teachers and students reading American poems, **we are eager to expand our reach and move into America's schools, disseminating, testing, and learning from teachers and students** using our materials. We hope to be able to begin work evaluating the impact of poetry on literacy levels and character development and, eventually, to produce a full suite of materials that foster character development along with intellectual growth.

Working closely with such partners as The Nantucket Project, Nautilus Magazine, The Aspen Ideas Festival, and The Big Think, and, of course, **HarvardX**, Harvard's provider of free open online courses, we are continuing to **create rich educational media on poetry for adult learners and lifelong learners.** These materials include short form videos such as this one on Robert Pinsky's "Shirt" (as featured in *The New Yorker*), and, this spring, the **sixth module of the free seven-part *Poetry in America* MOOC, which has registrants in over 150 countries.**

Growing rapidly, and outpacing our current staff and infrastructure, *Poetry in America* has a fundraising goal this year of 2.5 million dollars to fund its expanding group of projects. We've taken a big step, hiring the design agency **Threespot** to help us develop our web presence. Our website— to launch early 2016— will eventually serve as an online hub for our TV show and educational projects. We hope you'll join us then for a virtual launch!

Finally, Jeffrey, you have been such a wonderful supporter of my Poetry in America project. The Leon Black gift changed everything for me last year. It paid salaries for staff I desperately needed to complete projects (detail below), but first and foremost, it gave me leverage, enabling me to set down a solid Harvard base for my activities by giving the school something to point to: this public humanities project among the list of projects the Dean supports. The money did it: as soon as they heard about the gift, they took my project more seriously. Because of that gift, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which is space-stingy, found and rewired a studio space for me to house my video production operation and team. That gift woke up the Deans to the importance of Harvard's role in producing the highest quality humanities content for the WORLD, and not just for Harvard students. My main employee has half of her salary paid with these funds, and the foundation of our collection for PBS LearningMedia is being made with this support. This gift represented one of the most consequential shifts of the last year, allowing me create content and launch projects this year that make future projects that much more likely. If I can keep this base sturdy at Harvard, refilling these coffers, I will be that much more able to keep working.

I am also so grateful for the help you gave me in defining my project for Templeton, and, what help you have offered to give in bringing them around. I have, since Templeton turned me down, gotten funding to produce video on two of the poems I'd proposed to Templeton and to create, and test, that video in schools as I proposed. One of my partners in that project is Success Academy, where I could also expand my work with Templeton. And there are still other poems that may satisfy their character criteria more fully, including the third of the poems I'd originally proposed and that Joe Biden had agreed to discuss with me (on parenthood and humility). At this point, I'm gaining the platform and the name recognition to be an effective spokesperson for the foundation on building literacy and character in the schools.

It really means a lot to me, all financial help aside, Jeffrey, that you are rooting for me and thinking about me. You push back a lot (as Larry does), and it's always annoying but I always learn.

With abundant gratitude,
Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA

O2138
[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/7/2015 7:04:18 PM
To: Lisa New[redacted]
Subject: Re: and....another bit of advice ...? on WA

Importance: High

send me the list of policticans the list you sent will generate an of course not

On Mon, Dec 7, 2015 at 3:01 PM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:

Dear Jeffrey,

As you probably know, Woody Allen's legal team said that we couldn't use the film we shot of him: online, for broadcast, anywhere.

It was a fantastic experience taping with him and so, even if I can't ever use the footage, I'm still grateful to you for making the day possible. But of course I'd like to use the footage. I decided when--way back-- we got this very negative answer back from his lawyers that I should just take my time about asking --since it would take us 2 years to be ready to edit the footage anyway (The online course is chronological. When I taped Woody we were still back in 1730. Now we've gotten to the 1920s)

Well, we've now arrived at the season when we'll be editing materials on William Carlos Williams for our course on Modernism and, as we discussed on Saturday, on poetry and other arts, The Poetry of Art, Sport, and Play

I would also, of course, love to make a tv episode out of the conversation, but the threshold question is whether he'll let us use it for anything at all. In case it would matter,

Other performers who have already taped with me include

John Lithgow,
Diane Paulus
Julie Taymor
Nas
Eve Ensler
Damian Woetzel
Kate Burton
Lil Buck Riley
Alfre Woodard
Herbie Hancock
Tony Kushner
Natalia Zukerman

and those who have agreed to tape with me include

Sally Field
Lena Dunham
Yo Yo Ma
Anna Deveare Smith
and more.

Those in other fields include journalists, senators, president clinton etc etc. You've read my pitch before (many times)

His is one of only two releases that we haven't gotten. What do you think of my chances?

Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/8/2015 5:59:54 PM
To: soon yi previn [redacted]
Subject: Re: following up: WA poetry release

thx

On Tue, Dec 8, 2015 at 1:58 PM, soon yi previn <[redacted]> wrote:

Open in principle depending on specially how and where it would be shown and how it would be advertised-both subject to particular requirements and/or restrictions.Also dependent on approval of final cut. Would enter project with positive attitude but release would be reworked by lawyer.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Dec 8, 2015, at 10:40 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Leah Reis-Dennis** <[redacted]>
Date: Tue, Dec 8, 2015 at 11:33 AM
Subject: following up: WA poetry release
To: jeevacation@gmail.com, Lisa New <[redacted]>

Dear Jeffrey,

My name is Leah Reis-Dennis, and I'll be heading operations for Lisa's new non-profit, Verse Video Education. She's asked me to be in touch with you about helping us get a release from Woody Allen.

First, I wanted to send along the rough stringout of footage from the conversation with Woody a couple of years ago on "This is Just to Say" by William Carlos Williams. This is totally unedited and uncut footage, but we would love the opportunity to turn it into something great.
https://www.dropbox.com/sh/c0bn1jjxeo0654g/uWZ6KBVbLS?preview=WoodyAllen+Basic+Clip+for+Viewing.mov

If Woody Allen agrees to let us use the footage, he will be in distinguished company. To date, we have filmed conversations about poetry with dozens of distinguished Americans including:

Bill Clinton
Al Gore
John McCain
Mayor Rahm Emanuel
Mayor Tom Menino
Supreme Court Justice Elena Kagan
Sir Mervyn King
Former Secretary of the Treasury Larry Summers

The conversation would be part of a large multiplatform initiative that Harvard Professor Lisa New has under way to bring poetry into the mainstream, and, especially, into English Language Arts classrooms in the United States and around the world. The initiative, Poetry in America, includes a HarvardX online course, a television series we're creating with WGBH to be paired with PBS LearningMedia segments for the classroom, and, a

series of online professional development courses we're creating for ELA Middle and High School teachers and for their students.

Let us know if Woody Allen might be open to our sending another release form his way. Of course, if he's interested in releasing the footage for only certain parts of our project, we're open to having a conversation about that, too.

Thank you, and I hope to meet you soon.

Best, Leah

--
Leah Reis-Dennis
Poetry in America
[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:39:12 PM
To: Alan M. Dershowitz [redacted]; Roy Black [redacted]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
Attachments: katie johnson v trump complaint.pdf

Importance: High

j
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Privileged - Redacted

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]
Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Sorry, the suit is attached to this email.

From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
To: 'Martin G. Weinberg'
Subject: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Hi Marty,

The attached lawsuit was filed this week in federal court in California alleging that Jeffrey Epstein and another man, Donald Trump, raped her in 1994. We're planning to publish a story on the suit this afternoon, and we want to make sure it is fair. Is Mr. Epstein available to speak? Or do you want to offer a comment on this behalf?

My number is [redacted] and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.

Thank you in advance.

David Ingram
Correspondent
Reuters News

Thomson Reuters

Office: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]

[redacted]
Reuters.com

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
CIVIL COVER SHEET

I. (a) PLAINTIFFS (Check box if you are representing yourself ☒)

KATIE JOHNSON

DEFENDANTS (Check box if you are representing yourself ☐)

DONALD J. TRUMP and
JEFFREY E. EPSTEIN

(b) County of Residence of First Listed Plaintiff SAN BERNADINO
(EXCEPT IN U.S. PLAINTIFF CASES)

County of Residence of First Listed Defendant NEW YORK
(IN U.S. PLAINTIFF CASES ONLY)

(c) Attorneys (*Firm Name, Address and Telephone Number*) If you are representing yourself, provide the same information.
KATIE JOHNSON
6634 DESERT QUEEN AVE., TWENTY NINE PALMS, CA. 92277
(760) 401-0192
NO E-MAIL OR FAX

Attorneys (*Firm Name, Address and Telephone Number*) If you are representing yourself, provide the same information.

UNKNOWN

II. BASIS OF JURISDICTION (Place an X in one box only.)

☐ 1. U.S. Government Plaintiff
☐ 3. Federal Question (U.S. Government Not a Party)
☐ 2. U.S. Government Defendant
☒ 4. Diversity (Indicate Citizenship of Parties in Item III)

III. CITIZENSHIP OF PRINCIPAL PARTIES-For Diversity Cases Only
(Place an X in one box for plaintiff and one for defendant)

	PTF	DEF		PTF	DEF
Citizen of This State	☒ 1	☐ 1	Incorporated or Principal Place of Business in this State	☐ 4	☐ 4
Citizen of Another State	☐ 2	☒ 2	Incorporated and Principal Place of Business in Another State	☐ 5	☐ 5
Citizen or Subject of a Foreign Country	☐ 3	☐ 3	Foreign Nation	☐ 6	☐ 6

IV. ORIGIN (Place an X in one box only.)

☒ 1. Original Proceeding ☐ 2. Removed from State Court ☐ 3. Remanded from Appellate Court ☐ 4. Reinstated or Reopened ☐ 5. Transferred from Another District (Specify) ☐ 6. Multi-District Litigation

V. REQUESTED IN COMPLAINT: JURY DEMAND: ☐ Yes ☒ No (Check "Yes" only if demanded in complaint.)

CLASS ACTION under F.R.Cv.P. 23: ☐ Yes ☒ No ☐ **MONEY DEMANDED IN COMPLAINT:** $ 100,000,000.00

VI. CAUSE OF ACTION (Cite the U.S. Civil Statute under which you are filing and write a brief statement of cause. Do not cite jurisdictional statutes unless diversity.)

42 U.S.C. ; 1985 - CONSPIRACY TO DENY CIVIL RIGHTS

VII. NATURE OF SUIT (Place an X in one box only).

OTHER STATUTES
- ☐ 375 False Claims Act
- ☐ 376 Qui Tam (31 USC 3729(a))
- ☐ 400 State Reapportionment
- ☐ 410 Antitrust
- ☐ 430 Banks and Banking
- ☐ 450 Commerce/ICC Rates/Etc.
- ☐ 460 Deportation
- ☐ 470 Racketeer Influenced & Corrupt Org.
- ☐ 480 Consumer Credit
- ☐ 490 Cable/Sat TV
- ☐ 850 Securities/Commodities/Exchange
- ☐ 890 Other Statutory Actions
- ☐ 891 Agricultural Acts
- ☐ 893 Environmental Matters
- ☐ 895 Freedom of Info. Act
- ☐ 896 Arbitration
- ☐ 899 Admin. Procedures Act/Review of Appeal of Agency Decision
- ☐ 950 Constitutionality of State Statutes

CONTRACT
- ☐ 110 Insurance
- ☐ 120 Marine
- ☐ 130 Miller Act
- ☐ 140 Negotiable Instrument
- ☐ 150 Recovery of Overpayment & Enforcement of Judgment
- ☐ 151 Medicare Act
- ☐ 152 Recovery of Defaulted Student Loan (Excl. Vet.)
- ☐ 153 Recovery of Overpayment of Vet. Benefits
- ☐ 160 Stockholders' Suits
- ☐ 190 Other Contract
- ☐ 195 Contract Product Liability
- ☐ 196 Franchise

REAL PROPERTY
- ☐ 210 Land Condemnation
- ☐ 220 Foreclosure
- ☐ 230 Rent Lease & Ejectment

REAL PROPERTY CONT.
- ☐ 240 Torts to Land
- ☐ 245 Tort Product Liability
- ☐ 290 All Other Real Property

TORTS PERSONAL INJURY
- ☐ 310 Airplane
- ☐ 315 Airplane Product Liability
- ☐ 320 Assault, Libel & Slander
- ☐ 330 Fed. Employers' Liability
- ☐ 340 Marine
- ☐ 345 Marine Product Liability
- ☐ 350 Motor Vehicle
- ☐ 355 Motor Vehicle Product Liability
- ☐ 360 Other Personal Injury
- ☐ 362 Personal Injury-Med Malpratice
- ☐ 365 Personal Injury-Product Liability
- ☐ 367 Health Care/ Pharmaceutical Personal Injury Product Liability
- ☐ 368 Asbestos Personal Injury Product Liability

IMMIGRATION
- ☐ 462 Naturalization Application
- ☐ 465 Other Immigration Actions

TORTS PERSONAL PROPERTY
- ☐ 370 Other Fraud
- ☐ 371 Truth in Lending
- ☐ 380 Other Personal Property Damage
- ☐ 385 Property Damage Product Liability

BANKRUPTCY
- ☐ 422 Appeal 28 USC 158
- ☐ 423 Withdrawal 28 USC 157

CIVIL RIGHTS
- ☒ 440 Other Civil Rights
- ☐ 441 Voting
- ☐ 442 Employment
- ☐ 443 Housing/ Accommodations
- ☐ 445 American with Disabilities-Employment
- ☐ 446 American with Disabilities-Other
- ☐ 448 Education

PRISONER PETITIONS

Habeas Corpus:
- ☐ 463 Alien Detainee
- ☐ 510 Motions to Vacate Sentence
- ☐ 530 General
- ☐ 535 Death Penalty

Other:
- ☐ 540 Mandamus/Other
- ☐ 550 Civil Rights
- ☐ 555 Prison Condition
- ☐ 560 Civil Detainee Conditions of Confinement

FORFEITURE/PENALTY
- ☐ 625 Drug Related Seizure of Property 21 USC 881
- ☐ 690 Other

LABOR
- ☐ 710 Fair Labor Standards Act
- ☐ 720 Labor/Mgmt. Relations
- ☐ 740 Railway Labor Act
- ☐ 751 Family and Medical Leave Act
- ☐ 790 Other Labor Litigation
- ☐ 791 Employee Ret. Inc. Security Act

PROPERTY RIGHTS
- ☐ 820 Copyrights
- ☐ 830 Patent
- ☐ 840 Trademark

SOCIAL SECURITY
- ☐ 861 HIA (1395ff)
- ☐ 862 Black Lung (923)
- ☐ 863 DIWC/DIWW (405 (g))
- ☐ 864 SSID Title XVI
- ☐ 865 RSI (405 (g))

FEDERAL TAX SUITS
- ☐ 870 Taxes (U.S. Plaintiff or Defendant)
- ☐ 871 IRS-Third Party 26 USC 7609

ED CV16-00797 DMG (KSx)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY: Case Number:

APR 26 2016

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029257

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
CIVIL COVER SHEET

VIII. VENUE: Your answers to the questions below will determine the division of the Court to which this case will be initially assigned. This initial assignment is subject to change, in accordance with the Court's General Orders, upon review by the Court of your Complaint or Notice of Removal.

QUESTION A: Was this case removed from state court? ☐ Yes ☒ No If "no, " skip to Question B. If "yes," check the box to the right that applies, enter the corresponding division in response to Question E, below, and continue from there.	STATE CASE WAS PENDING IN THE COUNTY OF:	INITIAL DIVISION IN CACD IS:
	☐ Los Angeles, Ventura, Santa Barbara, or San Luis Obispo	Western
	☐ Orange	Southern
	☐ Riverside or San Bernardino	Eastern

QUESTION B: Is the United States, or one of its agencies or employees, a PLAINTIFF in this action? ☐ Yes ☒ No If "no, " skip to Question C. If "yes," answer Question B.1, at right.	**B.1.** Do 50% or more of the defendants who reside in the district reside in Orange Co.? *check one of the boxes to the right* →	☐ YES. Your case will initially be assigned to the Southern Division. Enter "Southern" in response to Question E, below, and continue from there. ☐ NO. Continue to Question B.2.
	B.2. Do 50% or more of the defendants who reside in the district reside in Riverside and/or San Bernardino Counties? (Consider the two counties together.) *check one of the boxes to the right* →	☐ YES. Your case will initially be assigned to the Eastern Division. Enter "Eastern" in response to Question E, below, and continue from there. ☐ NO. Your case will initially be assigned to the Western Division. Enter "Western" in response to Question E, below, and continue from there.
QUESTION C: Is the United States, or one of its agencies or employees, a DEFENDANT in this action? ☐ Yes ☒ No If "no, " skip to Question D. If "yes," answer Question C.1, at right.	**C.1.** Do 50% or more of the plaintiffs who reside in the district reside in Orange Co.? *check one of the boxes to the right* →	☐ YES. Your case will initially be assigned to the Southern Division. Enter "Southern" in response to Question E, below, and continue from there. ☐ NO. Continue to Question C.2.
	C.2. Do 50% or more of the plaintiffs who reside in the district reside in Riverside and/or San Bernardino Counties? (Consider the two counties together.) *check one of the boxes to the right* →	☐ YES. Your case will initially be assigned to the Eastern Division. Enter "Eastern" in response to Question E, below, and continue from there. ☐ NO. Your case will initially be assigned to the Western Division. Enter "Western" in response to Question E, below, and continue from there.

QUESTION D: Location of plaintiffs and defendants?	A. Orange County	B. Riverside or San Bernardino County	C. Los Angeles, Ventura, Santa Barbara, or San Luis Obispo County
Indicate the location(s) in which 50% or more of *plaintiffs who reside in this district* reside. (Check up to two boxes, or leave blank if none of these choices apply.)	☐	☒	☐
Indicate the location(s) in which 50% or more of *defendants who reside in this district* reside. (Check up to two boxes, or leave blank if none of these choices apply.)	☐	☐	☐

D.1. Is there at least one answer in Column A?	**D.2. Is there at least one answer in Column B?**
☐ Yes ☒ No If "yes," your case will initially be assigned to the SOUTHERN DIVISION. Enter "Southern" in response to Question E, below, and continue from there. If "no," go to question D2 to the right. →	☒ Yes ☐ No If "yes," your case will initially be assigned to the EASTERN DIVISION. Enter "Eastern" in response to Question E, below. If "no," your case will be assigned to the WESTERN DIVISION. Enter "Western" in response to Question E, below. ↓

QUESTION E: Initial Division?	INITIAL DIVISION IN CACD
Enter the initial division determined by Question A, B, C, or D above: →	EASTERN

QUESTION F: Northern Counties?	
Do 50% or more of plaintiffs or defendants in this district reside in Ventura, Santa Barbara, or San Luis Obispo counties?	☐ Yes ☐ No

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
CIVIL COVER SHEET

IX(a). IDENTICAL CASES: Has this action been previously filed **in this court**? ☒ NO ☐ YES

If yes, list case number(s): _____

IX(b). RELATED CASES: Is this case related (as defined below) to any civil or criminal case(s) previously filed **in this court**? ☒ NO ☐ YES

If yes, list case number(s): _____

Civil cases are related when they (check all that apply):

☐ A. Arise from the same or a closely related transaction, happening, or event;

☐ B. Call for determination of the same or substantially related or similar questions of law and fact; or

☐ C. For other reasons would entail substantial duplication of labor if heard by different judges.

Note: That cases may involve the same patent, trademark, or copyright is not, in itself, sufficient to deem cases related.

A civil forfeiture case and a criminal case are related when they (check all that apply):

☐ A. Arise from the same or a closely related transaction, happening, or event;

☐ B. Call for determination of the same or substantially related or similar questions of law and fact; or

☐ C. Involve one or more defendants from the criminal case in common and would entail substantial duplication of labor if heard by different judges.

X. SIGNATURE OF ATTORNEY (OR SELF-REPRESENTED LITIGANT): _____ DATE: April 26, 2016

Notice to Counsel/Parties: The submission of this Civil Cover Sheet is required by Local Rule 3-1. This Form CV-71 and the information contained herein neither replaces nor supplements the filing and service of pleadings or other papers as required by law, except as provided by local rules of court. For more detailed instructions, see separate instruction sheet (CV-071A).

Key to Statistical codes relating to Social Security Cases:

Nature of Suit Code	Abbreviation	Substantive Statement of Cause of Action
861	HIA	All claims for health insurance benefits (Medicare) under Title 18, Part A, of the Social Security Act, as amended. Also, include claims by hospitals, skilled nursing facilities, etc., for certification as providers of services under the program. (42 U.S.C. 1935FF(b))
862	BL	All claims for "Black Lung" benefits under Title 4, Part B, of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. (30 U.S.C. 923)
863	DIWC	All claims filed by insured workers for disability insurance benefits under Title 2 of the Social Security Act, as amended; plus all claims filed for child's insurance benefits based on disability. (42 U.S.C. 405 (g))
863	DIWW	All claims filed for widows or widowers insurance benefits based on disability under Title 2 of the Social Security Act, as amended. (42 U.S.C. 405 (g))
864	SSID	All claims for supplemental security income payments based upon disability filed under Title 16 of the Social Security Act, as amended.
865	RSI	All claims for retirement (old age) and survivors benefits under Title 2 of the Social Security Act, as amended. (42 U.S.C. 405 (g))

Name: KATIE JOHNSON
Address: 6634 DESERT QUEEN AVE.
TWENTYNINE PALMS, CA. 92277
Phone: (760) 401-0192
Fax: NO FAX OR E-MAIL
In Pro Per

FILED
2016 APR 26 AM 11:12
CLERK U.S. DISTRICT COURT
CENTRAL DIST. OF CALIF.
RIVERSIDE
BY

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

KATIE JOHNSON Plaintiff v. DONALD J. TRUMP and JEFFREY E. EPSTEIN Defendant(s).	CASE NUMBER: ED CV16-00797 DMG (KSx) To be supplied by the Clerk of The United States District Court **COMPLAINT FOR CLAIM RELIEF DUE TO:** **1. SEXUAL ABUSE UNDER THREAT OF HARM** **2. CONSPIRACY TO DEPRIVE CIVIL RIGHTS**

Plaintiff Katie Johnson, for causes of actions against Defendants Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein, alleges as follows:

IFP

JURISDICTION

1. Jurisdiction is pursuant to the law of Diversity, 28 U.S.C. ; 1332, as plaintiff resides in the state of California while defendants reside in the state of New York and the action is for damages above $75,000.

VENUE

2. The venue is established as the Eastern Division of the United States Court Central District of California because the plaintiff resides in San Bernadino County, State of California

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029260

PARTIES

3. The Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, resides in the State of California.

4. The Defendants, Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein, each reside in the State of New York.

FACTUAL ALLEGATIONS

5. The Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, alleges that the Defendants, Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein, did willfully and with extreme malice violate her Civil Rights under 18 U.S.C. ; 2241 by sexually and physically abusing Plaintiff Johnson by forcing her to engage in various perverted and depraved sex acts by threatening physical harm to Plaintiff Johnson and also her family.

6. The Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, alleges that the Defendants, Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein, also did willfully and with extreme malice violate her Civil Rights under 42 U.S.C. ; 1985 by conspiring to deny Plaintiff Johnson her Civil Rights by making her their sex slave.

7. The Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, alleges she was subject to extreme sexual and physical abuse by the Defendants, Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein, including forcible rape during a four month time span covering the months of June-September 1994 when Plaintiff Johnson was still only a minor of age 13.

8. The Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, alleges she was enticed by promises of money and a modeling career to attend a series of underage sex parties held at the New York City residence of Defendant Jeffrey E. Epstein and attended by Defendant Donald J. Trump.

9. On the first occasion involving the Defendant, Donald J. Trump, the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was forced to manually stimulate Defendant Trump with the use of her hand upon Defendant Trump's erect penis until he reached sexual orgasm.

10. On the second occasion involving the Defendant, Donald J. Trump, the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was forced to orally copulate Defendant Trump by placing her mouth upon Defendant Trump's erect penis until he reached sexual orgasm.

11. On the third occasion involving the Defendant, Donald J. Trump, the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was forced to engage in an unnatural lesbian sex act with her fellow minor and sex slave, Maria Doe, age 12, for the sexual enjoyment of Defendant Trump. After this sex act, both minors were forced to orally copulate Defendant Trump by placing their mouths simultaneously on his erect penis until he achieved sexual orgasm. After zipping up his pants, Defendant Trump physically pushed both minors away while angrily berating them for the "poor" quality of their sexual performance.

12. On the fourth and final sexual encounter with the Defendant, Donald J. Trump, the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was tied to a bed by Defendant Trump who then proceeded to forcibly rape Plaintiff Johnson. During the course of this savage sexual attack, Plaintiff Johnson loudly pleaded with Defendant Trump to "please wear a condom". Defendant Trump responded by violently striking Plaintiff Johnson in the face with his open hand and screaming that "he would do whatever he wanted" as he refused to wear protection. After achieving sexual orgasm, the Defendant, Donald J. Trump put his suit back on and when the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, in tears asked Defendant Trump what would happen if he had impregnated her, Defendant Trump grabbed his wallet and threw some money at her and screamed that she should use the money "to get a fucking abortion".

13. On the first occasion involving the Defendant, Jeffrey E. Epstein, the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was forced to disrobe into her bra and panties and to give a full body massage to Defendant Epstein while he was completely naked. During the massage, Defendant Epstein physically forced Plaintiff Johnson to touch his erect penis with her bare hands and to clean up his ejaculated semen after he achieved sexual orgasm.

14. On the second occasion involving the Defendant, Jeffrey Epstein, the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was again forced to disrobe into her bra and panties while giving Defendant Epstein a full body massage while he was completely naked. The Defendant, Donald J. Trump, was also present as he was getting his own massage from another minor, Jane Doe, age 13. Defendant Epstein forced Plaintiff Johnson to touch his erect penis by physically placing her bare hands upon his sex organ and again forced Plaintiff Johnson to clean up his ejaculated semen after he achieved sexual orgasm.

15. Shortly after this sexual assault by the Defendant, Jeffrey E. Epstein, on the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, Plaintiff Johnson was still present while the two Defendants were arguing over who would be the one to take Plaintiff Johnson's virginity. The Defendant, Donald J. Trump, was clearly heard referring to Defendant, Jeffrey E. Epstein, as a "Jew Bastard" as he yelled at Defendant Epstein, that clearly, he, Defendant Trump, should be the lucky one to "pop the cherry" of Plaintiff Johnson.

16. The third and final sexual assault by the Defendant, Jeffrey E. Epstein, on the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, took place after Plaintiff Johnson had been brutally and savagely raped by Defendant Trump. While receiving another full body massage from Plaintiff Johnson, while in the nude, Defendant Epstein became so enraged after finding out that Defendant Trump had been the one to take Plaintiff Johnson's virginity, that Defendant Epstein also violently raped Plaintiff Johnson. After forcing Plaintiff Johnson to disrobe into her bra and panties, while receiving a massage from the Plaintiff, Defendant Epstein attempted to enter Plaintiff Johnson's anal cavity with his erect penis while trying to restrain her. Plaintiff Johnson attempted to push Defendant Epstein away, at which time Defendant Epstein attempted to enter Plaintiff Johnson's vagina with his erect penis. This attempt to brutally sodomize and rape Plaintiff Johnson by Defendant Epstein was finally repelled by Plaintiff Johnson but not before Defendant Epstein was able to achieve sexual orgasm. After perversely sodomizing and raping the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, the Defendant, Jeffrey E. Epstein, attempted to strike her about the head with his closed fists while he angrily screamed at Plaintiff Johnson that he, Defendant Epstein, should have been the one who "took her cherry, not Mr. Trump", before she finally managed to break away from Defendant Epstein.

17. The Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was fully warned on more than one occasion by both Defendants, Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein, that were she ever to reveal any of the details of the sexual and physical abuse that she had suffered as a sex slave for Defendant Trump and Defendant Epstein, that Plaintiff Johnson and her family would be in mortal danger. Plaintiff Johnson was warned that this would mean certain death for herself and Plaintiff Johnson's family unless she remained silent forever on the exact details of the depraved and perverted sexual and physical abuse she had been forced to endure from the Defendants.

MATERIAL WITNESSES

18. Tiffany Doe, a former trusted employee of the Defendant, Jeffrey E. Epstein, has agreed to provide sworn testimony in this civil case and any other future civil or criminal proceedings, fully verifying the authenticity of the claims of the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson. Witness Tiffany Doe was employed by the Defendant, Jeffrey E. Epstein, for more than 10 years as a party planner for his underage sex parties. Despite being subject to constant terroristic threats by Defendants Epstein and Trump to never reveal the details of these underage sex parties at which scores of teenagers, and pre-teen girls were used as sex slaves by Defendant Epstein and Defendant Trump, witness Tiffany Doe refuses to be silent any longer. She has agreed to fully reveal the extent of the sexual perversion and physical cruelty that she personally witnessed at these parties by Defendants Epstein and Trump.

19. Material witness Tiffany Doe fully confirms all of Plaintiff Katie Johnson's allegations of physical and sexual abuse by Defendants Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein. Tiffany Doe was physically present at each of the four occasions of sexual abuse by Defendant Trump upon the person of Plaintiff Johnson, as it was her job to witness all of the sexual escapades of Defendant Epstein's guests at these underage sex parties and later reveal all of the sordid details directly to Defendant Epstein. Defendant Epstein also demanded that Tiffany Doe tell him personally everything she had overheard at these parties explaining to her that "knowledge was king" in the financial world. As a result of these underage sex parties, Defendant Epstein was able to accumulate inside business knowledge that he otherwise would never have been privy to in order to amass his huge personal fortune.

20. Material witness Tiffany Doe will testify that she was also present or had direct knowledge of each of the three instances on which Defendant Jeffrey E. Epstein physically and sexually abused the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson. Tiffany Doe will testify to the fact that the Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, was extremely fortunate to have survived all of the physical and sexual horrors inflicted upon her by Defendants Epstein and Trump.

CLAIM FOR RELIEF

21. The Plaintiff, Katie Johnson, asks the court for relief against the Defendants, Donald J. Trump and Jeffrey E. Epstein, in the amount of $100,000,000.00 (One Hundred Million Dollars) as a result of the Defendants aforementioned acts upon which they willfully and maliciously violated the Civil Rights of the Plaintiff as stated in 18 U.S.C. ; 2241 by sexually and physically abusing the then 13 year old Plaintiff Johnson under threat of harm to her and her family, and 42 U.S.C. ; 1985 by the Defendants conspiring to deny the Civil Rights of Plaintiff Johnson by making her their sex slave.

Dated: April 26, 2016

KATIE JOHNSON

By_____

Plaintiff Katie Johnson

Appearing In Pro Per

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/3/2016 6:37:06 PM
To: Moshe Hoffman [redacted]
Subject: Re: Greetings, Thanks, and Top Five Questions for the Social Sciences (which Martin thought may interest you)

i think you might want to consider the distribution of these things , not the binary report of the individual

On Tue, May 3, 2016 at 12:51 PM, Moshe Hoffman <[redacted]> wrote:

Hi Jeff,

Thanks again for making the time for me last time you were in town. And for your introductions to Brockman and Ehud. I have enjoyed all the conversations and been learning a lot. Hopefully, a book or two will come out of it eventually as well. Means a lot to me.

Martin mentioned that you are thinking about the top questions in various fields and suggested I might think of some of my own and pass them on to you.

In case you are interested, I list below the five biggest questions that keep me up at night, motivate my life's work, and which I think ought to keep up every social scientist. Happy to discuss with you, if and when you are interested.

-Moshe

---

1) Where do our moral and political views come from?

The bull shit answers most people accept clearly don't fit the facts; we are not discovering moral truths through reason, and our political views are not motivated by a desire to achieve the best policy outcomes. So what does drive these beliefs? And what causes them to have the weird puzzling features they do (e.g., why is a lie of commission so much worse than a lie of omission)? And what causes them to change over time (e.g., slavery has been accepted as moral at many points in history)? And differ across cultures (e.g., ISIS versus the U.S.)? And across person and context (e.g., Trump vs. Bernie supporters)?

More generally, we believe and argue all sorts of crap (your vote can make a difference, Jesus loves you, all men are created equal). How do these beliefs and arguments work? Are they just random ideas propagated by an amorphous culture, viruses taking advantage of our own psychology for their benefit, ideas that get us to do the bidding of their cynical designers?

2) Similarly, where do our tastes come from? Like the art we like? Or the music?

Some tastes are kinda obvious. E.g., we evolved to like young curvy women because they are the most fertile. And maybe we like art that reminds us of this or of landscapes that are safe or what not. But there are many aspects of art and music (e.g. modern art, rap) that are not universally pleasing. So what makes people like these things? What properties do they need to succeed? What role does the artist or the history of the piece play in what we like? Of course, this question isn't just about art and music, but about all of our peculiar, culturally specific tastes. How does culture shape our tastes? Is it completely arbitrary or is there some logic to its influence?

3) Where do our political and economic institutions come from and what causes them to have the peculiar structure they have?

We have one vote per person, but everyone knows dollars can buy more votes, and voters in small states are better represented than those in large states. Whose interests are being served and why theirs? Many economists and political scientists have thought about "optimal institutions." And much comparative and historical work has been done. But there isn't really a good unified theory of how these evolve, what characteristics are likely to emerge, and in what ways they are or are not optimal.

4) Is there a fundamental theory of human societies that's analogous to Darwin's theory in biology?

Can that framework be as well supported by evidence and as simple as natural selection in biology, that will likewise explain the interesting things humans do, like, and believe, and the institutions we construct? Evolutionary psychologists think this doesn't require a new theory, just an investigation of the mind that biologically evolved on the Savannah. Others like Dawkins have suggested that we are best understood as machines infested by viruses of the mind which themselves evolve to take advantage of our evolved psychology. Anthropologists treat culture as just random inputs. Social psychologists document the funny quirks of our behavior without explaining where they come from. And economists assume people optimize given their tastes and beliefs but take those as given. Is one of these the right theory, if not is there a more compelling theory out there? What will it look like? How will we find it? How will we know we have found it, when we have?

5) How can we fix the perverse incentives in academia?

Researchers get hired and promoted for publishing in top journals. Journal publication is determined by editors and referees. The best way to publish is to make sure your allies are the referees, cite their work, and don't step on their toes, and to convince the editor you are famous enough and your work is flashy enough that it will be well cited and get covered by the nytimes. None of this requires much attention be paid to truth, insight, or originally.

Arguably, this is why the social sciences are such a mess. Few bother to incorporate evidence or arguments from outsiders (e.g., social psychologists don't consult historians, economists barely consult social psychologists). Few bother to question the fundamental assumptions driving their field that make no sense and go unchecked (e.g., anthropologists treat culture as random inputs). And many researchers end up spending their whole careers developing and propagating theories that are completely uninteresting to outsiders, or obviously fallacious to anyone not steeped in their literature.

It is ridiculous that we're still using a system derived from the Society of Letters of the 1500s. Perhaps it's time for something more like Wikipedia, where information gets aggregated and contributors are incentivizes by their reputation as competent editors to integrate information from across disciplines? Or something like Reddit, where quality research is recognized by upvotes that aggregate the opinion of thousands from diverse fields? Or a certification system of sorts, where papers are certified as having done their statistics right or having integrated what's known from certain fields, or not citing irrelevant papers for political reasons? Whatever the solution is, social scientists and engineers who work on this problem will have orders of magnitude more impact on science than scientists doing primary research in our archaic system.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/4/2016 6:28:25 PM
To: soon yi previn[redacted]
Subject: Fwd: woody and deadline

???
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Lisa New** <[redacted]>
Date: Wed, May 4, 2016 at 2:25 PM
Subject: woody and deadline
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Dear Jeffrey,

Woody has received from his lawyer some questions I asked in in response to the agreement Irwin Tenenbaum sent me....I found that that agreement generous and reasonable (!), and I'm excited to go forward, but I do need those clarifications. We can absolutely agree that we will not give Woody larger or more important billing than Bill Clinton or Joe Biden, and that I'd like to come to him to renew our agreement after five years.

The Harvard week of content in which Woody will appear, if we can sign this, needs to be edited in the next week-10 days. We are out of time, which is why I'm writing

The television show has been picked up by American Public Television, they will distribute nationally, and they've asked for another 5 episodes. I so want Woody to be one of those.

I'd like to see the haiku written by computer. Haiku is not that hard. I'd like to see an elegy written by computer.

Lisa
--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/25/2016 11:09:21 AM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump

Importance: High

do you want to be provacative . ? trump shuttle. hawaiin tropic contests. . mortgage on mara lago. ? revenue of golf courses as income.??! , total debt of all cos . ? people dont want to conribute money as he said he is worth over 10b , why should they? , calif already coming up short. . fatther bought chips in the casino to stave off bankruptcy, chips because it was better than a first lien. under the gambling rules. matt his bag man? his loan from his brother in law (JUdges husband) how much did his father leave. his brother robert etc.
otherwise you can just throw easys

On Wed, May 25, 2016 at 7:05 AM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:
> I'm interviewing him this afternoon. Anything you think I should ask?

--

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/25/2016 11:16:19 AM
To: Michael Wolff[redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump

Importance: High

maybe you can ask why bernie nussbaum got vince fosters letter quickly, that is a hillary problem. he would smile then you can ask his realtionsjipwith the elctricians unions and maralago . and out you go

On Wed, May 25, 2016 at 7:12 AM, Michael Wolff <[redacted] wrote:
Job is to get the hard ones in without being ejected from the room. What's the one question that pierces through?

On Wednesday, May 25, 2016, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/25/2016 11:21:11 AM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump

Importance: High

nussbaum white house counsel. . hillary doing naughties with vince

On Wed, May 25, 2016 at 7:19 AM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:
What's the thumb nail on Nussbaum/foster?

On Wednesday, May 25, 2016, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/8/2016 9:43:10 AM
To: Deepak Chopra[redacted]
Subject: Re: America's Shadow: The Real Secret of Donald J. Trump - SFGate by Deepak Chopra
Attachments: supergenes[2].png

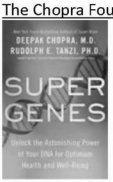
Importance: High

i will forward it . he asked if you would come back again. without the russian. to me it was a woody allen movie . you talking conciousness , his wife more concerned with the salad dressing, and the russian deciding the future of syria. . As you know I find ideas no matter how extreme , the root of possible insight. so the other day I had viisitn the psychedelic crowd. one of them has opened a store on 1 st and the bowery called the alchemist kitchen. . How about we meet there , I want to see the store and you ride with me back uptown. lets say 230? I have left my schedule open after.

On Mon, Aug 8, 2016 at 4:57 AM, Deepak Chopra <[redacted] wrote:

Since Woody was into the subconscious mind I thought I'd share this
See you at 3PM
http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/chopra/article/America-s-Shadow-The-Real-Secret-of-Donald-J-7965248.php

Deepak Chopra
2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009
The Chopra Foundation



Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/2/2016 9:00:42 PM
To: LHS [[redacted]]
Subject: Re: Trump

[redacted]

On Sunday, 2 October 2016, LHS <[redacted]> wrote:

What number r u at?

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

On Oct 2, 2016, at 8:32 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Yes

On Sunday, 2 October 2016, LHS <[redacted]> wrote:

Yes. Let's briefly discuss. Can u have her write me.

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

On Oct 2, 2016, at 2:32 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

can somoene from the development office show rothschild around harvard sat.?

On Sun, Oct 2, 2016 at 2:32 AM, LHS <lhs@lawrencesummers.com> wrote:

Jeff

How plausible is idea that trump is real cocaine user?

L

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/10/2016 9:53:43 PM
To: Joi Ito [redacted]

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/12/2016 7:52:15 PM
To: Joi Ito [redacted]
Subject: Re: From Politico Magazine

talk to danny hillis he had some legisative ideas

On Mon, Dec 12, 2016 at 1:26 PM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

Any ideas?

Begin forwarded message:

From: Margaret Slattery <[redacted]>
Subject: From Politico Magazine
Date: November 28, 2016 at 3:04:51 PM CST
To: "[redacted]" <[redacted]>

Dear Joi,

Hello, I'm writing from Politico Magazine, where we're working on a special package of stories timed to Donald Trump's inauguration in January, and I wondered if you would be interested in contributing.

As he prepares to take office, our plan is to publish a handful of out-of-the box ideas for President Trump, suggested by writers and thinkers from a variety of fields and ideological positions. Whether the idea has to do with politics, policy, personnel or governing style, we're looking for suggestions that are specific and, above all, surprising; something inventive if slightly far-fetched is better than a pet cause or a well-trod policy proposal. (This exercise doesn't require that you support or even agree with Trump, but it does require a willingness to engage.)

Do you have an idea along these lines that you wish the new president would consider, whether something in economics or otherwise? If so, I'd love to hear, and we can discuss next steps from there. Ultimately, we're aiming to publish a handful of short pieces (about 800 words each) as a package of proposals.

Many thanks, and please let me know if you have questions.

Margy Slattery

—
Deputy Editor, Politico Magazine
[redacted], [redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/16/2017 11:26:44 AM
To: Reid Hoffman [redacted]; Joi Ito [redacted]

a HUGE donor advised fund is an elegant solution to the cuts trump proposes to what some consider critical programs. you could organzie a huge public charity that would continue the work of many worthwhile orgs. not my thing but structurally beautiful. its the wealthiest now stepping into a quasi govt funding. national endowment for arts. climate science. as extraordinary amounts of wealth have moved into private hands. elons and jeff space goals should be mirrored with many other former govt ones. hope to see you soon

--

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 6/1/2017 12:12:39 PM
To: Joi Ito [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

did you talk to reid about the donor advised fund?

On Thu, Jun 1, 2017 at 8:12 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

:-)

> On Jun 1, 2017, at 6:00 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> when i told reid that obama just wanted to make money, he thought i was being cynical, as he was sure that doing good was going to be the goal
>
> https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/31/us/obama-buys-house-washington-kalorama.html?module=WatchingPortal&region=c-column-middle-span-region&pgType=Homepage&action=click&mediaId=thumb_square&state=standard&contentPlacement=6&version=internal&contentCollection=www.nytimes.com&contentId=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.nytimes.com%2F2017%2F05%2F31%2Fus%2Fobama-buys-house-washington-kalorama.html&eventName=Watching-article-click
>
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/11/2017 3:15:45 PM
To: Lawrence Summers [[redacted]
Subject: Re: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric

he knows. , it is sooo crazy, and now reporting is quite inaccurate. but each reporter feels he needs to tell his version, Im in paris if you want to chat

On Wed, Oct 11, 2017 at 5:04 PM, Lawrence Summers <[redacted]> wrote:

Your pal should stay out of press.

Public link to manafort will be a disaster.

This is a staggering shit show.

Sent from my iPad

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at:[redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: "**The Washington Post**" <email@e.washingtonpost.com>
Date: Wed, Oct 11, 2017 at 9:04 AM -0400
Subject: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric
To: "Summers, Lawrence H." <[redacted]>

Democracy Dies in Darkness

Trending Now Wed., Oct. 11, 2017 9:01 a.m.

Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric

Billionaire Thomas J. Barrack Jr. has done what few others in Trump's orbit have done: He told the president, in effect, that he was wrong. "In my opinion, he's better than this," Barrack said.

Trump's relationship with Barrack is one of the most important, if little understood, of the president's life, offering a case study of what it takes to remain close to him in a time of such turmoil.

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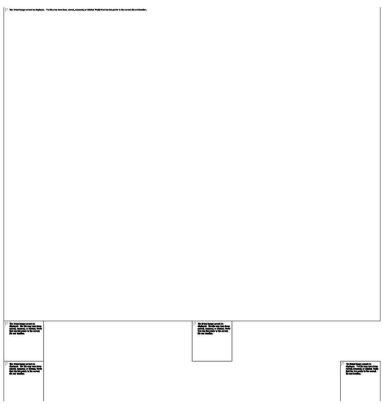

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/27/2017 2:50:59 PM
To: Lawrence Summers [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric

saudi?

On Wed, Oct 11, 2017 at 11:04 AM, Lawrence Summers <[redacted]> wrote:

Your pal should stay out of press.

Public link to manafort will be a disaster.

This is a staggering shit show.

Sent from my iPad

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at:[redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

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From: "**The Washington Post**" <email@e.washingtonpost.com>
Date: Wed, Oct 11, 2017 at 9:04 AM -0400
Subject: Trending Now: Friends for three decades, Trump whisperer says he is 'stunned' by president's rhetoric
To: "Summers, Lawrence H." <[redacted]>

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Trump's relationship with Barrack is one of the most important, if little understood, of the president's life, offering a case study of what it takes to remain close to him in a time of such turmoil.

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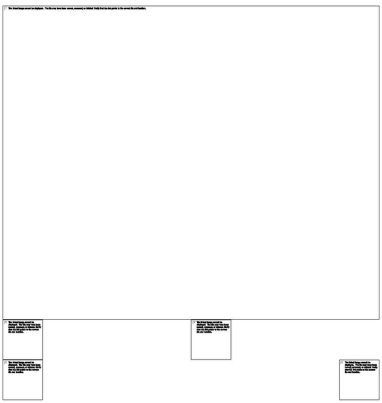

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/6/2018 9:20:31 PM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
Subject: Re:

It looks to me as you might have driven him over the edge. DJT: 'I do things proper !!/ " im really, like . smart. !! sounds like elizas father- donald dolittle. . . or dopey donald or demented donald. as I told you his statement from camp david was laced with "he has made billions and billions of dollars. he is reportedly petrified that his bluff will be called. . His 100 million dollar plane he said be bought from paul allen , is really a 1991 boeing 757 previously used by a mexican airline. repainted . His- ladder capital finance llc, - ladder capital 1 finance llc , deutsche bank trust co americas . chicago unit acquistion .(it says "springing loan" over 50m -I never even heard of the term . as part of june 17 disclosure form he owes each more than 50 m apiece. but of course, not disclosed just -how much more. . declared the revenue of his real estate as INCOME without deducting expenses or taxes. all a sham

On Sat, Jan 6, 2018 at 4:00 PM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

> I feel he truly must be off his rocker. Could there be a strategy here?
>
> On Sat, Jan 6, 2018 at 3:39 PM jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> > how does it feel to have the president of the united states. at camp david. focus on you.. ! .
>
> --
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/19/2018 11:46:04 AM
To: Robert Kuhn [redacted]
Subject: Re: Kuhn - Radical Breakthroughs

I might return , to ny this week not sure yet

On Sat, Aug 18, 2018 at 11:53 PM, Robert Kuhn <[redacted]> wrote:

Jeffrey:

How's all in our crazy world?

I'm in NY until August 31 (then again, after Beijing, Sept. 25 – Oct. 14). If you are in town, meet?

When convenient, I'd like you to meet Peter Getzels, Closer To Truth producer/director (I've worked with Peter for 12 years); he would very much like to meet you in person, describe the Radical Breakthroughs process in detail, get your feedback. He would come up from DC. We can always do Skype, of course, but Peter would appreciate to meet in person early in the process. Breakthroughs is a Big Project, big opportunity for impact. All are truly excited.

Below are highlights of Breakthroughs progress.

Attached is latest CNN on trade war and below are links (caution: a few weeks old is ancient history in Trump time).

The US trade war against China: The view from Beijing
https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d514f3551544f78457a6333566d54/share_p.html

How should China handle the trade war?
https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d3d774d3449544d79457a6333566d54/share_p.html

Love to discuss stuff.

Robert

Radical Breakthrough Development Work

• Research on each of the 13 episodes is ongoing and we are moving towards creating a short list of the top contributors per episode (with some contributors in multiple episodes).

• We are aggregating the top contributors around 4 to 5 central locations, such as SF Bay Area, LA, Chicago, Boston, New York, Santa Fe, London, Oxford, and Cambridge for the main shoots.

• We are creating a short list of locations for the secondary shoot - i.e. the more observational shoots on specific labs and research facilities, such as the Music Lab at McGill, the Sleep Lab at Harvard.

• We are planning a recce in the autumn to assess locations and meet some of the key contributors.

• We've brought on a production manager / line producer as we develop detailed research, contributors, locations, budgets.

• Our team is working toward interviewing and hiring a top science-literate associate producer / dedicated research producer. We've been coordinating with colleagues at HHMI (Howard Hughes Medical Association) as well as National Geographic for staffing referrals, and now have a strong short list. This is a critical, long-term position.

• We are assessing graphics and animation companies and researching styles and graphic ideas that we might use to communicate some of the more complex ideas.

• Our digital team is researching a web extension for the www.closertotruth.com website, developing ideas for a dedicated site neighborhood for "Radical Breakthroughs." We are in discussions with several website design companies, including the company that designed and built our original CTT site, for ideas and bids on creating the expanded site.

• By mid-October, we expect to begin to schedule the shoots.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/19/2018 2:58:17 PM
To: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Kuhn - Radical Breakthroughs

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Robert Kuhn** <[redacted]>
Date: Sun, Aug 19, 2018 at 10:39 AM
Subject: Re: Kuhn - Radical Breakthroughs
To: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>

If return, let me know; if not, I'm back Sept 25 - Oct. 14.

On Aug 19, 2018, at 7:46 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I might return , to ny this week not sure yet

On Sat, Aug 18, 2018 at 11:53 PM, Robert Kuhn <[redacted]> wrote:

Jeffrey:

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
Barker Center - 12 Quincy Street - Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

ELISA NEW
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature

Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

November 25, 2018

Dear Ms. Knowles-Carter,

I am writing now to invite you to be a featured guest of *Poetry in America* (poetryinamerica.org). *Poetry in America*'s first season's guests included Bill Clinton, Joe Biden, Cynthia Nixon, Shaquille O'Neal, Yo Yo Ma, Samantha Power, Herbie Hancock, John McCain, Nas, Angela Duckworth, Bono, Regina Spektor, Frank Gehry, Stuart Weitzman, E.O. Wilson, and many others. Seasons Two and Three will feature just as distinguished a line up. The series airs on public television stations everywhere, streams via Amazon Prime and other streaming services, and it is now also airing on a variety of domestic and international airlines.

The poem we'd read and interpret together is by the contemporary poet Evie Shockley, and it's called "you can say that again, billie." It's a brilliant and beautiful poem that speaks back to Billie Holiday's "Strange Fruit" and evokes a whole history of gender and race in the American South. You are the ideal reader for this poem. We would use what we filmed together in an upcoming season of *Poetry in America.* We would also use the content in materials that we are creating for K-12 classrooms in partnership with Harvard. Everything we create would be educational and non-commercial.

Thank you for considering this request. I would be very honored to work with you.

Sincerely,

Elisa New
Director and Host of *Poetry in America*
Powell M. Cabot Professor, Harvard

From: Eric Roth [redacted]
Sent: 8/7/2011 4:01:33 PM
To: 'Jeffrey Epstein' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Michael Boccio
Attachments: image001.jpg; MJB cover letter v3.docx; MJB resume.doc; DJT recommendation letter - Boccio.pdf

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

Recently while refurbishing Donald Trump's 757 I worked closely with his Director of Business Development / Special Counsel, Michael Boccio.

Although I have worked with some very intelligent and creative individuals, Michael is a real stand out – he is impressive on many levels.

Someone (or organization) is going to be excited to have someone with Michael's capabilities working for them and thought that you may need someone like Michael on your team or have a friend who may be in search of a dynamic individual with his background and talent.

Please take a moment to read the attached documents to see if Michael is someone you are looking for. If not, I ask that you forward this e-mail to someone you believe would greatly benefit by having Michael work for them.

I know that I always appreciate when a friend refers someone who can be of great help to me – personally or in business.

If you have any questions about working with Michael, please do not hesitate to call me.

Thank you.

Attached: Cover letter
Resume
Trump Letter of Recommendation

Sincerely,

Eric Roth
President

international jet
INTERIORS

International Jet Interiors
2221 Smithtown Avenue
Long Island MacArthur Airport
Ronkonkoma, NY 11779
[redacted] Phone
Fax
Cell
[redacted] e-mail
www.intljet.com website

Michael Boccio

Garden City, New York 11530• Phone:[redacted]
E-Mail:[redacted]

I have worked under the direct mentorship of Donald J. Trump for the past three years, and as such, understand the time constraints and demands placed on any successful executive. Thank you for taking the time to review my resume.

As a multi-faceted executive and attorney within the Trump Organization, on a daily basis I would take charge of a diversified array of special projects for Mr. Trump. Whether the task involved the acquisition or disposition of assets, such as jets, real estate properties, operating golf courses, or helicopters, Mr. Trump consistently counted on me to determine what was necessary to get the deal done in the quickest time frame and at the best financial deal for him. I am also an elite problem solver – Mr. Trump would regularly call me into his office for my thoughts on the vexing issue of the moment. I have a keen ability to brainstorm potential solutions, ascertain and disclose the risks and execute a plan in a time-efficient manner. In addition to work for the Trump Organization, I have successfully negotiated and executed every product license deal and agreement for the Ivanka Trump brand.

The ongoing business and legal matters that occupied my time included product licensing, entertainment and media, tax strategy, aviation, vendor relationship management, and real estate development. While my resume speaks to the specific responsibilities assigned to me and my accomplishments, it is the aggregate of the diverse tasks that were successfully managed by me that demonstrate the fact that I am a single individual who is willing and capable of successfully moving into any facet of a business as a trusted advisor, deal maker and manager. It is well known that I can negotiate a complex business deal in the boardroom and then paper that deal in my office, which is a unique skill set that I could bring to work for the benefit of you and your company.

Please contact me if you believe there is any opportunity for us to work together.

Sincerely,

Michael J. Boccio

Michael J. Boccio

Garden City, NY 11530 / Phone-[redacted] / E-Mail [redacted]

CAREER EXPERIENCE:

- **The Trump Organization (July 2008 - July 2011)**
  Managing Director of Business Development and Special Counsel

  Global Licensing/Brand & Trademark Portfolio Management
  - Managed all aspects of the Global Product Licensing Division and trademark portfolio, as represented by the Donald J. Trump, Ivanka Trump and Melania brands. Responsibilities encompassed the management of a legal team consisting of multiple attorneys, a paralegal and executive assistant responsible for negotiating, drafting and maintenance of all license agreements. Liaised with outside IP counsel and hosted regular strategy meetings to determine the appropriate course of action for trademark filings, policing and office actions.

  Real Estate
  - Managed 75 home site development known as the Estates at Trump National in Rancho Palos Verdes, California. Set up the HOA board, was elected as a member of the HOA board, developed and executed the HOA budget, liaised with the California Department of Real Estate and successfully gained approval of the 2010 subdivision report and issuance of a white paper that permitted sales to resume at the site. Hired and managed brokerage team. Developed a revised housing strategy for future development, including adjustment of lot lines and architectural plans to meet the needs of the current market. Managed multiple negotiations and closings of homes and executed a strategy that permitted Trump to retain a $1.5 million dollar deposit for a custom built home in buyer default. Executed the acquisition and closing of previously leased land from the RPV school district, located in the center of the golf course and adjoining the property.
  - Developed a lease form for Trump International Chicago and negotiated leases, amendments and term sheets for the retail space.
  - Worked as part of a team that negotiated the purchase agreements and loan documentation for the purchase of three operating golf courses, as well as managed the diligence process and negotiation of multiple deals that remain in the pipeline or failed to close.
  - Negotiated and drafted multiple comprehensive term sheets and real estate license agreements that were ultimately placed on hold.
  - Acquisition of multiple residential properties.

  Aviation
  - Managed all aspects of the acquisition of a US registered Boeing 757 and the company holding the corresponding part 125 operating certificate, including the tax strategy and intercompany lease filed with the FAA. Negotiated contracts with Boeing, Rolls Royce, Honeywell and other vendors. Worked on a team that managed the complete renovation of the 757 and handled all associated legal work. Managed the disposition of a Bermuda registered Boeing 727 and the acquisition, renovation and subsequent leasing of Sikorsky S-76B, including negotiation of preferential use terms for owner and management of vendor and warranty relationships.

  Entertainment and Media
  - Negotiated book contracts, speech agreements, television contracts, location agreements for multiple movie and television commercials, appearance releases, photography shoots and limited use licenses.

Law Firm Associate

- **Kaye Scholer LLP (July 2007-July 2008)**
  - Represented institutional lenders in the origination and servicing of portfolio loans. Member of deal team that provided the financing for the sale/leaseback of 388/390 Greenwich Street from Citigroup to SL Green, the second largest NY deal of 2007.
  - Reviewed and abstracted commercial leases and negotiated SNDA's and estoppel certificates in conjunction with loan originations.

- **Sonnenschein Nath & Rosenthal LLP (March 2007-July 2007)**
  - Represented institutional lenders in the origination of portfolio loans; represented developer/borrower in obtaining construction loan; represented firm clients in the negotiation and execution of multiple office leases.
- **Windels Marx Lane & Mittendorf, LLP (January 2006-February 2007)**
  - Represented Lehman Brothers in the origination of over $500 million in senior, mezzanine and construction loans tailored for syndication or securitization.
  - Represented Lehman Brothers in the disposition of over $100 million in joint venture portfolio properties. Represented landlords in the sale of commercial and industrial properties.
  - Reviewed and abstracted commercial leases and negotiated SNDA's and estoppel certificates in conjunction with loan originations.
- **Carter Ledyard & Milburn LLP (August 2001-November 2005)**
  - Represented institutional and individual clients with the acquisition/disposition of commercial and residential properties.
  - Represented one of the largest downtown landlords in the negotiation of leases and lease amendments (6 million total square feet of space in the Hudson Square and Ground Zero vicinity).
  - Performed due diligence on the real estate portfolios of target companies in merger transactions.
  - Represented institutional borrowers and lenders in the origination, negotiation and refinance of senior and mezzanine loans and revolving lines of credit. Represented trust company in origination of loans to high net worth clients.

Memberships

- Associate Development Committee, Hiring Committee, Practice Development Committee, Summer Events Planning Committee and Associate Mentor Program.

EDUCATION:

Fordham University School of Law, New York, NY
Juris Doctor, May 2001, Dean's List

State University of New York at Stony Brook, Honors College, Stony Brook, NY
B.A., Honors Economics, December 1997, Cum Laude / Dean's List
4.0 G.P.A. in Economics
Teaching assistant: Microeconomics (Spring 1997) and Macroeconomics (Fall 1997)

PUBLICATION:

- Commercial Law Leasing and Strategy: "Rent Abatement Clauses, Tenants Should Speak Softly, But Draft a Big 'Club'" Volume 20, Number 7 **(December 2007)**

REFERENCE OF DONALD J. TRUMP AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST

{2005RE~1:1}

TRUMP

THE TRUMP ORGANIZATION

July 11, 2011

To whom it may concern:

For the past three years, I have enjoyed a daily working relationship with Michael Boccio, having trusted him with many of my personal and business endeavors, in his capacity of Managing Director of Business Development and Special Counsel.

Michael was a person that I would call into my office and could always count on for a smart point of view. Michael is as comfortable in a boardroom negotiating critical business points as he is drafting a complex legal document. He naturally assumed a leadership role in any task that I assigned to him. He has prospered under my mentorship and I relied on him as an asset to every area of my business.

I highly recommend Michael for employment or consideration as a partner in any business venture. He will make any company or individual that may be lucky enough to work alongside him more effective, efficient and profitable.

Sincerely

Donald J. Trump

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SUPREME COURT STRIKES DOWN DOMA

June 27, 2013

Special Report

HIGHLIGHTS

- Supreme Court Rules Against DOMA 5 To 4
- Joint Returns For Same-Sex Married Couples
- Tax Refunds Possible
- "Marriage Penalty" Shared By Same-Sex Couples
- Estate Planning Strategies Change
- Employers Expected To Revise Benefit Plans
- No Nationwide Same-Sex Marriage Mandate

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Post-DOMA Tax Implications Loom Large

In a 5 to 4 decision, the United States Supreme Court has found that Section 3 of the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) violates the equal protection clause of the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution as applied to persons of the same sex who are legally married under the laws of their state *(Windsor, S.Ct., June 26, 2013, 2013-2 USTC ¶50,400)*. The majority, written by Justice Anthony Kennedy, held that DOMA is unconstitutional as a deprivation of the liberty of the person protected by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution.

The decision opens the door for same-sex married couples to enjoy many federal tax-related benefits previously available only to opposite-sex married couples. These include income tax benefits, estate and gift tax benefits, taxpayer-friendly employee benefits, and more. Same-sex couples must now also deal with circumstances under the tax law that may create a so-called "marriage penalty." Employers must prepare for extensive changes in the treatment of same-sex couples. And individuals claiming tax credits and other provisions under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act are impacted by the decision.

IMPACT. *It is unclear how quickly the IRS and other federal agencies will react to the Supreme Court's decision …or how quickly same-sex couples may need to act to protect certain rights. President Obama has directed all federal agencies, including Treasury and the IRS, to revise their regulations to reflect the Supreme Court's decision as soon as possible. Many tax professionals had been advising same-sex couples to file protective refund claims in anticipation of a favorable ruling from the Supreme Court. This is one of several strategies that practitioners and taxpayers should follow up on, as well as filing amended returns before the applicable limitations periods expire on back tax years. The decision to strike down DOMA goes beyond refunds. Same-sex couples need to consider many other tax implications.*

IMPACT. *The Supreme Court did not extend same-sex marriage nationwide; it declined to say whether same-sex couples had a Constitutional right to marriage that would override state law. But the Supreme Court's decision has opened up federal benefits –including those under the Internal Revenue Code-- to same-sex couples considered married under state law. The Windsor decision leaves many additional issues unresolved or unclear. Among them are the status of "domestic partnerships" and "civil unions" under state law in connection with federal benefits, the status of a same-sex couple married in one state but now residing in a state in which same-sex marriage is not recognized, and the ability of married same-sex couples to divorce without first moving back to a state that recognizes same-sex marriage.*

CAUTION. *Immediately after the Windsor decision was released, questions arose regarding the impact of residency upon the recognition of marital status for federal tax purposes. Will same-sex couples duly married in one state who now reside in a state that does not recognize same-sex marriage be entitled to federal benefits, including being able to file jointly under the federal tax laws? …Or will they be required to file as single under federal law as well as state law? While President Obama on June 27 expressed the view that same-sex marriages performed in one state should apply*

to another, he added that "I'm speaking as a president and not as a lawyer."

ISSUES AT STAKE

In December 2012, the Supreme Court announced that it would take up two cases related to same-sex couples: *Windsor*, which arose out of an estate tax dispute between a surviving partner/spouse and the IRS; and *Hollingsworth v. Perry (CA-9, Feb. 7, 2012)*, which addressed whether the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits California from defining marriage as the union of a man and woman. The Supreme Court heard oral arguments in both cases in March 2013.

IRS Denies Estate Tax Marital Deduction. In *Windsor,* a long-time same-sex couple married in Canada in 2007. They had previously registered as domestic partners in New York City, where they made their home. One spouse died in 2009. Because of DOMA, the survivor did not qualify for the unlimited marital deduction under the Internal Revenue Code and as a result, the executor of the estate paid $363,000 in federal estate tax that was not otherwise due. The survivor as executor and sole beneficiary filed a refund claim under Code Sec. 2056(a) (under which property of a surviving spouse generally passes free of federal estate tax). The IRS determined that the survivor was not a spouse under Section 3 of DOMA and, therefore, not a surviving spouse under Code Sec. 2056(a). A federal district court found that Section 3 of DOMA violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because there was no rational basis to support it. The Second Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the lower's court decision, finding that homosexuals are a protected class and that Section 3 of DOMA was not substantially related to an important government interest and violated Equal Protection.

SUPREME COURT'S HOLDINGS

Writing for the majority in *Windsor*, Justice Kennedy found that DOMA had departed from the long standing tradition and history of reliance on state law to define marriage. The State of New York had recognized the validity of same-sex marriages, which resulted in a status that "is a far-reaching legal acknowledgment of the intimate relationship between two people, a relationship deemed by the State worthy of dignity in the community equal with all other marriages," Kennedy wrote. He reasoned that DOMA sought to injure this class of persons whom New York sought to protect, and by doing so violated basic due process and equal protection principles applicable to the federal government and was therefore unconstitutional.

> "The decision opens the door for same-sex couples to enjoy many tax-related benefits previously available only to opposite-sex couples."

DOMA's operation in practice, Kennedy continued, was to treat same-sex marriages as second-class marriages for purposes of federal law "by imposing a system-wide enactment with no identified connection to any particular area of federal law." DOMA's principal purpose was to impose inequality, not for other reasons such as governmental efficiency, Kennedy held. Therefore, the majority found DOMA invalid for lack of a legitimate government purpose that could overcome the burden on those within the class whose personhood and dignity New York had sought to protect through its marriage laws.

COMMENT: *The majority opinion listed numerous ways in which DOMA infringed upon the dignity of same-sex couples. Among these is financial harm caused by DOMA to children of same-sex couples by raising the cost of health care for families by taxing health benefits provided by employers to their workers' same-sex spouses. Another example, Kennedy wrote, is that DOMA denies or reduces benefits allowed to families upon the loss of a spouse and parent, benefits that are an integral part of family security.*

COMMENT: *Justice Kennedy qualified the majority's ruling at the end of the decision, stating that its applicability was "confined to those lawful marriages," meaning those recognized by the states that currently allow same-sex marriages. Kennedy observed that Section 2 of DOMA, which allows States to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages performed under the laws of other States, had not been challenged in Windsor and continues to be the law. On June 26, House Democrats introduced legislation to repeal Section 2 of DOMA.*

California's Proposition 8. On the same day the Supreme Court announced its decision in *Windsor*, the Justices ruled, 5-4 (but with a different mix of Justices for and against), to send *Hollingsworth* back to the California courts rather than to directly decide on the constitutionality of California's ban on same-sex marriage. There, the Supreme Court held that the petitioners did not have the standing to challenge the lower court's decision throwing out Proposition 8, which denied same-sex couples the right to marry in California. This decision paves the way for same-sex marriage to begin again in California sometime in late July.

FEDERAL TAX CONSEQUENCES

Under federal income tax rules, same-sex married couples can now presumably enjoy benefits that had been unavailable to them because of DOMA. On the other hand, certain strategic advantages previously enjoyed by same-sex married couples who filed as single individuals under the federal tax laws, have now likewise ended.

COMMENT. *Aside from the fact that it was a federal tax refund claim in Windsor that triggered the litigation that found itself before the U.S. Supreme Court, the opinion focused on Constitutional rights and privileges, without any technical*

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discussion of the tax law itself. The Court judged DOMA for its impact on "over 1,000 federal statutes and the whole realm of federal regulations." Very little was said specifically about federal tax law beyond that. Nevertheless, the federal tax law is clearly among those "federal statutes and regulations" impacted most directly by the Supreme Court's holding.

IMPACT. *Same-sex couples who were married under state law for years prior to 2013 now need to decide whether to amend those prior-year returns still open under the Code's statute of limitations, to reflect a change from unmarried to married filing status. Same-sex married couples also should consider updating their estate plans, based upon the estate and gift tax impact of Windsor.*

INCOME TAX BENEFITS AND DISADVANTAGES

Because of the Supreme Court's decision, the same tax benefits and disadvantages faced by just-married, opposite-sex couples—in changing from filing as separate, unmarried individuals to filing as married filing jointly (or married filing separately)—are now shared by same-sex married couples. Likewise, however, those same-sex couples not married under state law continue to be subject to the same disadvantages and benefits, and face many of the same strategic decisions, as unmarried heterosexual couples under the federal tax law.

CAUTION. *As mentioned, above, resolution is pending on the issue of whether recognition or non-recognition of a same-sex marriage in the State in which the same-sex couple currently reside controls whether the IRS will treat the couple as married for federal tax purposes. Most federal agencies have defined marriage in the past based on a couple's residency and not where they were married.*

FILING STATUS

A taxpayer's filing status depends in large part—if not exclusively in most cases—on the taxpayer's marital status. Taxpayers may be single, surviving spouse, head of household, married filing joint returns, or married filing separately. Filing status, in turn, determines the right to many tax benefits, both in terms of access and amount. Income tax rate bracket levels, the standard deduction, personal exemptions, and the adjusted gross income (AGI) amounts at which many tax benefits "phaseout" all hinge upon filing status.

Joint Return Status. Because of the Supreme Court's *Windsor* decision, same-sex couples who currently are married under state law are presumably now also barred for federal tax purposes from filing separate returns as unmarried (or as head of household, in most cases); they must file either jointly or married filing separately for 2013 (unless they are divorced or have a final separation agreement in place by the end of 2013). The general rule that has always applied to filing status now presumably applies to same-sex married status as well: an individual's filing status is determined for the entire year based upon marital status on December 31st of that year. The IRS is expected to issue guidance in this area.

IMPACT. *Leading up to the Supreme Court's decision, many same-sex couples filed protective income tax refund claims using married filing jointly status. A protective refund claim is a claim filed to protect the taxpayer's right to a potential refund based on a contingent event for a taxable period for which the period of limitations is about to expire. Now that the Supreme Court's decision is out, full refund claims, rather than protective claims, should be filed going forward.*

COMMENT. *Under current rules, a taxpayer can sign a joint return if his or her spouse is serving in a combat zone. In other limited cases where one spouse cannot sign the joint return, such as because of injury or illness, the other spouse may sign the return and attach a statement explaining why the spouse was unable to sign. Same-sex couples who are married under state law are now presumably allowed these signing benefits.*

COMMENT. *Because same-sex marriage is relatively new, the tax implications of divorce of a same-sex couple are only starting to manifest themselves.*

The Marriage Penalty. Same-sex married couples who have been denied joint return status under the federal tax laws prior to the Supreme Court's *Windsor* decision now need to investigate the effect of joint return status, both for returns that will be filed in the future and for prior year returns still open within the statute of limitations refund-claim period (generally, but not always, three years from filing – *see this Briefing, below, for a discussion of this deadline).*

The benefits of filing a joint return may not always be greater than filing separately as unmarried individuals. Both differences in tax rate bracket amounts and a variety of income floors and thresholds used to determine the right to certain tax breaks come into play in determining whether some same-sex couples were better off, income tax-wise, before the Supreme Court's decision; and what they should do now.

IMPACT. *Individuals in a relationship who are not married and who each realize approximately the same level of*

NO NATIONWIDE EXTENSION OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

The Supreme Court struck down Section 3 of DOMA, which defined marriage as a legal union between one man and one woman as husband and wife and defined spouse as only a person of the opposite sex who is a husband or wife. The Supreme Court did not strike down Section 2 of DOMA, which provides that no state, territory or possession of the United States shall be required to give effect to any marriage between persons of the same sex under the laws of any other such jurisdiction or to any right or claim arising from such relationship. Section 2 was not challenged and, therefore, was not at issue in *Windsor.*

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income and have similar tax deductions (at least in amount) have generally been better off from a tax standpoint filing as unmarried individuals. However, that assessment tilts in favor of marriage and filing a joint return if one partner earns or deducts the greater portion of any otherwise combined amounts.

COMMENT. *Although much press was given to "marriage penalty relief" when the Bush-era tax cuts were permanently extended by the American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012 (ATRA), such relief in fact only related to equality within the standard deduction amount and the top portion of the 15 percent income tax bracket. Other "marriage penalties" continue to exist within the tax law depending upon circumstances. For example, the 33 percent tax bracket for joint filers in 2013 starts at $223,050 taxable income, while the 33 percent bracket for single taxpayers starts at $183,250. If there were no marriage penalty imposed on higher-income individuals earning similar amounts, the 33 percent bracket for joint filers would not start until reaching the $366,500 level, or double that set under the Internal Revenue Code for single filers.*

Married Filing Separately. If same-sex married couples post-*Windsor* want to keep their finances (and liabilities) separate for the purpose of filing separate returns, they will generally—but not always—pay more federal income tax. The rate brackets for "married filing separately" are higher than "unmarried, not surviving spouse or head of household."

Innocent Spouse Status. Married taxpayers who file joint returns are jointly and severally responsible for the tax and any interest or penalty due on the joint return. In some cases, a spouse will be relieved of this shared liability for tax owed on a joint tax return. Three types of relief are available: general innocent spouse relief; separate liability relief; and equitable relief.

IMPACT. *Because of the Supreme Court's decision, the three types of innocent spouse relief are now presumably available to same-sex married couples. Same-sex married partners cannot turn a blind eye to any item that is listed on a joint return. A decision to file joint returns retroactively for prior tax years as the result of the Supreme Court's decision, therefore, should include consideration of the joint and several liability that would be triggered. Separate return status would eliminate the issue of joint liability entirely. The IRS is expected to issue guidance in this area.*

Surviving Spouse Claims. A surviving spouse computes tax using the same rate brackets as married couples filing joint returns. Rules for surviving spouse status for same-sex married couples now presumably follow the same rules as for opposite-sex couples. If a taxpayer is a surviving spouse, the year the spouse died is the last year for which the taxpayer can file a joint return with that spouse. A taxpayer can also qualify as surviving spouse for two tax years following the year in which his or her spouse dies if the taxpayer maintains a household for certain dependents (a child, adopted child, foster child, or stepchild), has not remarried, and filed or could have filed a joint return with the spouse for the year in which his or her spouse died.

FILING STATUS, AGI FLOORS AND THRESHOLD AMOUNTS

The amounts of income and deductions reported on a return are used by the IRS in determining whether certain threshold levels and floors are reached. Those amounts in turn determine access to a variety of tax benefits. Some of these floors or threshold amounts are applied to all filing statuses uniformly; others vary depending upon filing status.

IMPACT. *Depending upon adjusted gross income (AGI) and other levels reported on a return, combining the income and deductions of each same-sex partner under a single joint return may or may not work to the advantage of the couple as a unit, in contrast to filing as unmarried or married filing separately.*

Floors. Tax benefits dependent upon floor levels of adjusted gross income (AGI) or modified AGI (MAGI) set forth under the Internal Revenue Code include the following itemized deduction categories, among others:

- Medical expense deduction floor (10 percent AGI (temporarily at 7.5 percent for taxpayers over age 65));
- Casualty loss deduction floor (10 percent AGI); and
- Miscellaneous items deduction floor (2 percent AGI).

COMMENT. *In the case of married individuals who file separate returns, if one spouse itemizes deductions on his or her return, the other spouse must also do so irrespective of whether his or her standard deduction would be larger. This rule does not apply to unmarried couples who file separate returns.*

Ceilings. Use of excess capital losses to offset ordinary income is generally limited to $3,000 per return, whether on a joint return or an unmarried single return. Taxpayers who are married filing separately, however, are allowed only a $1,500 maximum capital loss deduction; the balance in all cases may be carried forward into the next tax year.

Thresholds. For some taxpayers, AGI above designated thresholds reduces certain tax benefits. A reduction in itemized deductions and a reduction in personal exemptions are the most common among higher-income individuals. For example:

- ***Itemized deductions*** otherwise allowed must be reduced by the lesser of (1) three percent of AGI that exceeded a threshold amount *(see chart, below)* adjusted annually for inflation, or (2) 80 percent of the total amount of otherwise allowable itemized deductions. No reduction is required in the case of deductions for medical expenses, investment interest, and casualty, theft or wagering losses.
- ***Personal exemptions,*** likewise, are required to be reduced where AGI exceeds a specified threshold amount: by two percent for each $2,500 (or fraction thereof) by which AGI

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exceeds the applicable threshold amount *(see chart, below)* for the year ($1,250 for married persons filing separately).

Net Capital Gains/ Net Investment Income. AGI thresholds are also used in taxing investment-type income:

- ***Net Capital Gains*** are taxed at the 20 percent maximum rate at levels beyond which income would otherwise be pushed into the 39.6 percent bracket (for 2013, that applicable threshold amount is $450,000 AGI for married individuals filing joint returns and surviving spouses, $425,000 for heads of households, $400,000 for single individuals, and $225,000 for married individuals filing separate returns. (The "regular" 15 percent capital gains rate is likewise reduced to zero percent for taxpayers in the 10 percent bracket—a benefit that can be used by same-sex couples where one partner has very little income).
- ***Net Investment Income,*** as defined under new Code Section 1411, is taxed starting in 2013 at 3.8 percent, keyed to a modified AGI threshold based on filing status ($250,000 for joint filers; $125,000 for married, filing separately; and $200,000 for all others).

Deduction/Credit Thresholds. Thresholds are also commonly used to restrict deductions, credits and other benefits based upon adjusted gross income and filing status:

2013 AGI (MAGI) PHASEOUT THRESHOLD START POINTS

	Joint Return	Single	Married Filing Separately
Itemized Deductions:	$300,000	$250,000	$150,000
Personal Exemptions:	$300,000	$250,000	$150,000
Maximum Net Capital Gains:	$450,000	$400,000	$225,000
Net Investment Income Surtax:	$250,000	$200,000	$125,000
Additional Medicare Tax:	$250,000	$200,000	$125,000
Child Tax Credit:	$110,000	$75,000	$55,000
American Opportunity Credit:	$160,000	$80,000	$0
Lifetime Learning Credit:	$107,000	$53,000	$0
IRA Deduction (plan participants):	$95,000	$59,000	*
Roth IRA Eligibility:	$178,000	$112,000	**

*Deduction determined under single status if not living with spouse at anytime during tax year; otherwise partial deduction if MAGI is less than $10,000 and no deduction if MAGI is $10,000 or more

**$10,000 if lived with spouse at anytime during tax year; $112,000 if did not live with spouse at anytime during tax year

IMPACT. *In dealing with threshold amounts, a benefits/drawbacks analysis generally depends upon the extent to which that portion of any tax benefit below a threshold amount would otherwise go unused by one of the partners if filing separately. With certain deductions, credits or contribution levels, however, electing "married filing separately" status may relegate each spouse to $0 benefit depending upon circumstances.*

OTHER SAME-SEX COUPLE INCOME TAX ISSUES

Being married for federal tax purposes—exclusive of the right to any particular filing status—can also give rise to additional tax benefits and restrictions. The following situations may be particularly relevant in the case of married same-sex couples after the Supreme Court's *Windsor* decision:

Dependency Exemptions. In 2012, the IRS explained on its website that if a child is a qualifying child under Code Sec. 152(c) and both parents are same-sex partners, either parent, but not both, may claim a dependency deduction for the qualifying child if separate returns are filed. If both parents can otherwise claim a dependency deduction for the child on their income tax returns, the IRS will treat the child as the qualifying child of the parent with whom the child resides for the longer period of time. If the child resides with each parent for the same amount of time during the tax year, the IRS will treat the child as the qualifying child of the parent with the higher adjusted gross income.

> "Same-sex couples may find that the benefits of filing a joint return may not always be greater than filing separately..."

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COMMENT. *The Supreme Court decision will presumably trigger tie-breaker rules and divorce settlement agreements previously available only to opposite-sex married couples.*

Education Benefits. Access to a number of education tax credits by same-sex couples has been limited, both because of a student's status as a member or non-member of the taxpayer's family and because lower phase-out levels that apply to unmarried filers.

- ***AOTC and Lifetime Learning Credit:*** A taxpayer can claim the American Opportunity Tax Credit (AOTC) or the Lifetime Learning Credit for qualified expenses paid by the taxpayer for the education of the taxpayer, the taxpayer's spouse, or the taxpayer's claimed dependent for the tax year for which the credit is claimed. Because of DOMA, a taxpayer could not claim the AOTC or Lifetime Learning Credit for qualified expenses paid by his or her same-sex spouse.
- ***Coverdell Education Savings Accounts.*** A Coverdell Education Savings Account (ESA) is a savings vehicle similar to an individual retirement account (IRA). If a Coverdell ESA is transferred to a surviving spouse as the result of the beneficiary's death, the Coverdell ESA retains its status and the spouse may treat the account as his or her own and need not withdraw the assets as a result of the transfer. Because of DOMA, this treatment had been unavailable to the surviving spouse of a same-sex married couple.
- ***IRA Withdrawals For Education.*** Taxpayers who own IRAs (traditional, Roth, SEP IRAs and SIMPLE IRAs) can make penalty-free withdrawals to pay higher education expenses to the extent the distribution does not exceed the qualified higher education expenses of the taxpayer, the taxpayer's spouse, or the child or grandchild of the taxpayer or the taxpayer's spouse. Once again, because of DOMA, this treatment had been unavailable to the surviving spouse of a same-sex married couple.

Post-Death IRA Payments. When a surviving spouse is the beneficiary of an individual retirement account (IRA) he or she has certain options not granted to other beneficiaries, including the ability to rollover the decedent's IRA, tax free, to another retirement plan. And, if the surviving spouse is the sole beneficiary, he or she can elect to treat the IRA as if it were his or her own. These options may allow the survivor to delay the start of required minimum distributions (RMDs) from the account and to stretch out the payment of RMDs over a longer period of time. DOMA had foreclosed these more favorable spousal benefits for same-sex married spouses. The Supreme Court's decision in *Windsor* presumably opens up these distribution benefits to same-sex spouses.

> "In the case of family attribution rules, it is unclear whether application of marital status for same-sex spouses relates back to transactions already completed."

Family Stock Attribution Rules. Code Sec. 267 contains attribution rules designed to prevent related taxpayers (including "spouses" under Sec. 267(c)(4)) from recognizing losses and other tax benefits otherwise allowed in a variety of transactions. For example, an individual is treated under Code Sec. 318(a)(1) as constructively owning stock owned directly or indirectly by his or her spouse (unless legally separated), children, grandchildren, or parents. Stock attribution rules under Code Sec. 318 apply when determining whether a redemption of stock is treated as a sale or exchange or as a dividend. Likewise, prohibited transactions involving pension plans under Code Sec. 4975 are defined, in part, upon dealing with certain persons, including spouses of those persons.

IMPACT. *The Supreme Court's grant of federal marital status to same-sex married persons is apparently not only prospective starting June 26, 2013, the date of the Windsor decision, but also presumably applies retroactively to all open years. Nevertheless, in the case of attribution rules, application of marital status for same-sex spouses may not necessarily relate back to transactions already completed. The need under the tax laws to have finality for transactions as they occur appears to be the overriding argument in favor of not giving retroactive effect to family attribution. Eventual IRS guidance on this issue is anticipated.*

Resident And Non-Resident Aliens. Presumably, the Supreme Court's decision applies to same-sex resident or nonresident aliens to the extent they are considered married under the law of a foreign jurisdiction. Further clarification of the application of the Supreme Court's *Windsor* decision to these taxpayers may be needed.

ESTATE AND GIFT TAXATION

The *Windsor* case, as discussed above in this Briefing, involved the estate tax marital deduction. The marital deduction is a key planning tool to defer transfer taxes until the surviving spouse dies. Because of DOMA, same-sex married couples could not take advantage of the estate tax marital deduction and other provisions, such as portability. DOMA also precluded same-sex married couples from the benefits of special rules for gifts between spouses and from spouses.

Marital Deduction. Code Sec. 2056 provides an unlimited deduction from the gross estate for property passing from a decedent to a surviving spouse. Generally, the decedent must be survived by his or her spouse who is a U.S. citizen at the time of the decedent's death, the property interest must have passed from the decedent to the spouse, and the property interest must be a deductible interest. Additionally, the property's value must be ascertainable.

IMPACT. *The relatively high $5.25 million estate tax exclusion for 2013 for all estates makes addition of a marital*

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deduction unnecessary in the majority of cases. However, as Windsor showed, it is a valuable tax benefit for larger estates. Many same-sex married couples may find it valuable to revisit their estate plans to make certain that interests passing to the other spouse qualify for the marital deduction and other tax benefits.

Portability. The American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012 extended permanently the concept of portability, which generally allows the estate of a surviving spouse to utilize the unused portion of the estate tax applicable exclusion amount of his or her last predeceased spouse. Because of DOMA, only opposite-sex married couples could take advantage of portability.

IMPACT. *The Supreme Court's decision presumably enables same-sex married couples to take advantage of portability as part of their estate planning. The IRS is expected to issue guidance.*

Gifts. Because of DOMA, only opposite-sex married couples were allowed to "split" gifts to take advantage of a doubled annual gift tax exclusion ($14,000 for 2013, for a total tax-free gift of $28,000). DOMA presented even more of a disadvantage for same-sex married couples in that only transfers between spouses, where both individuals are U.S. citizens, are allowed an unlimited gift tax exclusion under Code Sec. 2523.

IMPACT. *Same-sex married couples can now presumably transfer assets between themselves with no concern of lifetime gift tax consequences. This creates considerably greater flexibility for estate planning. The IRS is expected to issue guidance.*

COMMENT. *Gifts to cover medical and education expenses for an individual, if paid directly to the medical or education provider, are gift tax free without limit and are not counted against the annual $14,000 exclusion for any individual.*

COMMENT. *Where one spouse is not a U.S. citizen, the annual exclusion from gift taxes for gifts made to the noncitizen spouse is $143,000 for 2013.*

EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

Perhaps in no area outside of income taxes is the impact of the Supreme Court's decision more expansive than on employee benefits. Because of DOMA, employers that allow an employee to add his or her same-sex spouse to their health plan had to impute income to the employee for federal income tax purposes equal to the fair market value of health coverage provided to the same-sex spouse. If the same-sex spouse qualified as a dependent, this rule did not apply. DOMA also precluded same-sex married couples from sharing the same benefits of health flexible spending accounts, health savings accounts and health reimbursement arrangements available to opposite-sex married couples.

IMPACT. *Employers in states that allow same-sex marriage will presumably need to amend plans to cover same-sex married spouses. The IRS is expected to provide guidance on the timing of plan amendments, including the issue of whether benefits need to be made retroactive or only prospective from the date of the Windsor decision.*

Domestic Partners. Many employee benefit plans in the private and public sectors refer to domestic partners rather than same-sex spouses. The definition of domestic partner varies. In some cases, it may encompass opposite-sex domestic partners as well as same-sex domestic partners.

COMMENT. *The federal government's Office of Personnel Management defines domestic partner for purposes of federal employee benefits as a committed relationship between two adults, of the same sex.*

Tax Treatment. Domestic partners who are not married under state law are not treated as spouses for federal income tax purposes. As a result, an employee must continue to pay taxes on the fair market value of the coverage for the employee's domestic partner (whether the domestic partner is a same-sex partner or an opposite-sex partner). However, domestic partner benefits are tax-free if the employee's partner qualifies as a dependent under Code Sec. 152; that is, if benefits are paid for a person who meets the following requirements:

- Receives more than half of his or her support from the taxpayer for the year.
- Uses the taxpayer's home as the principal abode and is a member of the taxpayer's household during the entire tax year.
- Is in a relationship with the taxpayer that is not a violation of local law.

IMPACT. *The Supreme Court's decision may open the window to refunds of taxes paid by employees on income imputed to employees for same-sex married spouse and refunds of payroll taxes paid by employers on that income. FICA tax refund claims by employers and employees for prior, open years may also be possible.*

COMMENT. *Some employers have attempted to equalize the treatment between opposite-sex couples and same-sex couples by providing so-called gross-ups to cover the additional taxes that same-sex couples pay on health benefits. Many employers require an employee to certify that a domestic partner qualifies as a dependent under Code Sec. 152.*

Cafeteria Plans. Employer contributions to a cafeteria plan are usually made under a salary reduction agreement between the employer and the employee in which the employee agrees to contribute a portion of his or her salary on a pre-tax basis to pay for the qualified benefits. Salary reduction contributions are not actually or constructively received by the participant. Therefore, those contributions are not considered wages for federal income tax purposes. In addition, those sums generally are not subject to FICA and FUTA taxes. However, pre-tax dollars could not be used to pay for coverage of a same-sex spouse because of DOMA. This now should change as a result of the Court's decision.

Health Flexible Spending Accounts. A health flexible spending arrangement (FSA)

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is a form of cafeteria plan benefit, funded by a voluntary salary reduction arrangement with pretax dollars. The benefits are subject to an annual maximum and an annual "use-or-lose" rule. Qualified medical expenses are those incurred by, among other individuals, the employee and his or her opposite-sex spouse. Because of DOMA, only opposite-sex married couples could use health FSA dollars for a spouse's qualified medical expenses.

IMPACT. *The Supreme Court's decision to strike down DOMA presumably opens the door to same-sex married couples being able to use FSA dollars for qualified medical expenses of both spouses. The IRS is expected to issue guidance.*

COMMENT. *A cafeteria plan may not allow an employee to request salary reduction contributions for a health FSA in excess of $2,500 for plan years beginning after December 31, 2012.*

Health Savings Accounts. A health savings account (HSA) is a vehicle that eligible taxpayers can use to pay for or reimburse qualified medical expenses. Contributions to an HSA are tax-deductible (employer contributions are excluded from gross income) and distributions are tax-free if used to pay for qualified medical expenses. To be an eligible taxpayer, the individual, among other requirements, must be covered by a high-deductible health plan (HDHP), not enrolled in Medicare, not claimed as a dependent on another taxpayer's return. Qualified medical expenses are those incurred by, among others, the taxpayer and his or her spouse. Because of DOMA, only opposite-sex married couples could HSA dollars for a spouse's qualified medical expenses.

IMPACT. *With DOMA being struck down by the Supreme Court, same-sex married couples will presumably be able to use HSA dollars for qualified medical expenses of both spouses.*

COBRA/FMLA. Federal law requires that certain employers offer continuation of health care coverage to employees, their spouses, and families ("COBRA coverage'). Current federal laws related to COBRA coverage do not apply to same-sex married couples. The DOMA definition of spouse precludes the extension of Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) leave benefits to opposite-sex partners. After the Supreme Court's decision in *Windsor*, these rights presumably would now be available to same-sex spouses.

> "The IRS is expected to provide guidance on the timing of employee benefit plan amendments, including the issue of whether benefits need to be made retroactive or only prospective."

Retirement Plans. The Internal Revenue Code provides extensive protections for the spouse of an employee to share in the employee's retirement benefits payable through Code Sec. 401(k) plans and other qualified plans. These protections would presumably now apply to the same-sex spouse of an employee.

AFFORDABLE CARE ACT

The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, signed into law by President Obama in 2010, set in motion a host of changes to the delivery of health care and health insurance coverage. Some of the changes already in place affect health savings accounts (discussed above in this Briefing). Other changes are scheduled to take effect after 2013.

Individual Mandate And Penalty. Beginning in 2014, the Affordable Care Act imposes a penalty on individuals who do not carry minimum essential health coverage for one or more months, subject to certain exceptions. Married taxpayers who file a joint return are jointly liable for any penalty that may be imposed upon either spouse. The penalty does not apply in certain cases, such as in the case of individuals whose household incomes are below their filing thresholds. Now that DOMA has been struck down, same-sex married couples presumably will be treated in the same manner as opposite-sex married couples for purposes of the individual mandate and its penalty.

COMMENT. *The Affordable Care Act prohibits the IRS from using liens or levies to collect any unpaid penalty. The IRS cannot levy on the property of one spouse to satisfy an unpaid penalty of the other spouse.*

Premium Assistance Tax Credit. Beginning in 2014, the Code Sec. 36B premium assistance tax credit is scheduled to be available to those qualified individuals and families who are not offered minimum essential coverage and as a result obtain coverage through a health benefit exchange. The Affordable Care Act provides for advance payment of the credit. Taxpayers who are married at the end of the tax year must file a joint return to claim the credit. Because DOMA has been struck down, same-sex married couples will presumably need to file a joint return to claim the credit.

Code Sec. 45R Credit. For tax years 2010 through 2013, eligible employers may claim a credit of 35 percent of health insurance premiums paid (25 percent for small tax-exempt employers). In tax years beginning after 2013, an employer must participate in an insurance exchange in order to claim the credit. The credit is scheduled to increase to 50 percent for small business employers (35 percent for small tax-exempt employers) after 2013 (but will terminate after 2015). Certain family members are not treated as employees for purposes of the credit. Under DOMA, these restrictions did not apply to same-sex married couples because their marriages were not recognized for federal purposes. With DOMA's demise, a same-sex spouse who satisfies any of these criteria would presumably not be treated as an employee for purposes of the credit.

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SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Because of DOMA, same-sex married couples did not have the same benefits under Social Security that opposite-sex married couples have enjoyed for many years. Unlike opposite-sex couples, for example, there are no survivor benefits for the surviving spouse of a same-sex married couple. Also, the divorced spouse of a formerly married same-sex couple cannot not claim benefits based on the earnings of his or her ex-spouse.

IMPACT. *The Social Security Administration (SSA) has based federal rights to benefits on whether marital rights exist in the couple's current state of residence rather than the state in which they were married. The impact of Windsor on the manner in which federal agencies will treat Social Security benefits remains to be sorted out.*

Survivor Benefits. When an individual dies, his or her surviving spouse may be eligible for Social Security benefits if the surviving spouse is age 60 or older, age 50 or older and disabled, or any age if he or she is caring for the decedent's child who is younger than age 16 or disabled and entitled to Social Security benefits on the record of the deceased individual. With DOMA having been struck down, survivor benefits previously available only to opposite-sex married couples are now presumably available to same-sex married couples. The SSA is expected to provide guidance.

Divorced Spouses. If an individual is divorced, his or her ex-spouse may qualify for Social Security benefits based on that individual's earnings. Generally, a divorced spouse must have been married to the individual for at least 10 years and have been divorced at least two years. Additionally, the divorced spouse must be at least age 62, unmarried and ineligible for an equal or greater benefit based on his or her own earnings or the earnings of someone else. These benefits are now presumably available to divorced individuals who were previously in a same-sex marriage. The SSA is expected to provide guidance.

Death Benefits. The SSA pays a one-time death benefit of $255 to the decedent's surviving spouse in an opposite-sex marriage or minor child. The SSA will presumably now pay the one-time death benefit to the surviving spouse in a same-sex marriage.

EFFECTIVE-DATE ISSUES

Determination of the effective date for applying the Supreme Court's holding to federal tax law is not straightforward in all cases and will necessitate further guidance from the IRS. Same-sex married couples who were not considered married under federal law prior to the Supreme Court decision are presumably not just considered married starting on the date of the Supreme Court's decision, June 26, 2013 but are considered married retroactively to the date of their marriage pursuant to state law. This retroactive effective date raises a number of immediate federal tax issues:

- Should same-sex couples now file amended returns claiming joint return status?
- Are same-sex couples now required to amend past-year returns for joint status even if they did better tax-wise overall by filing separately as unmarried individuals?
- Will the IRS consider the Supreme Court's decision in determining marital status when auditing prior-year returns?

Amended Joint Returns/Claims For Refund. Amended returns are filed to correct errors made on previous returns. Although the Internal Revenue Code does not specifically permit amended returns, the IRS usually accepts them. But while the IRS's discretion to accept or reject amended returns has been recognized, courts have required the IRS to accept amended returns where its rejection of them has been found to be arbitrary and unjust.

Limitations Period. The statute of limitations for amending or auditing a return is generally three years from the filing date or two years from the date taxes are paid, whichever is later. This rule may generally apply for same-sex married couples as follows:

STATES THAT RECOGNIZE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

Connecticut
Delaware(1)
Iowa
Maine
Maryland
Massachusetts
Minnesota(2)
New Hampshire
New York
Rhode Island(2)
Vermont
Washington
District of Columbia

As of June 27, 2013
(1) *Effective July 1, 2013*
(2) *Effective August 1, 2013*
Note: *California granted marriage licenses to same-sex couples from June 16, 2008 to November 5, 2008.*
Note: *The Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians in Michigan, the Coquille Native American Nation in Oregon and the Suquamish Native American Nation in Washington recognize same-sex marriage.*
Note: *37 States have laws expressly restricting marriage to opposite-sex couples.*

STATES THAT RECOGNIZE SAME-SEX UNIONS/DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIPS

California
Colorado
Hawaii
Illinois
Nevada
New Jersey
Oregon
Wisconsin

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- Joint returns may be filed, usually as an amended return with a refund claim, until the three-year limitations period (or the two-year payment period, if later) expires. For individuals who filed 2009 tax returns on or before April 15, 2010, the limitations period for that year is closed. For those who filed their 2009 returns on an automatic six-month extension on October 15, 2010, however, the limitations period for the 2009 tax year remains open until October 15, 2013. To claim joint return status on an amended 2009 tax return under the three-year rule, both married partners' original tax returns must have been filed within that extended period.
- Taxpayers who filed protective refund claims prior to the Supreme Court's decision should be on the alert to any forthcoming IRS guidelines that may facilitate the agency's processing of those claims.
- Taxpayers who had a lower combined overall tax liability filing as unmarried single individuals during an open year appear to be under no obligation now to file an amended return to file jointly (or as married filing separately if at least one partner does not consent to a joint return).

IRS Audit Policy. Technically, the IRS, on audit of an open year for which any previously-filed return by a married, same-sex partner used unmarried, single-filer status, may be able to require that tax be recomputed based on either a joint return, or married filing separately status return. However, since audits are under IRS's discretionary powers, the consensus among at least some practitioners, is that IRS National Office may –and more likely will— direct agents to by-pass any filing-status issues unless the taxpayer requests a change.

2013 Tax Year. For 2013 returns that will be filed in 2014, the Supreme Court's *Windsor* decision presumably relates back to the entire 2013 tax year in determining filing status.

COMMENT. *Married partners do not have the option to file short-year returns as unmarried for the January 1 – June 26, 2013 period; they must file jointly or married filing separately for the entire 2013 tax year.*

2012 Tax Year. Taxpayers who are on extension until October 15, 2013 for filing their 2012 tax year returns appear to be required to file those returns either jointly or married filing separately. Taxpayers who filed their 2012 tax year returns before June 26, 2013, as separate, unmarried individuals, however, may not need to change their filing status to married filing joint if it would be less favorable to their overall tax liability. The IRS may issue guidance on this issue.

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Tuesday, October 1, 2013

VIA E-MAIL ONLY: summary@mediationinc.com

Alvin Capp, Esquire
Mediation, Inc.
Regions Financial Tower
1555 Palm Beach Lakes Boulevard, Suite 600
West Palm Beach, FL 33401

Re: Edwards, Bradley adv. Epstein
Our File No.: 291874

Dear Mr. Capp:

Despite the total absence of competent evidence to demonstrate that Bradley Edwards participated in any fraud against Jeffrey Epstein, and in the face of uncontrovertible evidence demonstrating the propriety of every aspect of Edwards' involvement in the prosecution of legitimate claims against Epstein, Epstein sued Bradley Edwards. Epstein sexually abused three clients of Edwards – L.M., E.W., and Jane Doe – and Edwards properly and successfully represented them in a civil action against Epstein. Nothing in Edwards's capable and competent representation of his clients provided any basis for a civil lawsuit against him, but the facts did not deter Epstein from engaging in what was a blatant effort to extort Bradley Edwards, utilizing the nearly limitless resources of a vengeful opponent. The extortion failed but the vengeful assault by Epstein continues.

Epstein's action against Edwards essentially alleged that Epstein was damaged by Edwards, acting in concert with Scott Rothstein (President of the Rothstein Rosenfeldt Adler law firm ("RRA") where Edwards worked for a short period of time). Epstein alleged that Edwards joined Rothstein in the abusive prosecution of sexual assault cases against Epstein to "pump" the cases to Ponzi scheme investors. As described by Epstein, investor victims were told by Rothstein that three minor girls who were sexually assaulted by Epstein: L.M., E.W., and Jane Doe were to be paid up-front money to prevent those girls from settling their civil cases against Epstein. In Epstein's view, these child sexual assault cases had "minimal value" (Complaint &

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42(h)), and Edwards's refusal to force his clients to accept modest settlement offers was claimed to breach some duty that Edwards owed to Epstein. Interestingly, Epstein never states that he actually made any settlement offers. Even more interestingly, Epstein was never able to explain how a scheme to defraud third party investors ever caused any legally cognizable damage to Epstein himself.

The supposed "proof" of the Complaint's allegations against Edwards included Edwards's alleged contacts with the media, his attempts to obtain discovery from high-profile persons with whom Epstein socialized, and use of "ridiculously inflammatory" language in arguments in court. Remarkably, Epstein filed such allegations against Edwards despite the fact that Epstein had sexually abused each of Edwards's clients and others while they were minors. Indeed, in discovery Epstein has asserted his Fifth Amendment privilege rather than answer questions about the extent of the sexual abuse of his many victims. Even more remarkably, after filing his suit against Edwards, Epstein settled the three cases Edwards handled for an amount that Epstein insisted be kept confidential. Without violating the strict confidentiality terms required by Epstein, the cases did not settle for the "minimal value" that Epstein suggested in his Complaint.

Because Epstein elected to hide behind the shield of his right against self incrimination to preclude his disclosing any relevant information about the criminal activity at the center of his claims, he was barred from prosecuting his case against Edwards. Under the well-established "sword and shield" doctrine, Epstein could not seek damages from Edwards while at the same time asserting a Fifth Amendment privilege to block relevant discovery. Here, Epstein tried to do precisely what the "well settled" law forbids. Specifically, he tried to obtain "affirmative relief" – i.e., forcing Edwards to pay money damages – while simultaneously precluding Edwards from obtaining legitimate discovery at the heart of the allegations that form the basis for the relief Epstein was seeking. As recounted more fully in the statement of undisputed facts filed in support of Edwards' Motion for Summary Judgment, Epstein has refused to answer such basic questions about his lawsuit as:

- "Specifically what are the allegations against you which you contend Mr. Edwards ginned up?"
- "Well, which of Mr. Edwards' cases do you contend were fabricated?"
- "Is there anything in L.M.'s Complaint that was filed against you in September of 2008 which you contend to be false?"
- "I would like to know whether you ever had any physical contact with the person referred to as Jane Doe in that [federal] complaint?"

- "Did you ever have any physical contact with E.W.?"
- "What is the actual value that you contend the claim of E.W. against you has?"

The matters addressed in these questions were the central focus of Epstein's claims against Edwards. Epstein's refusal to answer these and literally every other substantive question put to him in discovery deprived Edwards of even a basic understanding of the evidence alleged to support claims against him and substantiated Edwards' position that no such evidence ever existed. Epstein's case was doomed to fail on the basis of the "sword and shield" doctrine alone. But other grounds were equally and independently fatal to Epstein's attempt to use the legal system to scare Edwards into submission.

All of Edwards' conduct in the prosecution of valid claims against Epstein was protected by the absolute bar of the litigation privilege.

And most fundamentally, Epstein's claims against Edwards were not only unsupported by but also directly contradicted by all of the record evidence. From the beginning, Edwards diligently represented three victims of sexual assaults perpetrated by Epstein. Each and every one of Edwards's litigation decisions was grounded in proper litigation judgment about the need to pursue effective discovery against Epstein, particularly in the face of Epstein's stonewalling tactics. Edwards's successful representation finally forced Epstein to settle and pay appropriate damages. Effective and proper representation of child victims who have been repeatedly sexually assaulted cannot form the basis of a separate, "satellite" lawsuit, and therefore Edwards was entitled to summary judgment on those grounds as well.

Facing these insurmountable obstacles, on the eve of the scheduled hearing on Edwards' Motion for Summary Judgment, Epstein dismissed all of his claims against Edwards.

Put simply, Epstein made allegations that he knew were baseless, that he never intended to try to support, and that were precluded as a matter of well-established law. His lawsuit was merely a desperate measure by a serial pedophile to prevent being held accountable for repeatedly sexually abusing minor females. Epstein's ulterior motives in filing and prosecuting his lawsuit are blatantly obvious. Epstein's behavior is another clear demonstration that he feels he lives above the law and that because of his wealth he can manipulate the system and pay for lawyers to do his dirty work - even to the extent of having them assert baseless claims against other members of the Florida Bar. Epstein's Complaint against Edwards was nothing short of a far-fetched, fictional fairy-tale with absolutely no evidence whatsoever to support his preposterous

claims. It was his last ditch effort to escape the public disclosure by Edwards and his clients of the nature, extent, and sordid details of Epstein's life as a serial child molester.

The bulk of Epstein's claims against Edwards hinge on the premise that Edwards was involved in a Ponzi scheme run by Scott Rothstein. Broad allegations of wrongdoing on the part of Edwards were scattered willy-nilly throughout the complaint. None of the allegations provided any substance as to how Edwards actually assisted the Ponzi scheme, and allegations that he "knew or should have known" of its existence all failed for one straightforward reason: Edwards was simply not involved in any Ponzi scheme. He provided sworn testimony and an affidavit in support of that assertion, and there was not (and could never be) any contrary evidence.

Edwards was deposed at length in this case. As his deposition makes crystal clear, he had no knowledge of any fraudulent activity in which Scott Rothstein may have been involved. See, e.g., Edwards Depo. at 301-02 (Q: " . . . [W]ere you aware that Scott Rothstein was trying to market Epstein cases . . . ?" A: "No.").

Edwards supplemented his deposition answers with an extremely detailed Affidavit that declared in no uncertain terms his lack of involvement in any fraud perpetrated by Rothstein. In view of this clear evidence rebutting all allegations against him, Epstein was required to "produce counter-evidence establishing a genuine issue of material fact." Epstein could not meet this obligation. Indeed, when asked at his deposition whether he had any evidence of Edwards's involvement, Epstein declined to answer, purportedly on attorney-client privilege grounds:

> Q. I want to know whether you have any knowledge of evidence that Bradley Edwards personally ever participated in devising a plan through which were sold purported confidential assignments of a structured payout settlement? . . .
> A. I'd like to answer that question by saying that the newspapers have reported that his firm was engaged in fraudulent structured settlements in order to fleece unsuspecting Florida investors. With respect to my personal knowledge, I'm unfortunately going to, today, but I look forward to at some point being able to disclose it, today I'm going to have to assert the attorney/client privilege.

Epstein alleged that Edwards somehow improperly enhanced the value of the three civil cases he had filed against Epstein. Edwards represented three young women – L.M., E.W., and Jane Doe – by filing civil suits against Epstein for his sexual abuse of them while they were minors. Epstein purported to find a cause of action for this by alleging that Edwards somehow was involved in "'pumping' these three cases to

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investors." Edwards could not have possibly "pumped" the cases to investors when he never participated in any communication with investors. However, Epstein's "pumping" claims fail for an even more basic reason: Edwards was entitled – indeed ethically obligated as an attorney – to secure the maximum recovery for his clients during the course of his legal representation. As is well known, "[a]s an advocate, a lawyer zealously asserts the client's position under the rules of the adversary system." Fla. Rules of Prof. Conduct, Preamble. Edwards therefore was required to pursue (unless otherwise instructed by his clients) a maximum recovery against Epstein. Edwards, therefore, could never be liable for doing something that his ethical duties as an attorney required. In a further effort to harass Edwards, Epstein also filed a bar complaint with the Florida Bar against Edwards. The Florida Bar dismissed the complaint.

Another reason that Epstein's claims that Edwards was "pumping" cases for investors fails is that Edwards filed all three cases almost a year before he was hired by RRA or even knew of Scott Rothstein. Epstein makes allegations that the complaints contained sensational allegations for the purposes of luring investors; however, language in the complaints remained virtually unchanged from the first filing in 2008 and overwhelming evidence supports the conclusion that all of the facts alleged by Edwards in the complaints were true.

Epstein ultimately paid to settle all three of the cases Edwards filed against him for more money than he paid to settle any of the other claims against him. At Epstein's request, the terms of the settlement were kept confidential. Epstein chose to make this payment as the result of a federal court ordered mediation process, which he himself sought (over the objection of Jane Doe, Edwards' client in federal court) in an effort to resolve the case. Notably, Epstein sought this settlement conference – and ultimately made his payments as a result of that conference - in July 2010, more than seven months after he filed this lawsuit against Edwards. Accordingly, Epstein could not have been the victim of any scheme to "pump" the cases against him, because he never paid to settle the cases until well after Edwards had left RRA, after Edwards had severed all connection with Scott Rothstein (December 2009), and well after the details of Rothstein's Ponzi scheme had been widely publicized.

In addition, if Epstein had thought that there was some improper coercion involved in, for example, Jane Doe's case, his remedy was to raise the matter before Federal District Court Judge Kenneth A. Marra who was presiding over the matter. Far from raising any such claim, Epstein simply chose to settle that case. He was therefore barred by the doctrine of res judicata from somehow re-litigating what happened in (for example) the Jane Doe case. The doctrine of res judicata makes a judgment on the merits conclusive 'not only as to every matter which was offered and received to sustain or defeat the claim, but as to every other matter which might with propriety

have been litigated and determined in that action. Obviously, any question of improper "pumping" of a particular case could have been resolved in that very case rather than re-litigated in satellite litigation.

Epstein also alleged that Edwards improperly pursued discovery from some of Epstein's close friends. Such discovery, Epstein claimed, was improper because Edwards knew that these individuals lacked any discoverable information about the sexual assault cases against Epstein. Each of the friends of Epstein were and are reasonably believed to possess discoverable information. The undisputed facts show the following with regard to each of the persons identified in Epstein's complaint of improper targets of discovery:

- With regard to Donald Trump, Edwards had sound legal basis for believing Mr. Trump had relevant and discoverable information. *See* Statement of Undisputed Facts filed in support of Edwards' Motion for Summary Judgment.

- With regard to Alan Dershowitz (Harvard Law Professor), Edwards had sound legal basis for believing Mr. Dershowitz had relevant and discoverable information. *See* Statement of Undisputed Facts.

- With regard to former President Bill Clinton, Edwards had sound legal basis for believing former President Clinton had relevant and discoverable information. *See* Statement of Undisputed Facts.

- With regard to former Sony Record executive Tommy Mottola, Edwards was not the attorney that noticed Mr. Mottola's deposition. *See* Statement of Undisputed Facts.

- With regard to illusionist David Copperfield, Edwards had sound legal basis for believing Mr. Copperfield had relevant and discoverable information. *See* Statement of Undisputed Facts.

- With regard to former New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, Edwards had sound legal basis for naming Former New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson on his witness list. *See* Statement of Undisputed Facts.

The anticipated trial of this lawsuit will require Edwards to testify about the propriety of his litigation decisions and to explain the bases for his good faith belief that each of the identified individuals had relevant information regarding Epstein's serial molestations. The rules of discovery themselves provide that a deposition need only be "reasonably calculated to *lead to* the discovery of admissible evidence." Fla. R. Civ. P. 1.280(b), and all of the challenged depositions clearly met that standard.

Moreover, the discovery that Edwards pursued has to be considered against the backdrop of Epstein's obstructionist tactics. In both this case and all other cases filed against him, Epstein asserted his Fifth Amendment privilege rather than answer any substantive questions. Epstein also helped secure attorneys for his household staff who assisted in the process of recruiting the minor girls, and those staff members in turn also asserted their Fifth Amendment rights rather than explain what happened behind closed doors in Epstein's mansion in West Palm Beach. It is against this backdrop that Edwards followed up on one of the only remaining lines of inquiry open to him: discovery aimed at those of Epstein's friends reasonably believed to have been in a position to corroborate the fact that Epstein was sexually abusing young girls.

In the context of the sexual assault cases that Edwards had filed against Epstein, any act of sexual abuse had undeniable relevance to the case – even acts of abuse Epstein committed against minor girls other than L.M., E.W., or Jane Doe. Both federal and state evidence rules made acts of child abuse against other girls admissible in the plaintiff's case in chief as proof of "modus operandi" or "motive" or "common scheme or plan." The anxiously anticipated trial of this case will present the first full disclosure of the evidence of the extent of Epstein's criminal conduct in explanation of the reason for and the extent of his malice toward Bradley Edwards.

Epstein's repeated invocations of the Fifth Amendment raise adverse inferences against him that leave no possibility that a reasonable factfinder could have ever reached a verdict in his favor. Instead, a reasonable finder of fact could only find that Epstein was a serial molester of children who was being held accountable through legitimate suits brought by Edwards and others on behalf of the minor girls that Epstein victimized.

"[I]t is well-settled that the Fifth Amendment does not forbid adverse inferences against parties to civil actions when they refuse to testify in response to probative evidence offered against them." *Baxter v. Palmigiano,* 425 U.S. 308, 318 (1976); *accord Vasquez v. State*, 777 So.2d 1200, 1203 (Fla. App. 2001). The reason for this rule "is both logical and utilitarian. A party may not trample upon the rights of others and then escape the consequences by invoking a constitutional privilege – at least not in a civil setting." *Fraser v. Security and Inv. Corp.*, 615 So.2d 841, 842 (Fla. 4th Dist. Ct. App. 1993). And, in the proper circumstances, "'Silence is often evidence of the most persuasive character.'" *Fraser v. Security and Inv. Corp.*, 615 So.2d 841, 842 (Fla. 4th Dist. Ct. App. 1993) (*quoting United States ex rel. Bilokumsky v. Tod,* 263 U.S. 149, 153-154 (1923) (Brandeis, J.).

In the circumstances of this case, a reasonable finder of fact would have "evidence of the most persuasive character" from Epstein's repeated refusal to answer questions propounded to him. To provide but a few examples, here are questions that Epstein

refused to answer and the reasonable inference that a reasonable finder of fact would draw:

- Question not answered: "Specifically what are the allegations against you which you contend Mr. Edwards ginned up?" Reasonable inference: No allegations against Epstein were ginned up.

- Question not answered: "Well, which of Mr. Edwards' cases do you contend were fabricated?" Reasonable inference: No cases filed by Edwards against Epstein were fabricated.

- Question not answered: "Did sexual assaults ever take place on a private airplane on which you were a passenger?" Reasonable inference: Epstein was on a private airplane while sexual assaults were taking place.

- Question not answered: "How many minors have you procured for prostitution?" Reasonable inference: Epstein has procured multiple minors for prostitution.

- Question not answered: "Is there anything in L.M.'s Complaint that was filed against you in September of 2008 which you contend to be false?" Reasonable inference: Nothing in L.M.'s complaint filed in September of 2008 was false – i.e., as alleged in L.M.'s complaint, Epstein repeatedly sexually assaulted her while she was a minor and she was entitled to substantial compensatory and punitive damages as a result.

- Question not answered: "I would like to know whether you ever had any physical contact with the person referred to as Jane Doe in that [federal] complaint?" Reasonable inference: Epstein had physical contact with minor Jane Doe as alleged in her federal complaint.

- Question not answered: "Did you ever have any physical contact with E.W.?" Reasonable inference: Epstein had physical contact with minor E.W. as alleged in her complaint.

- Question not answered: "What is the actual value that you contend the claim of E.W. against you has?" Reasonable inference: E.W.'s claim against Epstein had substantial actual value.

Given all of the fatal flaws that infected Epstein's claims against Edwards from the outset and the overwhelming evidence that the motivation behind the filing of those claims was exclusively extortion and malice, Epstein's only hope of avoiding the full

dramatic exposure of his life of perversion is to attempt to hide behind the erroneous interpretation of the litigation privilege. That effort has been rejected repeatedly by the trial court, and there is no reason to anticipate any change in that well-reasoned rejection. In addition, as will be privately explained at mediation, Epstein's day of public reckoning is inevitable.

Sincerely,

JACK SCAROLA
JSX/kar

Cc: Bradley Edwards, Esquire
Jack A. Goldberger, Esquire
Fred Haddad, Esquire
Marc S. Nurik, Esquire
Tonja Haddad Coleman, Esquire

From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 3/14/2014 2:24:48 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted] Lyn fontanilla [redacted] Jojo Fontanilla [redacted]
Subject: Ed Boyden-Can't make it to dinner tonight!

Begin forwarded message:

From: Ed Boyden <[redacted]>
Subject: **Re: Your CITICAR Confirmation**
Date: March 14, 2014 10:12:29 AM EDT
To: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
Cc: Neil Gershenfeld <[redacted]>, Bella Klein <[redacted]>
Reply-To: [redacted]

My apologies -- for the Obama BRAIN initiative, I need to work at MIT today to coordinate the activities of a bunch of groups for a Monday deadline. I'll see if I can get the plane fare refunded by our travel agent. Very sorry for the late notice...

Best,
Ed

From: Tyler Shears [redacted]
Sent: 3/20/2014 2:46:17 PM
To: Christina Galbraith [redacted]
CC: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Jeffrey Epstein, Harvard and Science Magnate, Applauds Congress' Largest Bill for Melanoma - CNBC

Importance: High

We are pushing to help get this up but having Bill Clinton in the other is making it tough to pop anything other up. Check again in 8 hours

Sent from my iPhone

> On Mar 20, 2014, at 9:47 AM, Christina Galbraith <[redacted] wrote:
>
> Hi Tyler,
>
> See the press release published this morning. Everyone's picking it up but don't see it on googles 1st page yet. Tough because Daily Mail has about 3 new articles out
>
> http://www.cnbc.com/id/101510498
>
>
> Christina Galbraith
> [redacted]
>

Jeffrey Epstein, Prominent Education Patron, Backs Obama's Call for Early Education.

The Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation, which supports science education across the United States and has expanded to support early development and charter schools, heralded President Obama's State of the Union call for universal pre-school education for young children.

"Early education is essential," Jeffrey Epstein asserted who started his foundation in 2000. "It physically stimulates the rapidly developing mind, and fosters a lifetime of curiosity and achievement. All the statistics point to a much greater chance for success when a student experiences early education, from scores to school attendance."

According to the National Institute for Early Education Research, only 28% of 4 year olds in the United States are enrolled in state-financed preschool programs and only five states, offer preschool options to all 4-year-olds. The President's proposal would provide federal matching funds to states that offer public preschool openings to families earning up to 200% of the poverty level. The President would also allocate funds to states to expand public pre-kindergarten slots for middle-class families, who could pay on a sliding scale of tuition. The federal government would also have to approve the states' curriculum and administrative standards for their preschools.

"Setting standards of excellence is essential," Jeffrey Epstein affirmed, who has funded numerous early development programs including the first Head Start program in the US Virgin Islands, where his foundation is based. "However, there should be a large degree of autonomy and schools should be rewarded by their results. It becomes problematic when schools cannot make effective decisions for themselves."

Critics of Congress' Head Start program which started in 1981 to directly support preschools across the country, cite an expensive $7 billion annual endeavor that has had an uncertain impact on improving education rates. But many argue that the requirements for excellence are inconsistent, unenforced and teachers are still paid well below the public school level.

"If we don't make this investment now and wisely," Bob Powers countered, Chairman of the Education Workforce Development Committee of the Business Council of Alabama, "we're going to pay for it later."

In addition to supporting early education, Jeffrey Epstein founded the Program for Evolutionary Dynamics at Harvard University with a $30 million grant. He is a former member of the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations, Rockefeller University, New York

Academy of Science and sits on the board of the Mind, Brain and Behavior Committee at Harvard University.

SOURCE: www.jeffreyepsteineducation.com

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Bryan Rafanelli
Biography

"If party planning is a fine art, then consider Bryan Rafanelli a virtuoso"
WCVB-TV Boston

"The event planner of the year"
Town & Country

Bryan Rafanelli's exquisite sense of style, attention to detail and ability to transform clients' visions into unforgettable celebrations have made him a go-to planner for the nation's most exclusive and high-profile events. He has produced it all, from elaborate fairytale-themed fundraising galas for Massachusetts General Hospital for Children to Chelsea Clinton's "wedding of the decade" to State Dinners hosted by President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama.

Rafanelli and his firm, Rafanelli Events, have a simple philosophy: every event is a unique creative challenge deserving of a one-of-a-kind approach. "My team listens to what you're imagining and then comes back with an idea you never expected," he says. "We hone in on every last detail so we can always deliver clients the highest level of service."

The media has taken notice. A recent feature in *OUT* magazine reads, "For a flawlessly executed affair to remember, a behind-the-scenes mastermind juggles the details. If you're lucky, that person will be event planner Bryan Rafanelli." And the headline of a recent *New York Times* profile –*For Wedding Planner, Obsession with Privacy*– reinforces that Rafanelli is tight-lipped no matter whom the client is, letting his work speak for itself.

Rafanelli has been named "Man of the Moment" by *Town & Country* (2010), a 2011 "Innovator" and "Event Producer of the Year" by BizBash, one of *OUT* magazine's "100 Most Compelling People in 2010", a "Trendsetter of the Year" by *Modern Bride*, a "40 Under 40" by the *Boston Business Journal* and "Best in Boston" eight years running by *Boston* magazine. His events have been highlighted in: *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *People*, *New York*, CBSNews.com, VanityFair.com, NewYorker.com and more. Rafanelli has also appeared as an industry expert on regional and national television programs including: "The Martha Stewart Show", ABC's "Good Morning America", NBC's "The Today Show" and as a regular contributor on New England Cable News' "Morning Show."

Rafanelli grew up in a large Rhode Island family, his mother always finding reason to throw parties for the people she loved. "The sense of community and of bringing people together to have good time just for 'good time's sake' has always been inside me," he says. He launched Rafanelli Events in 1996 as a three-person operation executing only a handful of events a year. It has quickly evolved into a full-service event design, strategy, planning and production company with more than 100 events annually in venues around the world. Headquartered in Boston, Rafanelli Events also has offices in New York City, Washington, DC and Palm Beach.

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Billy Evers

Biography

In the eyes of Billy Evers, inspiration is everywhere. Art, theater, fashion and music are all fair game; they're the moving parts of what makes an event come together as a whole. As creative director at Rafanelli Events, Billy takes each occasion that he plans and carefully balances the details. Whether he's dreaming up a wedding in Maine or a multi-million dollar hospital fundraiser, his role is to create, to imagine and to edit, from the very first client interaction until the final guest goes home. "The events we create are always evolving," Billy says. "The tweaking, the adding, the making sure everything's precise—it's something I pride our company on. We're always perfecting what we do."

Billy first teamed up with Bryan Rafanelli 10 years ago, only a few years after the company's inception in 1996. "I was living in New York, but would come to Boston socially," Billy says. "Bryan asked me to help out and things literally went from zero to 100 in six weeks. Before I knew it, I was living here, an extremely active member of Bryan's growing team."

Billy's background lends itself well to his role at Rafanelli. Prior to joining Bryan's team, he worked for a number of years in New York, running a high-end fashion boutique on Madison Avenue. This experience allowed him to travel the world, exposing him to an endless range of arts and culture. "All of it, together, has become the perfect resume for what I do now," Billy says. "When I see a room, I see it in a theatrical way. I draw from my love of film, my reservoir of experience in art and fashion, my passion for music."

All of these influences play an invaluable role in Billy's creative process. "I get involved with film, photography, fabric, accessories, lighting, the smell of a place—the entire sensory experience," he says. But beyond the individual details, Billy is responsible for dreaming up a concept. "Rafanelli is unique in terms of how broad our range is and what we're capable of doing," he says. "We're so not about 'just a party'. What we're doing is a whole new style of event. Concepting and branding meet smart design, value and integrity. I love the challenge of it all."

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Dana Farber Cancer Institute
DeCordova Museum
Democratic National Committee
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Ermenegildo Zegna
Faulkner Hospital
Florence Fuller Child Development Centers
Giorgio Armani
Greater Boston Food Bank
Harvard University Art Museums
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Harvard University Medical School
Huntington Theatre
Institute of Contemporary Art
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Kravis Center for the Performing Arts
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Newton Wellesley Hospital
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The Connors Family Office
The Swan Group
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Tudor Investments
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From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 3/25/2013 7:47:22 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: google search

Importance: High

just did a jee google and thought it looked very good...

Search Results

1. *Jeffrey Epstein* - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

*en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Jeffrey_Epstein***
Jeffrey Edward *Epstein* (born January 20, 1953) is an American financier and science and education philanthropist. He is responsible for founding The Program **...**
Life - Financial career - Science funding - Solicitation of prostitution

2. *Jeffrey Epstein*: International Moneyman of Mystery

nymag.com/nymetro/news/people/n_7912/
He's pals with a passel of Nobel Prize–winning scientists, CEOs like Leslie Wexner of the Limited, socialite Ghislaine Maxwell, even Donald Trump. But it wasn't **...**

3. Billionaire *Jeffrey Epstein*: I'm a sex offender, not a predator ...

www.nypost.com/.../perv_don_shmear_me_GzYV0fJYoWleFsSTrQ...
Feb 25, 2011 – Billionaire pervert *Jeffrey Epstein* is back in New York City -- and making wisecracks about his just-ended jail stint for having sex with an **...**

4. *JEFFREY EPSTEIN* VI FOUNDATION: Home

*www.**jeffreyepstein**foundation.com/*
Jeffrey Epstein, Holds a Conference of Nobel Laureates to Define Gravity **...** The conference was financed by science philanthropist *Jeffrey Epstein* and his **...**

5. *Jeffrey Epstein*

*www.huffingtonpost.com/news/**jeffrey-epstein***
Disgraced billionaire money manager (and former Bill Clinton associate) *Jeffrey Epstein* is back in New York City after 13 months of jail time for soli.

6. *Jeffrey Epstein* Science

*www.**jeffreyepstein**science.com/*
An overview of *Jeffrey Epstein* Science and the *Jeffrey Epstein* VI Foundation, the universities and the scientists that have received support.

7. The *Jeffrey Epstein* VI Foundation

*www.**jeffreyepstein**usvi.com/*
Recent articles on *Jeffrey Epstein* USVI philanthropy from New York and the USVI.

8. *Jeff Epstein* profiles | LinkedIn

*www.linkedin.com/pub/dir/**Jeff/Epstein***
View the profiles of professionals named *Jeff Epstein* on LinkedIn. There are 25 professionals named *Jeff Epstein*, who use LinkedIn to exchange information, **...**

9. *Jeff* N. *Epstein*, PhD

*www.cincinnatichildrens.org/bio/e/**jeff-epstein**/*
Jeff N. *Epstein*, PhD, is the director of the Center for ADHD and a professor of pediatrics for the Division of Behavioral Medicine and Clinical Psychology at **...**

10. Katie Couric, Woody Allen: *Jeffrey Epstein's* Society Friends Close ...

*www.thedailybeast.com/.../bill-clinton-katie-couric-woody-allen-**jeffr**...*
Apr 1, 2011 – Despite the pedophile mogul's conviction for soliciting underage prostitution, his circle is standing by their man. Scientists whose research **...**
Searches related to *jeffrey epstein*

jeffrey epstein **scandal**

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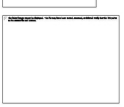
- 
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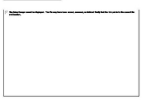
- 

More images

Jeffrey Epstein

Financier

Jeffrey Edward Epstein is an American financier and science and education philanthropist. He is responsible for founding The Program for Evolutionary Dynamics at Harvard University, the first of its ... Wikipedia

Born: January 20, 1953 (age 60), Brooklyn

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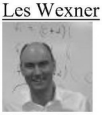

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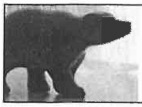

Is Another Bear Market Around the Corner?

If you have a $500,000 portfolio, you should download the latest report by *Forbes* columnist Ken Fisher's firm. It tells you where we think the stock market is headed and why. This must-read report includes our latest stock market forecast, plus research and analysis you can use in your portfolio right now. ▶ | Click Here to Download

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MarketWatch

April 29, 2013, 12:09 PM ET

Coming soon: More estate-tax battles

The word "permanent" – at least in the corridors of Washington, D.C. – doesn't mean what you think it means. And that should prompt you to keep a close eye on your estate plans.

More inheritance headaches loom.

The American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012, which was signed into law in early January, established a "permanent" $5 million estate-tax exemption. The legislation also set the same $5 million exemption for the federal gift tax and generation-skipping transfer tax. (That figure is indexed for inflation, which makes the 2013 exemption $5.25 million.)

But as Kelly Greene reported this weekend in the Wall Street Journal, President Barack Obama's fiscal year 2014 budget calls for lowering the exclusion for estate taxes and the generation-skipping transfer tax to $3.5 million (albeit not until 2018). The gift-tax exemption, meanwhile, would drop to $1 million. The proposed figures would be a return to 2009 levels and would no longer be indexed for inflation.

According to the proposed budget, the changes – coupled with closing other "estate-tax loopholes" – would raise $79 billion over 10 years. Which means that the only permanent thing about estate planning would be efforts by financial advisers and tax attorneys to stay one step ahead of Washington's search for revenue.

To be sure, the president's proposals are unlikely to be enacted in their current form. But Greene highlights several possible changes that investors and families should watch for:

"Discounts" could disappear. Currently, the value of a minority share in a business – when transferred from one family member to another – can be "discounted," resulting in a tidy tax savings. The White House, in previous budgets, has called for limiting or eliminating such discounts to family members. But the *absence* of that idea in the budget for 2014 could mean the Obama administration believes the Treasury Department already has the authority to change the rules – and simply will issue new regulations to do so. If that's the case, families considering such transfers might want to act sooner rather than later.

GRATs could get watered down. A grantor-retained annuity trust, or GRAT, lets a person give a portion of an asset's future profits to heirs tax-free. (One popular use of GRATs: Passing along stocks whose prices are depressed.) Such transfers take place over a set time period – as short as two years. But the president's budget would require GRATs to have a minimum term of 10 years, making these trusts less

attractive.

Individual retirement accounts could get emptied faster. Currently, people who inherit IRAs and similar tax-deferred savings accounts are able to "stretch" their withdrawals across their life expectancy. The budget proposal would require most beneficiaries – other than widows and widowers – to cash out the accounts within five years. Already, Greene notes, some older adults whose wealth is concentrated in IRAs are considering moving the accounts into trusts to help their families keep up with, and follow, the rules.

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029341

From: Lesley Groff [redacted]]
Sent: 5/7/2013 5:55:30 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Rising Star

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Lisa Rossi" <[redacted]>
Subject: **Rising Star**
Date: May 7, 2013 1:02:53 PM EDT
To: Jeffrey <[redacted]>
Reply-To: Lisa_Rossi_bdnlev_gfparhr@cp20.com

Dear Jeffrey-

We are thrilled to announce that we are working with Congressman Hakeem Jeffries, one of the rising stars in the New York Congressional delegation. Sometimes referred to as "Brooklyn's Barack", he is a staunch supporter of President Obama and a progressive voice for the people of New York City. NY1 did a profile piece about his work on the vitally important Budget and Judiciary committees in Washington. You can watch the video here or read the text below.

Hakeem is committed to electing a Democratic majority in 2014 and is encouraging his friends to participate in the DCCC/DSCC fundraising dinner with President Obama this coming Monday night. Shoot us an email or give us a call at (212) 531-2858 if you would like to get involved with the dinner, or would like to get an opportunity to get to know Hakeem better. He is an impressive guy and who will be a progressive voice in New York politics for years to come.

Thanks,
Darren Rigger, Lisa Rossi & Walter Swett
Dynamic SRG

NY1: Hakeem Jeffries Positions Himself For Long Career In Washington

Apr 29, 2013
By: Michael Scotto

Hakeem Jeffries is only about four months into his freshman year in Congress but he's already positioning himself for a long career in Washington. NY1's Michael Scotto filed the following report.

If you're looking to knock Hakeem Jeffries off message, you won't get very far.

"There's a hip hop song, every day I'm hustling, and I kind of feel that way down here in Washington," Jeffries said. "In a positive manner, of course."

The freshman congressman from Brooklyn and a sliver of Queens is an ambitious work horse who always appears to have his eye on the prize.

"I'll be shuffling back and forth between budget and judiciary for the better part of the morning, making sure we time it correctly so that I'm able to ask questions in both situations," he said.

He's a big change from Congressman Ed Towns, who retired after holding the seat for 30 years.

On any given day, Jeffries is traveling through the Capitol, attending hearings on the Judiciary and Budget committees, two of the most prominent in the lower chamber.

For Jeffries, those two assignments allow him to serve as a counterweight to the Republican leadership and to talk up the President, whom he and his district overwhelmingly support.

"My job, I believe, is to help the administration of Barack Obama help us back at home," Jeffries said.

In his first four months, Jeffries has championed himself as a progressive, introducing legislation to help student loan recipients and voting against a bill Friday to ease the impact of automatic spending cuts to the FAA because it didn't stop cuts to programs that are impacting the poor.

In the months and years ahead, Jeffries says there's plenty to do.

"There's no shortage of the people's business down in Washington, D.C. and that's why the job is one that is a serious endeavor," he said.

A serious endeavor that is also very much on message.

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From: Halperin, Alan S [redacted]
Sent: 7/2/2014 10:51:32 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Post-Death Actions of Foundation Affecting Estate Tax Value
Attachments: image001.png; image002.png; image003.png; image004.png; image005.png

I thought of you when I read this article. Was this your idea? Alan

WALL STREET

Texas Billionaire's Heirs Save Some Money on Taxes

10Jun 27, 2014 1:26 PM EDT
By Matt Levine

- a
- A

Every so often I hear a story that I find rather wonderful, and that I then pass along to you, just in case you and I share a similar sense of wonder. Here is one of those stories. It's about death and taxes.

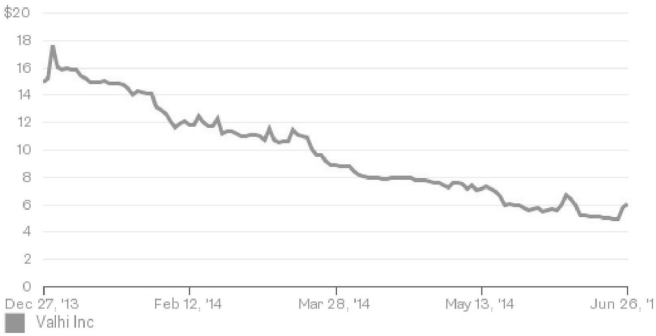
The story begins on Dec. 28 of last year, when a Dallas billionaire named Harold Simmons died at the age of 82. He left the bulk of his $8 billion fortune to two of his daughters. Much of that fortune was in "Contran Corp., a closely held entity that holds majority stakes in four publicly traded companies: Valhi Inc., NL Industries Inc., Kronos Worldwide Inc. and CompX International Inc."

The biggest chunk of the estate was Contran's 93.8 percent stake in Valhi, which was 318,156,746 shares.[1] Valhi's stock closed on Dec. 27, 2013, at $14.91 per share, making that stake worth about $4.7 billion as of Simmons's death. Another 2,481,900 Valhi shares (0.7 percent, $37 million) were held by the Harold Simmons Foundation, a charity controlled by Simmons's daughters.[2] Other family members owned about 2.8 million shares ($41 million). Public shareholders owned about 15.7 million shares ($234 million).[3]

Here are two facts about the federal estate tax:

- The estate tax rate for 2013 and 2014 is 40 percent of the value of the estate.[4]
- The executor can choose to determine the value of the estate *either* on the date of death, or on the "alternate valuation date," which is the date six months after the date of death.[5]

For Harold Simmons's estate, that alternate valuation date is tomorrow -- six months from his death. Today is the last trading day before that valuation. How's Valhi done in the last six months?



Source: Bloomberg

Oh.[6] The stock closed yesterday at $6.01, reducing the value of the estate's holdings by $2.8 billion -- and its estate-tax liability by $1.1 billion -- since Simmons's death.

Is that good news or bad news for the estate? Well, the first law of tax is that it is always better to have more money than less money.[7] It's not actually a good idea to lose $2.8 billion of money to save $1.1 billion in taxes.

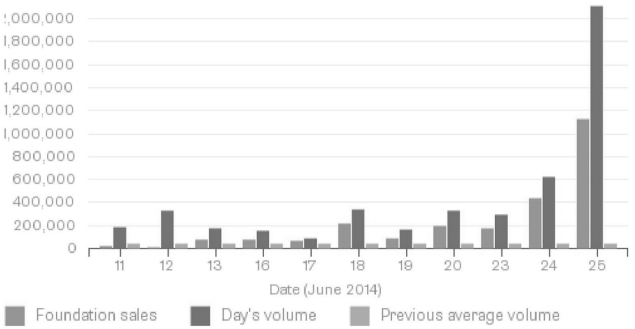
Though the estate didn't exactly lose $2.8 billion of *money.* That tax liability is a cash expense: You've actually got to write a check to the IRS for $1.9 billion (using the December valuation) or $765 million (using yesterday's valuation[8]), so the $1.1 billion you save is an actual cash savings. The $2.8 billion loss, on the other hand, is a paper loss. Perhaps it's just temporary. If there were some reason to think that it didn't reflect only a decline in the fundamental value of Valhi, you might not worry as much about that paper loss as you would about the cash taxes.

So what's happened to Valhi? Well, it's not having a great year, with zero-ish net income last quarter. The board reduced the dividend by 60 percent, to its lowest level since 2005. And the few people who follow the stock are unimpressed. Bloomberg shows two analysts following Valhi, Barclays and EVA Dimensions. They both have sell ratings, and Barclays has a price target of $5.00, saying in May that "from a SOTP analysis, we continue to view VHI as trading above its intrinsic value." A Seeking Alpha piece from a few weeks ago is similarly gloomy, with a $6 per share fair value.

All of this suggests that Simmons's estate owes less tax because it's really worth less than it was six months ago. In fact, if you taxed Simmons's heirs now based on the value of Valhi six months ago, they'd have almost nothing left of their stock.

But there's one more bit of the story. On June 11, about two weeks ago, the Harold Simmons Foundation -- the charitable foundation controlled by Simmons's heirs -- filed with the SEC a plan to sell all of its 2.5 million shares. That's not a *lot* of stock, exactly -- just 0.7 percent of the company, worth around $16 million at the time of the filing -- but it is a lot relative to the usual volume of trading in Valhi. Remember, 93.8 percent of Valhi is owned by Simmons's heirs and never trades. Between December 27, 2013, and June 10, 2014, Valhi traded an average of 42,311 shares a day, so the foundation's shares represented almost 59 days' volume.

It sold them in 11 days:



Source: Foundation filings, Bloomberg

The foundation's sales over the last two weeks or so accounted for over half of the volume, on average, each day. And the foundation's average sale on each of those days was more than five times the average volume over the previous six months. From Jan. 1 to June 10 of this year, more than five months, Valhi traded a total of 4.6 million shares. From June 11 to June 25, just over two weeks, it traded a total of 4.8 million shares -- more than half of them sold by the Harold Simmons Foundation.

You might expect that to drive down the stock a bit? Actually the stock performed surprisingly well, all things considered; it closed on June 10 at $6.42 and on June 25 at $5.81, down just 9.5 percent. But just that change, from $6.42 per share to $5.81, would save Simmons's heirs almost $80 million in estate taxes.[9]

The foundation sold the last of its shares on June 25 (this Wednesday). Without any more shares to sell, the foundation -- oh, wait, no, never mind, the foundation found some more shares to sell! On Wednesday, the day that it finished selling its 2.5 million shares, it received a "Gift from Affiliate" of another 900,000 shares. Those shares were gifted to the foundation by the Valhi Holding Company, the vehicle through which Simmons's heirs own their 318.2 million shares.[10]

The Foundation immediately filed a plan to sell those shares too, with an "approximate date of sale" of June 26 (yesterday).[11] As of 1 p.m. today, I see Valhi trading in the $5.80s.

Isn't that neat? Honestly, I have no idea what's going on here.[12] But if you *did* want to minimize your estate taxes on a multi-billion-dollar controlled public corporation with an illiquid stock, a good way to do it would be to have a foundation that you control dump a ton of stock on the market in the couple of weeks leading up to the day your estate is valued for tax purposes -- and, when the foundation ran out of shares, give it a few more so it could keep selling. If the goal of this trading *isn't* to minimize taxes, I'll be very disappointed. Because it's working pretty well to do just that.

[1] *That's based on a Schedule 13D/A referring to events of Dec. 28, 2013, but filed in February 2014 and mentioning a stock transfer after Simmons's death ("In January 2014, Contran received as excess collateral 1,100,541 Shares from the CDCT (as defined below) and contributed 4,123,598 Shares to Dixie Rice, who contributed such shares on the same day to VHC.") I ignore that and assume that Contran owned all of the 318.2 million shares as of December 28; the difference is small.*

[2] *From the 13D/A again:*

The Foundation is a tax-exempt foundation organized for charitable purposes. Lisa K. Simmons and Serena Simmons Connelly are the sole members of the Foundation, serve as two of the three the directors on the Foundation's board of directors and are the president and executive vice president, respectively of the Foundation. They may be deemed to control the Foundation but disclaim all Shares they do not hold directly.

[3] *From a current Bloomberg HDS list I see BlackRock, Dimensional, Calpers, Fidelity and Citadel among the big-name holders, though all in fairly small size.*

Incidentally, Simmons had other daughters who seem to have been frozen out of Valhi. Here is a 1997 New York Times story about Simmons with the headline "Daughters Do Battle With a Corporate King Lear." So.

[4] *Minus an exemption that, compared to the size of Simmons's estate, is very very small (single-digit millions).*

[5] *This election only works if the estate has kept the property for the six months. Here's an Internal Revenue Service bulletin on the topic.*

[6] *Here it is in percentage terms versus the S&P 500:*

Source: Bloomberg

*And perhaps most interesting, here's the last **year**, with Simmons's death in the middle:*

Source: Bloomberg

To be fair, Simmons was the chairman of the board in 2013, though the company was managed by a chief executive officer, Steven L. Watson, who remains in charge.

[7] *I've cited my tax professor's two fundamental laws of tax before: that it is always better to have more money than less money, and that it is always better to die later than to die sooner. The second rule is always relevant in estate-tax situations too.*

[8] *I'm using yesterday for convenience but in fact you'd have to use today's valuation. And the stock is down again today!*

[9] *That is, 318.2 million shares times $0.61 per share times 40 percent is $77.6 million.*

[10] *Now 317.3 million, I guess.*

[11] *You shouldn't take that date too seriously; the foundation's June 11 filing stated an "approximate date of sale" of June 11, but it actually took about two weeks. Best guess, the foundation was/is selling those shares yesterday and today.*

[12] *Do I even need to tell you that Simmons was a libertarian anti-tax advocate, had various run-ins with the IRS, and called President Barack Obama "the most dangerous man in America"? Or that "In 2009, a Dallas County jury found NL Industries" -- one of the companies in Simmons's estate -- "liable for not honoring contractual agreements and manipulating stock values"?*

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Jeffrey Epstein

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Born: Jan 20, 1953 (age 61) · **Brooklyn, New York**

Net worth: 52 billion USD (2014)

Education: Cooper Union · **Lafayette High School**

Timeline

1976: Epstein began his financial career in 1976 as an options trader at Bear Stearns.

1992: Wexner acquired Abercrombie & Fitch the following year, and in 1992 converted a private school into an enormous residence that later became Epstein's in the wealthiest part of Manhattan.

1996: In 1996, Epstein changed the name of his firm to The Financial Trust Company and based it on the island of St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands.

2000: In 2000 he established the Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation, which funds science research and education around the world.

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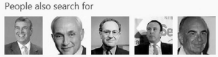

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Timeline Photos

The Comical Conservative

President Obama walks into a local bank in Chicago to cash a check. He is surrounded by Secret Service agents. As he approaches the cashier he says, "Good morning Ma'am, could you please cash this check for me?"

Cashier:
"It would be my pleasure sir. Could you please show me your ID?"

Obama:
"Truthfully, I did not bring my ID with me as I didn't think there was any need to. I am President Barack Obama, the President of the United States of AMERICA !!!!"

Cashier:
"Yes sir, I know who you are, but with all the regulations and monitoring of the banks because of 9/11, impostors, forgers, money laundering, and bad

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Cashier:
"Yes sir, I know who you are, but with all the regulations and monitoring of the banks because of 9/11, impostors, forgers, money laundering, and bad mortgage underwriting not to mention requirements of the Dodd/Frank legislation, etc., I must insist on seeing ID."

Obama:
“Just ask anyone here at the bank who I am and they will tell you. Everybody knows who I am."

Cashier:
"I am sorry Mr. President but these are the bank rules and I must follow them."

Obama:
"I am urging you, please, to cash this check. I need to buy a gift for Michelle for Valentine’s Day"

Cashier:
"Look Mr. President, here is an example

check. I need to buy a gift for Michelle for Valentine's Day"

Cashier:
"Look Mr. President, here is an example of what we can do. One day, Tiger Woods came into one of our bank branches without ID. To prove he was Tiger Woods he pulled out his putter and made a beautiful shot across the bank into a coffee cup. With that shot we knew him to be Tiger Woods and cashed his check."
"Another time, Andre Agassi came into the same place without ID. He pulled out his tennis racquet and made a fabulous shot where as the tennis ball landed in a coffee cup. With that shot we cashed his check.
So, Mr. President, what can you do to prove that it is you, and only you, as the President of the United States?"

Obama:
Obama stands there thinking, and

Tiger Woods he pulled out his putter made a beautiful shot across the bank into a coffee cup. With that shot we knew him to be Tiger Woods and cashed his check."

"Another time, Andre Agassi came into the same place without ID. He pulled out his tennis racquet and made a fabulous shot where as the tennis ball landed in a coffee cup. With that shot we cashed his check.

So, Mr. President, what can you do to prove that it is you, and only you, as the President of the United States?"

Obama:

Obama stands there thinking, and thinking, and finally says, "Honestly, my mind is a total blank...there is nothing that comes to my mind. I can't think of a single thing. I have absolutely no idea what to do and I don't have a clue."

Cashier:

"Will that be large or small bills, Mr. President?

Timeline Photos · Jul 26, 2013 ·

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Powerful industry leaders often strive to restrict entry of new enterprises and innovations. But slowing down or stopping new, more productive technologies to protect prior capital investments creates a positive-feedback loop by preventing capital from investing in profitable new opportunities. If capital can't migrate to new profitable investments, the economy goes into a protracted stall.

Lange described the struggle that pits capitalist against capitalist in stark terms. He writes:

> The stability of the capitalist system is shaken by the alternation of attempts to stop economic progress in order to protect old investments and tremendous collapses when those attempts fail.[6]

Attempts to block economic progress invariably fail because new entrepreneurs are continually roaming the edges of the system in search of innovations that increase productivity and reduce costs, allowing them to win over consumers with cheaper prices than those of their competitors. The race Lange outlines is relentless over the long run, with productivity continually pushing costs and prices down, forcing profit margins to shrink.

While most economists today would look at an era of nearly free goods and services with a sense of foreboding, a few earlier economists expressed a guarded enthusiasm over the prospect. Keynes, the venerable twentieth-century economist whose economic theories still hold considerable weight, penned a small essay in 1930 entitled "Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren," which appeared as millions of Americans were beginning to sense that the sudden economic downturn of 1929 was in fact the beginning of a long plunge to the bottom.

Keynes observed that new technologies were advancing productivity and reducing the cost of goods and services at an unprecedented rate. They were also dramatically reducing the amount of human labor needed to mind from a preoccupation with strictly pecuniary interests to focus more on the "arts for life" and the quest for transcendence.

Both Lange and Keynes foresaw, back in the 1930s, the schizophrenia that lies at the nucleus of the capitalist system: the inherent entrepreneurial dynamism of competitive markets that drives productivity up and marginal costs down. Economists have long understood that the most efficient economy is one in which consumers pay only for the marginal cost of the goods they purchase. But if consumers pay only for the marginal cost and those costs continue to race toward zero, businesses would not be able to ensure a return on their investment and sufficient profit to satisfy their shareholders. That being the case, market leaders would attempt to gain market dominance to ensure a monopoly hold so they could impose prices higher than the marginal cost of the products they're selling, thus preventing the invisible hand from hurrying the market along to the most efficient economy of near zero marginal cost and the prospect of nearly free goods and services. This catch-22 is the inherent contradiction that underlies capitalist theory and practice.

Eighty years after Lange and Keynes made their observations, contemporary economists are once again peering into the contradictory workings of the capitalist system, unsure of how to make the market economy function without self-destructing in the wake of new technologies that are speeding society into a near zero marginal cost era.

Lawrence Summers, U.S. secretary of the treasury during President Bill Clinton's administration and former president of Harvard University, and J. Bradford DeLong, a professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley, revisited the capitalist dilemma in a joint paper delivered at the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City's symposium, "Economic Policy for the Information Economy," in August 2001. This time, there was much more at stake as the new information technologies and the incipient Internet communication revolution were threatening to take the capitalist system to a near zero marginal cost reality in the coming decades.

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- As the year 2015 begins, we find ourselves at the height of a historic earthquake, in multiple dimensions, the like of which hasn't been seen since the end of WWI and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

- In the Middle East – within three years, the "Arab spring" turned into the "Islamic winter" – borders have vanished and centuries of conflicts between tribes and factions are erupting onto the surface.

- The bi-polar and multi-polar world we knew has been replaced by a world with not even one geopolitical center of gravity. It is a Gestalt in which everything depends on everything else, and dealing with the

challenges requires global cooperation
.

- Israel finds itself at the center of a kind of "perfect storm,"the only outpost of the western way of life in the Middle East – at the meeting point of the "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West, as Huntington envisioned it, and at the same time, in the spinning "eye of the storm" of the clash of titans within Islam itself: between Sunni and Shi'ite, between tradition, extremism and terrorism on the one hand, and modernity and moderation on the other; between the dream of "past glory" and the vision of a "leap into the future". And all of this is drenched in a lot of blood.

- This drama that has washed over the Arab world bears two lessons and one insight for us:

The 1st lesson: "Be modest in prophecy". In particular, when it comes to the future. Mubarak for example had about 400,000 people at his disposal working in various security agencies in order to preemptively predict events such as those that took place at Tahrir Square. And he did not foresee the uprising. So who can?

The 2nd lesson: When friends, and even the leaders among us, say: "Don't get swept into a panic – if something really grave happens (Iran for example) – the US will not stand by. The world will take action!"

And I say: Don't bet on it. Look at Syria. Assad has massacred 200,000 of his own people – with tanks, artillery, fighter jets, even chemical weapons – and the world did not lift a finger.

And the one insight: To all our opponents and even friends who tell us that our lack of success in reaching an agreement with the Palestinians is the root of all the troubles in the Middle East – the original sin! – I say: this is not true!

Even if I, in 2000 (or Rabin and Peres in 1994 or Olmert in 2008), were to have reached a peace treaty with the Palestinians – which would have been implemented a long time ago the "Muslim Brotherhood" would still have taken control over Egypt and Al-Sisi would still have taken it back a short time after.

- Syria would still have been embroiled in a bitter civil war. And Iran – would still be striving for

regional hegemony and nuclear military capability.

- The reasons for all the above are deeply rooted in the history of the nations and the region – and do not stem from the Israeli Palestinian conflict (they may be related to it in another way, which I will get to later on).

- In the new reality forged by the "Arab Spring," there is good news and bad news for us.
Let's start with the bad news:

ISIS, the disintegration of Syria, the events in Iraq – all of these are bad news that prove to us, time and time again, that the Middle East is indeed a tough neighborhood. There is no mercy for the weak, and there will be no second opportunity for those who don't defend

themselves. Every year, new threats arise. And the old ones: Hezbollah, Iran, terrorism –are all "alive and kicking" and growing even stronger.

But there is good news too. Israel is the strongest country in the region, from Tripoli in Libya to Tehran. It's the strongest militarily, strategically, and economically, and if we know act wisely–diplomatically too. Equally important: Israel will continue to be the strongest country in the region in the foreseeable future – especially if we manage to identify and cultivate these sources of empowerment and advantage – including:

- Armed Forces capable of defeating any outside combination of threats, including terrorism.

- A strong and growing economy in an open relationship with global markets.

- Foreign policy that assures international backing, especially American – diplomatic and economic-backing Israel's positions, and which holds the "moral high ground" vis-a-vis our enemies and opponents.

- The fact that Israel is stronger than any combination of enemies is what enables us to act from a position of strength and self confidence in order to change the reality : to counter the threats and to seize the opportunities.

- Let me elaborate briefly about each of the threats:

Two ironies and one insight about Isis.

Assad slaughtered 200,000 of his people including by using chemical weapons – and that wasn't enough to get the British parliament and Prime Minister Cameron or the American Congress and President Obama to act.

- Then, ISIS beheaded two journalists (not really a new practice in the Middle East) in front of the cameras – and within 48 hours the world was united against them. Better late than never, so we have little reason to complain about the result. However, there is something to learn about the superficiality of the decision-making processes in our world.

Second: let's assume for a moment that ISIS is restrained in about a year (and hopefully – crushed) – who wins?

- The main winner is Assad, since the Coalition would have wiped

out his main adversary, freeing him to focus more intensely on the rest of the rebels – meaning the "moderate" rebels, which the Coalition purports to train and reinforce in order to take him down.

Iran also wins and of course Hezbollah - all members of President Bush's Axis of Evil. In other words: the Coalition is doing some of the "dirty work" for them.

- In my best assessment, the Turks are right in their position that there is no point in striking ISIS unless you also set a goal to take down Assad, and act to achieve it.
  The Turks are right in their call for a "humanitarian strip" – 25-30 km into Syrian territory along the borders, and declare it a “no fly zone”, a place for refugees (there are several million of

them) to assemble and where they can receive humanitarian aid.

- What hasn't been said explicitly is that such a deployment might lead sooner or later to engagement with the Syrian Air Force – followed by the Syrian Air Defense – which could develop into an opportunity to fundamentally change the balance of power and the course of the war against Assad's regime.

And one insight: ISIS may not be as strong as it is being portrayed. A coherent ,intense, coordinated action during the next year or two, particularly if performed according to the Turkish outline and with massive Turkish involvement – could well put the Genie back into the bottle. However – let us

make no mistake – ISIS is part of the radical Islamic web of terrorism. A web that is loosely knit, yet survives on strictly restricted resources – and demonstrates operational flexibility, survivability and a fanatic adherence to the goal.

- We're talking about ALQ, Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria, Lashkar-e-Taiba in India, the Houthis in Yemen, the Shabab in Sumali, Boko Haram in Nigeria and many more – all across the Muslim strip, from Marrakesh to Bangladesh.

- And this web is very resilient. Dealing with it will take war lasting for a generation, not just a few years. The struggle will require collaboration not just between the moderate Arab nations and Turkey – but a long-standing collaboration between the US,

Russia, China, India and Europe – all are are potential targets and victims of this terror everyone to some extent. Forging this collaboration is categorically more important than the events in Ukraine or the North Chinese Sea Islands.

- Hezbollah is busy in Syria – and would generally prefer to avoid provoking Israel. Some here would say that Nasrallah has been deterred, that the memory of 2006 is still fresh in his mind and he will not act. I have my reservations about the deterministic nature of this statement. "Deterrence" is a somewhat elusive term. This is not a "zero sum game" on a one-dimensional bar. This is a complex and context-related issue. Although under normal circumstances, each side has a fundamental position (let's assume for

a moment that Hezbollah's position is "avoid provoking Israel") – it is still not hard to imagine an event, or damage to Hezbollah's (or Nasrallah's) assets or prestige, that could lead it , despite its basic position, to take action contrary to its true fundamental position.

- Incidentally, this doesn't apply solely to "Hezbollah" – but to us too.

- Therefore, the working assumptions and the operational deployment must include the possibility of deterioration into a wide-scale confrontation with Hezbollah.

- And now, to Iran – which under certain circumstances might be the element that ignites or incites "Hezbollah" into action.

- Let us be clear – a nuclear Iran is a central threat to the entire world order, not just Israel. A nuclear Iran means the end of the non-proliferation regime– Saudi Arabia, within months, Turkey within a few years and Egypt might follow as well–and all will become nuclear.

- Every third-grade dictator will be able to ensure his survivability against the outside world by following in the footsteps of Pakistan, North Korea and Iran.

- The "countdown" towards the troubling vision of Prof. Graham Allison of Harvard about nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists – this countdown, even if it takes 15 years, will start. Therefore, blocking Iran from becoming a "threshold nuclear state" is crucial, and justifies

every effort.

- Right now diplomacy is in hiatus at least until March 2015. It's hard to imagine a good agreement with the P5+1, and a bad agreement would be best left unsigned. The problem is that the Iranians have no real incentive to reach a “final agreement” that would keep them from becoming a nuclear power.

- As far as they're concerned, at any given time an improved "interim agreement" would be better (unless the P5+1 yield to a bad agreement.)

- The Iranians are very sophisticated. In their opinion (I emphasize: in their opinion), the American government has changed its goal without admitting it, from "Iran will not have military nuclear

capability. Period." to "Iran will not have military nuclear capability on our watch "

-

- This is of course a completely different thing. And this perception only reinforces Iran's obduracy and the delaying tactics that they've adopted.

- Israel has a supreme interest in "keeping all the options on the table". However, today, mostly against the backdrop of the drawn-out talks – Israel has an interest in maximizing its understanding with the United States and trying to convince it of the need for determination and perseverance; for "sticks" as well as "carrots"; and of the importance of completely losing any illusions regarding the objectives

of the Ayatollahs' regime.

- And from here, a sharp segue to the diplomatic challenges Israel faces, from the minor (for now) to the major.

- Israel is far from being a leaf in the wind. But the world has no geopolitical center of gravity – not the US, Russia, Europe or China –Israel isn't omnipotent either.

- It is wrong to disregard what's happening in Europe. It will not be resolved by saying that Europe is ridden with anti-Semitism (though there's quite a bit of truth to that).

- Regarding BDS, I used to tell the members of the Cabinet that– as long as these voices are coming from Eritrea or Mauritania, we can live with it for years. When it comes from Scandinavia and Britain – it's a

different story, and must be taken seriously.

- Right now it is being espoused by parliaments, not governments. But it could expand – to trade unions, to the academia, to consumer organizations and NGOs. And then, heaven forbid, eventually to governments – which will say "we are of the people ". We mustn't forget that Europe is Israel's No. 1 trading partner - not the US and not China. And Europe, with North America and a few countries in the East, is at the heart of the "reference group" of liberal democratic countries to which we want to belong, and rightfully so.

- This leads us to the US – and there, the diplomatic challenge is far greater. Israel is a sovereign state. On

more than one occasion, I told President Obama, and before that Presidents Bush and Clinton, the following: "On issues that we believe are essential to the security and future of Israel and of the Jewish people, Israel will make its decisions alone and on its own responsibility and act upon them. We cannot, and will not want to", I added, "delegate the responsibility for such decisions, when required, even to the best of our friends – which is you."
The US presidents, I note, did not always like this statement – but they respected it.

- In the same token, I told members of the cabinet more than once – "we must always remember that the US is also a sovereign state. And it expects us to respect its right to form

its positions on the issues crucial to it, based on its own interests ". And we have to respect that.

- Without derogating from our responsibility to make and execute sovereign decisions – the reality is that there isn't full symmetry here.
- Our relations with the US President, the administration, the Congress and the American people are vital to the State of Israel.
- The United States is Israel's main ally and strategic support. Our relations with it are the cornerstone of Israel's military capabilities, the IDF's qualitative edge, and Israel's strategic and political positioning.
- We receive $3 billion a year from the US, going back some 40 years now. What social or economic

budget items would we forgo to make up the ₪12 billion gap if this assistance disappears?

- They're the only ones who can provide us with F-35 jets, the best aircraft in the world.

- These are mutually beneficial relations. The US also benefits from the unprecedented cooperation between our intelligence communities. And so do we.

We never expected, and will never ask others to fight for us – yet the US has deployed advanced radar systems in Israel to provide early warning against long-range missiles, and holds military exercises on our soil and in the Mediterranean , preparing an American response in case Israel has to defend itself against missile attacks from Iran.

- We received about $1 billion from the US, by order of President Obama, for "Iron Dome", and assistance for the David's Sling and Arrow programs continues.

- We turn to the US to veto hostile initiatives against Israel in the United Nations Security Council. Or to soften the conclusions of the Goldstone Commission and its ilk.

- It is to them that we turned (and they responded to the best of their ability) in rather tense times, when a handful of our people were besieged in the embassy in Cairo, with an angry mob at the door.

- Secretary of State Kerry, and President Obama – went to great lengths – and paid a considerable political (and often personal) price – to help us achieve a breakthrough with

the Palestinians, though the effort did not succeed. Nor did we succeed (Rabin and Peres, myself, Olmert and Bibi as well). They shouldn't be ridiculed and debased for this. They should be appreciated. Even if we do not agree on all the details.

- We will yet need their help in facing many trials in the future.

- I recommend that we all remember this well. The rules of working with the Americans: Do not marginalize yourself. Do not fold. Yes – remember what the U.S. is for Israel. And Maintain–at almost any cost – mutual relations of trust and respect. It's good for Israel.

- The American Congress, President Obama, Biden and Kerry are part of the solution, even if it tarries.

They are not part of the problem.

- Ben Gurion used to say, with his iron logic, that "the future of Israel depends on our strength and our righteousness."

"Our strength" – that is the IDF's might and its strategic capabilities, the backing of the superpowers, our economic strength, and our social solidarity.

"Our righteousness" – not as an abstract concept – is our capacity to hold the"moral high ground" by means of a calculated effort to behave and be perceived as acting in good faith – to obtain peace, even if it delays.

- This is also an an essential condition for achieving internal solidarity and the world's support for Israel (or for the support of <u>most</u> of the world that's important to **us**).

- This is also an essential condition for achieving internal solidarity and willingness for sacrifice in a society where being called for battle or routinely risking your life is not a theoretical notion, but rather part of our life experience that repeats itself time and again.

- The fighting spirit, resilience and the internal solidarity are deeply bound to both our strength and our righteousness. Our righteousness is just as important as our strength. Our righteousness, and not our strength in and of itself, is what gives Zionism's struggle its meaning and sense of purpose (especially for ones who can choose). The support of a superpower

- and the resilience of our society and economy, which are among the components of our "strength" – will

never be without recognition of our righteousness. And without it, they will erode

.

- This is the time to point out the risk in the weakening of the cohesive forces which hold the Israeli society together. We are turning into an increasingly divided society whose very fabric seems to be ripping apart, and which is riddled with hatred for one another. Left and right. Jews and Arabs. Secular and religious. Rich and poor. Center and periphery. Old and new. This is dangerous. The late Tunisian President Bourguiba (and later on Sadat in his debates with Assad just before the peace treaty with Israel) made the argument that there's no need to defeat Israel by force. Give them the opportunity – and they will

collapse from within. But the opposite is true!
We have no intention of collapsing from within. But this requires that we come to our senses and act with the right national priorities in mind for society and the economy.

- The young generation, the future, must be prioritized. And the same applies to those groups in society who carry its burdens:working hard, paying taxes and serving in the IDF. Cultivating mutual respect, openness, tolerance, and acceptance of others; More equitable distribution of the national wealth; equal opportunities for all and encouraging individuals, groups and communities to take responsibility. All of these are part of our mission – and we have a long road ahead of us.

I am concerned about our addiction to internal quarrels just as much as I am concerned about our conflicts with external opponents. Our "righteousness" will not prevail and our "strength" will crack over time if we do not act decisively to establish, gradually yet persistently , norms of public life and civil society – which sets norms for what is done and what isn't done far above the criminal threshold.. We need profound change in the area of respect for the rule of law, standards of governance, keeping the thin line between freedom of expression and freedom of incitement – and immediately hitting the brakes on racism and Jewish terrorism – which in my opinion should be treated within the criminal domain..

- A few sentences on the “nation-state law”. This is a redundant and even harmful law. In general, and particularly at this point. To our friends it signals that Israel is losing its self-confidence regarding the obvious – namely,its unique identity as the Jewish-democratic state as reflected by the "Declaration of Independence". To our enemies it provides an effective tool to make Israel a suspect– of being a country that's willingly drifting away from the norms of democracy – as a preliminary step towards institutionalized discrimination. And one has to wonder: what was wrong with what we had until this point? What's wrong with the "Declaration of Independence"? Who needs this? And why?

- Churchill once observed the difference between an optimist and pessimist.

The pessimist – sees the difficultly in every opportunity

The optimist – sees the opportunity in every difficultly.

- We have opportunities before us within all of the difficulties. The most important of all, a rare one, the kind that comes once in a generation – is the opportunity to establish a regional agreement. It is all the more important in light of the "Arab Spring" and following "Operation Protective Edge".

There is an opportunity to establish a regional agreement that fundamentally changes the realities of the region and Israel's future and status within it. An agreement that will move the region's

entire economy forward together with the chance for stability and peace ,based on synergies and collaboration rather than hatred and revenge.

- What do I mean? The events in recent years have created a strong common interest for Israel and the moderate Arab countries – Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, Jordan, Egypt and perhaps even Turkey (which is not Arab). The focal interest is the struggle against radical Islamic terrorism and against Iran's hegemonic and nuclear intentions.

- The challenge for us is based on there being, apparently, only one way to achieve that; and the upcoming elections in Israel force us to put it on hold for a few months.

- And the way to do it is this: a strong, self-confident Israel, willing to hold serious negotiations with the Palestinians and the group of Arab nations within an international conference, backed by the US and the Quartet – in order to achieve a two-state solution and establish a regional agreement, while maintaining an unyielding and persistent fight against terrorism and ensuring the IDF's qualitative military edge over any combination of opponents.

- The moderates among Arab rulers are unable (and also unwilling) to float this common interest and turn it into policy – because they worry how their people would respond. This is how the Palestinian issue is related to possibility of an overall agreement in the Middle East.

- And this isn't just an assessment.

- We must remember, vis-a-vis the Palestinians, Israel can (practically only) give. Regarding the rest of the moderate Arab world – Israel can also get, and a lot..
Not just recognition and legitimacy but also an opportunity for regional infrastructure projects – and mostly – for the beginning of a process, protracted though it may be – to change the region's fundamental attitudes towards Israel.

- On the road to seize this opportunity – Israel will have to consider embracing the Saudi proposal, with Israel's reservations, as a basis to negotiate a regional agreement.

- This will take time. There will be ups and downs. The Palestinians are not an easy interlocutor. No one knows that better than I do..

- This might require long periods of interim agreements and even calculated unilateral steps that are coordinated with the US and the Quartet.

- It is possible that within the context of a regional agreement, the Palestinian State, once established, could be integrated into a structure of a closer cooperation that could include Jordan, Israel and perhaps another regional player.

- But to advance the chance of a regional agreement after the elections in Israel – the Palestinian issue and the two-state solution must be at the top of the agenda.

- The idea that' the radical right raises from time to time – to continue to rule the entire territory and maintain a sort of "autonomy" for the Palestinians – is an illusion at best, and the first step of an upcoming blame game at worst. It will be brutally rejected by our closest friends – not to mention by each of the potential partners for the regional agreement – and by all of them together. This too is not a mere assessment.

- The claim that the events of the past year "prove" that Israel's vital security needs are incompatible with the "two-state solution" – is false. And I'm stating this as a professional position, not a political opinion.

- On the contrary – the IDF will be able to defend Israel better from an internationally recognized border that

includes the settlement blocs, a number of strategic sites on mountain ridge, a security zone east of Ben Gurion Airport and long-term military presence on the Jordan River.

- The real threat to the future of the Zionist Project – is not the security constraints of the "two-state solution" but rather a slippery slope leading to the "one-state solution" – a reality that would compromise Israel's security and worsen its diplomatic isolation – while inevitably (and this is the keyword) leading Israel into becoming a non-Jewish or non-democratic state. Not to mention the danger of descending into severe, perpetual hemorrhaging, lasting generations, by the two national communities locked in embrace– as we have seen in Belfast

and Bosnia.

- The vision we all share – the vision of a "model society" in Israel, of positioning Israel, within 10-15 years, among the group of the most advanced societies – in education and culture, science and technology, quality of life – and eventually standard of living (Finland and Denmark can do it? So can we!). A society in which its sons and daughters choose to live . And one that young Jews from all over the world consider a source of pride, inspiration – and even a worthy place to live in.

- The vision of a "model society" will not materialize unless we gather our mental strength and political will, despite the pain and the differences in our positions – and together embrace

the "two-state solution under a regional agreement" – which even if it delays – is the only appropriate and feasible solution, the only realistic and proper goal for Zionism in this complex world of the 21st century.

- A friend (from the Likud, actually) told me that when he was young, he visited Ben Gurion's home a few times. In one of their conversations, the boy asked the Old Man: "how is it that out of all of the people's leaders in the past 2,000 years, and even in the past 80 years, it was you who ended up founding the Jewish State?" And the Old Man answered: "In ancient times, everyone had a sixth sense, a sense of recognizing opportunities. This sense disappeared over time – in most people. But not for me! I saw an opportunity – and I

seized it."
Ben Gurion did not speak of the horrors of the War of Independence, the doubts, the risks. many assumed we would fail. He talked about the opportunity and recognizing it. And the deed.

- Like Ben Gurion at the time, Menachem Begin – with Egypt, and Rabin – in the peace treaty with Jordan, and later Peres – with the first steps towards the Palestinians, took huge national, diplomatic, security and political risks. Some paid a heavy price. Yitzhak paid the ultimate price. But they all dared – and acted. This is the true test of leadership. This is also the real test of creative statesmanship.

- Formative leadership had always been rooted in a rare combination and fine balance between

vision, daring and courage on one hand and judgment, complete sobriety and grasp of detail on the other. They will not come where anxiety, pessimism and passivity rule – these are recipes for the creating of self-fulfilling (necessarily pessimistic) prophecies.

- The essence and the purpose of the Zionist movement was to defy the reality and the mindset that the Exile created. Its foundation lay in the decision to take our own fate in our own hands and move proactively to change reality, and not be swept away by the arbitrary waves of history.

- Reality is knocking on our door. Not everything is certain. Nothing is ever certain. And nothing ever will be. Nevertheless – open the

- door – this is the true trial of the national leadership.
- Abba Eban used to say – the Palestinians have never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity.
- Let's not fall into this trap – ourselves.

- Thank you.

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New Firepower in Shocking Suit Against Trump

By Jenna Greene
Published: Oct 10, 2016

Donald Trump, left, and J. Cheney Mason, right.
Photos: lev radin/Shutterstock.com and Rick Runion/AP

If you thought the presidential election couldn't get any uglier, guess again. Because a suit against Donald Trump alleging that he raped a 13-year-old girl has new life.

On Monday, Florida criminal defense lawyer J. Cheney Mason—best known for successfully defending Casey Anthony, who was charged with killing her 2-year-old daughter—filed court papers to represent "Jane Doe" in a suit against Trump and disgraced financier Jeffrey Epstein.

The rape suit isn't exactly new. It was filed pro se by "Katie Johnson" in Los Angeles federal court in April, dismissed, refiled in the Southern District of New York, withdrawn and refiled on Sept. 30. But with the addition of Mason—a media-savvy lawyer not known for shying away from the spotlight—the stakes have changed.

Suddenly, it's a lot more serious. Which is not the same as legitimate, but the odds that the case will go away quietly are much slimmer given the firepower of her new counsel. Especially now, in the wake of a 2005 recording where Trump bragged about using his star power to kiss and grope women.

The allegations in the suit are truly awful. Jane Doe says that when she was 13, she attended parties at Epstein's New York City townhouse, enticed by promises of money and a modeling career. She allegedly had sexual encounters with Trump on four occasions there.

The complaint states, "Defendant Trump tied plaintiff to a bed, exposed himself to plaintiff, and then proceeded to forcibly rape plaintiff. During the course of this savage sexual attack, plaintiff loudly pleaded with Defendant Trump to stop but with no effect. Defendant Trump responded to plaintiff's pleas by violently striking plaintiff in the face with his open hand and screaming that he would do whatever he wanted."

Epstein allegedly raped her as well. In 2008, he pleaded guilty to soliciting an underage girl for prostitution, and has faced other suits by women who allege underage sexual assault.

Trump's lawyer Alan Garten, has unequivocally denied the allegations. In fact, the current complaint quotes his denial: "The allegations are not only categorically false, but disgusting at the highest level and clearly framed to solicit media attention or, perhaps, are simply politically motivated. There is absolutely no merit to these allegations. Period." Doe's suit claims that this statement is libelous.

The only reason I can think of for including such a seemingly absurd claim (how can you libel someone who is anonymous?) is that it's not time-barred. The rest of the complaint probably is.

The alleged incidents took place in 1994—22 years ago. The complaint claims that Doe didn't come forward because she was "unrelentingly threatened by each defendant that, were she ever to reveal any of the details of the sexual and physical abuse caused to her by defendants, plaintiff and her family would be physically harmed if not killed."

But Epstein in 2008 was sentenced to 18 months in prison. Why couldn't she have come forward then?

That's not the only problem with the case.

I wrote about the suit when it was first filed in LA with great skepticism—"an anonymous stink bomb," I called it.

In large part, I was dubious because the person filing the complaint, "Katie Johnson," claimed her only past work experience was as a freelance model. And yet her pro se complaint was perfectly formatted, with proper margins and numbering; it correctly cited statutes, got the venue and jurisdiction correct and contained no typos.

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It looked more to me like the secret handiwork of a lawyer intent on smearing Trump.

If so, however, there was no way to hold anyone accountable. The phone number provided was disconnected and Johnson's address was an abandoned, foreclosed house.

The allegations in the latest complaint by "Jane Doe" are the same, albeit with fewer lurid details and no explanation why she is no longer Katie Johnson. But the biggest difference is that she's got lawyers now.

In addition to Mason, "Jane Doe" is represented—improbably—by New Jersey patent litigator Thomas Meagher, the managing partner of nine-lawyer IP boutique Meagher Emanuel Laks Goldberg & Liao.

Mason and Meagher did not respond to requests for comment.

Campaign finance records show that Mason gave $2,000 to Hillary Clinton in February. Meagher during this election cycle has donated to Marco Rubio, Chris Christie, Ted Cruz and Jeb Bush. He has never given money to a Democrat, according to Open Secrets data.

So is the suit for real? Or is it an especially dirty way to attack Donald Trump?

There's a You Tube video of the plaintiff, with her faced blurred and her voice distorted, where she recounts the rape. Under these conditions, it's impossible to tell if she's credible or not.

The complaint also includes an affidavit from "Joan Doe," a school friend who said the plaintiff told her about the rapes in 1994, and from "Tiffany Doe," who said she recruited the plaintiff to come to Epstein's parties and witnessed the sexual assaults. So perhaps more evidence will emerge to bolster Jane Doe's claims.

On the other hand, if the complaint is determined to be without merit, Mason and Meagher could be sanctioned by the court for filing a frivolous lawsuit.

Or Trump could respond like Alan Dershowitz, who was also accused of sexual misconduct with a minor in connection with Epstein. The Harvard Law School professor said lawyers for the accuser acted unethically and fabricated the allegations; in turn, they sued him for defamation. The case settled earlier this year on undisclosed terms.

In the Trump case, U.S. District Judge Ronnie Abrams set an initial conference for Dec. 16. The real question: if Clinton wins, will this case simply disappear?

Jenna Greene can be reached at jgreene@alm.com. On Twitter: @JgreeneJenna

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From: Donald Rubin [redacted]
Sent: 1/22/2017 7:31:32 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Republican health care experts dismiss Donald Trump's ideas

Importance: High

https://www.statnews.com/2016/03/04/trump-republicans-health-care/?s_campaign=trendmd

Jeffrey,

This cannot be true, can it? This guy must be as dumb about this stuff as a tampon laced with arsenic!!

HELP!

Great meeting yesterday — really enjoyed it.

And happy birthday again, Don

Donald B. Rubin
John L. Loeb Professor of Statistics
Department of Statistics, Harvard University
1 Oxford Street
Cambridge MA 02138
[redacted]

From: Deepak Chopra [redacted]
Sent: 3/22/2017 7:29:01 PM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Barnaby Marsh [redacted]
Subject: Fw: HMS-Today's News (March 22, 2017)
Attachments: image001.png; OutlookEmoji-1478302741070_PastedGraphic-1.tiff; OutlookEmoji-1483997936424_email-signature-plain.jpg.jpg

Importance: High

See item # 2

2013 Costa Del Mar Road
Carlsbad, CA 92009
Chopra Foundation
Jiyo
Chopra Center for Wellbeing

discoveringyourcosmicself.com

From: Tanzi, Rudolph E [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 22, 2017 2:39 PM
To: Deepak Chopra
Subject: Fwd: HMS-Today's News (March 22, 2017)

WOW!!!

Begin forwarded message:

From: HMS-in the News <HMS_In_The_News@HMS.HARVARD.EDU>
Subject: HMS-Today's News (March 22, 2017)
Date: March 22, 2017 at 2:34:12 PM EDT
To: <HMSNEWS_QUAD_FAC_STAFF@LISTSERV.MED.HARVARD.EDU>

Reply-To: HMS-in the News <HMS_In_The_News@HMS.HARVARD.EDU>

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 2017

Flexibility on 'essential benefits' will increase cost of insurance for pregnancy, addiction and mental illness
STAT
Richard Frank (HMS) co-authored this opinion piece arguing that the Republican health care bill could drive up the cost of coverage for pregnancy care, newborn care, and mental illness and addictive disorders treatment.

Deepak Chopra speculates about Trump's brain
USA Today
A noted alternative medicine advocate is the latest medical professional to speculate about President Trump's mental health. Rebecca Brendel (HMS/Mass General) discusses the so-called Goldwater rule of the American Psychiatric Association that discourages physicians from expressing public opinions about people whom they are not treating.

Can my doctor out me to my parents?
U.S. News & World Report
The article discusses the confidentiality, legal and ethical conundrums faced by LGBTQ minors and the pediatricians who treat them when it comes to disclosing certain medical information to parents and guardians. Alex Keuroghlian (HMS/Mass General) is mentioned.

The $10 million quest to build a home health device inspired by 'Star Trek'
The Washington Post
Then there were two. A global competition to stimulate the innovation and integration of precision diagnostic technologies that will allow consumers to make their own medical diagnoses has been narrowed from 312 to two teams. Chung-Kang Peng (HMS/Beth Israel Deaconess) is the leader of one of the finalist teams. The winner will be announced in April.

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Dr. Rudolph E. Tanzi
Joseph. P. and Rose F. Kennedy Professor of Neurology

Harvard Medical School
Vice-Chair, Neurology; Director, Genetics and Aging Research Unit
Massachusetts General Hospital
114 16th Street
Charlestown, MA, 02129
[redacted]

My new TED talk:
(Curing Alzheimer's with Science and Song)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iuel1AFKSDo&
My Music: https://www.numberonemusic.com/rudytanzi

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

----------X

RADAR ONLINE LLC :

Plaintiff, :

- v. - :

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, :

Defendant. :

----------X

COMPLAINT

1. This is an action under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552 ("FOIA"), to order the production of Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI") records concerning the agency's investigation and prosecution of financier Jeffrey Edward Epstein ("Epstein") for sexually trafficking underage women. Defendant FBI has withheld these records despite a properly filed FOIA request.

PARTIES

2. Plaintiff Radar Online LLC ("Radar") is an online investigative news outlet read by millions.
3. The FBI, a component of the Department of Justice, is an agency of the United States with possession and control of the records sought by Plaintiff.

JURISDICTION AND VENUE

4. This court has jurisdiction over this action pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1331 and 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(B).
5. Radar's principal place of business is New York City and therefore venue is appropriate

under 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(B).

FACTS

Background of Request

6. Jeffrey Epstein is a billionaire financier, philanthropist, and sex offender. In 2005, Epstein became the subject of an undercover sex trafficking investigation by Palm Beach, Florida police and the FBI. Dozens of underage women were trafficked by Epstein to perform sexual acts on him as well as his friends.

7. Despite the gravity of his offenses, the Department of Justice allowed Epstein to plead guilty to a single count of soliciting prostitution from a minor under Florida state law, and serve only 13 months in prison. In addition, prosecutors agreed not to bring charges against Epstein's alleged co-conspirators.

8. Mr. Epstein enjoyed close ties to numerous prominent political figures, including former President Bill Clinton and Prince Andrew of the British Royal Family, leading many to speculate whether he received preferential treatment from authorities. *See* Goodnough, Abby, "Questions of Preferential Treatment Are Raised in Florida Sex Case," *The New York Times*, Sep. 3, 2006. (Exhibit A)

FOIA Request and Constructive Denial

9. On April 20, 2017 James Robertson, a Senior Editor for *The National Enquirer* and sister-publication Radar Online, submitted a FOIA request to the FBI for all documents relating to the investigation and prosecution of Epstein (the "Request"). (Exhibit B)

10. Robertson requested expedited processing because Epstein's crimes are the subject of widespread and exceptional media interest, and raise questions about the government's integrity, which affects public confidence; specifically, whether Mr. Epstein received

preferential treatment from authorities due to his wealth, connections, and political leverage.

11. The FBI has provided no response to Mr. Robertson's request, nor even assigned it a tracking number. By failing to provide - or formally deny - documents within twenty working days, the FBI has constructively denied the request under 5 U.S. Code § 552(a)(6)(A)(ii).

CAUSE OF ACTION

Violation of the Freedom of Information Act for Wrongful Withholding of Agency Records

12. Plaintiff repeats and realleges paragraphs 1-11.

13. Defendant FBI has wrongfully withheld agency records requested by Plaintiff.

14. Plaintiff has exhausted all administrative remedies.

REQUESTED RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiff requests this Court:

(A) Order defendant to provide access to the requested documents in their entirety;

(B) Expedite this proceeding as provided for in 28 U.S.C. § 1657;

(C) Award plaintiff costs and reasonable attorney fees in this action, as provided in 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(E); and

(D) Grant such other and further relief as may deem just and proper.

Dated: May 25, 2017

By: Dan Novack

Daniel Novack
NY BAR ID: 5010863
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4 New York Plaza (2nd Floor)
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Email: Dan@NovackMediaLaw.com
Counsel for Plaintiff

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The New York Times

U.S.

Questions of Preferential Treatment Are Raised in Florida Sex Case

By ABBY GOODNOUGH SEPT. 3, 2006

PALM BEACH, Fla. — In the summer and autumn of last year, when most of the mansions here stood empty behind their towering hedges, the police stealthily watched one at the end of a waterside lane. They monitored the comings and goings of its owner's private jet, subpoenaed his phone records and riffled through his trash.

The owner was Jeffrey Epstein, 53, an intensely private New York money manager with several billionaire clients. Months earlier, the stepmother of a 14-year-old girl told the Palm Beach police that a wealthy older man, whom the girl later identified as Mr. Epstein, might have had inappropriate sexual contact with her.

In sworn statements to the police, the 14-year-old and other teenage girls said a friend had arranged for them to visit Mr. Epstein's home and give him massages, usually in their underwear, in exchange for cash.

Most of the girls, according to the police, said Mr. Epstein had masturbated during the massages, and a few said he had penetrated them with his fingers or penis. They identified him in photos and accurately described the inside of his home. Some recalled that his employees had fed them snacks or rented them cars.

Mr. Epstein pleaded not guilty in August to the crime he was ultimately charged with, soliciting prostitution. But at a time when prosecutors around the nation have become increasingly severe in dealing with people accused of sex offenses, the case has raised questions about whether Mr. Epstein's prominence won him preferential treatment.

By the account of the police, they found probable cause to charge Mr. Epstein with much more serious offenses: one count of lewd and lascivious molestation and four counts of unlawful sexual activity with a minor.

But instead of proceeding with such charges on his own, the Palm Beach County state attorney took the rare step of presenting a broad range of possible charges to a grand jury, which indicted Mr. Epstein in July on the lesser count. In Florida, prosecutors usually refer only capital cases to grand juries.

Even before the indictment, the Palm Beach police chief, Michael Reiter, had accused prosecutors of giving Mr. Epstein special treatment and asked the state attorney, Barry E. Krischer, to remove himself from the case.

In an editorial, The Palm Beach Post attacked Mr. Krischer, a Democrat whose post is elective, saying the public had been left "to wonder whether the system tilted in favor of a wealthy, well-connected alleged perpetrator and against very young girls who are alleged victims of sex crimes."

The case has taken a toll on the reputation of Mr. Epstein, who owns a palatial home in Manhattan, has pledged $30 million to Harvard and once flew former President Bill Clinton on his 727. Politicians including Eliot Spitzer, a Democratic candidate for governor in New York, and Gov. Bill Richardson of New Mexico, also a Democrat, have returned campaign contributions from him.

But Mr. Epstein fought back, assembling a team of star lawyers, including Gerald B. Lefcourt and Alan M. Dershowitz, a friend of his, to look into the backgrounds of his young accusers.

Mr. Lefcourt says that the police acted "outrageously" and that his client has been wrongfully dragged through the mud.

"He disputes that he ever had sex with any under-age person or anything like that," said Mr. Lefcourt, whose clients have included Russell Crowe, Martha Stewart and Abbie Hoffman.

Neither the police nor the state attorney's office would discuss the case in detail. But the police released a thick report on the 13-month investigation after the indictment was unsealed in late July.

The police started investigating Mr. Epstein in March 2005, almost immediately after they were contacted by the stepmother of the 14-year-old, who, according to the report, was in a special school for students with disciplinary problems.

The girl, the report said, told the police that an older friend had "offered her an opportunity to make money" and had driven her to Mr. Epstein's house one Sunday. The friend, identified by the police as Haley Robson, a local community college student, told the girl to say she was 18 if Mr. Epstein asked, the report said.

The girl told the police that Mr. Epstein's assistant had led her upstairs to a room with a massage table and that Mr. Epstein had come in and told her to remove her clothes. She said Mr. Epstein had masturbated as she massaged him, had pressed a vibrator against her underwear and had given her $300 afterward.

In October, the police interviewed Ms. Robson, then 19, who told them Mr. Epstein had routinely paid her to bring teenage girls to his home. The police then interviewed a total of 5 alleged victims and 17 witnesses, many of whom told similar stories about what they had observed or participated in at Mr. Epstein's home. According to the report, at least one said Mr. Epstein had engaged in intercourse with her.

Mr. Lefcourt, his lawyer, said one girl who told the police of having had sex with Mr. Epstein as a minor had lied about both the sex and her age and had not shown up for grand jury questioning. He also said Mr. Epstein had passed a lie-detector test clearing him of any sexual involvement with under-age girls.

A spokeswoman for the Palm Beach police said that early this year, the police went to Mr. Krischer, the state attorney, intending to apply for warrants to arrest

Mr. Epstein. Instead, she said, they were told that Mr. Krischer would convene a grand jury to examine the evidence and decide what charges, if any, to bring.

Around that time, the police report said, Mr. Dershowitz met with prosecutors to share information about the accusers, including statements they had posted on MySpace.com, the social networking site, concerning use of drugs and alcohol. According to the report, Mr. Krischer's office then decided to delay the grand jury session for several months.

The Palm Beach police grew frustrated, the report said, and on May 1 the department asked prosecutors to approve warrants to arrest Mr. Epstein.

Chief Reiter also wrote Mr. Krischer questioning "the unusual course that your office's handling of this matter has taken" and suggesting that Mr. Krischer disqualify himself. Chief Reiter refused several requests to be interviewed, and his spokeswoman would not say explicitly why he had urged the prosecutor to step aside.

Mike Edmondson, a spokesman for Mr. Krischer, said the state attorney's office sometimes sent noncapital cases to grand juries when there were questions about witness credibility. Mr. Krischer does not recommend a particular charge in such cases, Mr. Edmondson said, but gives the grand jury a list of possible charges.

Bruce J. Winick, a law professor at the University of Miami, said that while prosecutors in Florida rarely referred noncapital cases to grand juries, they sometimes did so with sensitive cases to be extra-cautious.

Mr. Lefcourt said the police were wrong to have released the report so soon, especially without correcting information that later proved wrong. He cited his assertion that one accuser had lied about her age, adding that she had also been arrested on drug charges and had been fired by her employer for stealing.

"What I'm trying to focus on," Mr. Lefcourt said, "is, What's motivating the selective and misleading release of information to the public?"

A version of this article appears in print on , on Page A19 of the New York edition with the headline: Questions of Preferential Treatment Are Raised in Florida Sex Case.

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NATIONAL ENQUIRER

April 20, 2017

VIA FOIA PORTAL

TO: Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM: James Robertson
Senior Managing Editor
The National Enquirer
4 New York Plaza (2nd Floor)
New York, NY 10004
(212) 743-6555

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am a reporter and editor for *The National Enquirer*. I request records under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C.§ 552.

Request

The Enquirer seeks all documents relating to the FBI's investigation and prosecution of financier Jeffrey Edward Epstein, who pled guilty to one count of felony solicitation of prostitution in August 2006.

Background

Jeffrey Epstein is a billionaire financier, philanthropist, and sex offender. In 2005, Epstein became the subject of an undercover sex trafficking investigation by Palm Beach, Florida police and the FBI. Dozens of underage women claimed that they had been trafficked by Epstein to perform sexual acts on him as well as his friends.

Many prominent political figures have been connected to Mr. Epstein's child-trafficking ring, including former President Bill Clinton and Prince Andrew of the British Royal Family.

Links: (Bill Clinton) http://www.foxnews.com/us/2016/05/13/flight-logs-show-bill-clinton-flew-on-sex-offenders-jet-much-more-than-previously-known.html; (Prince Andrew) https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/10/jeffrey-epstein-decade-scandal-prince-andrew

Despite the gravity of his offenses, the Department of Justice agreed to allow Epstein to plead guilty to a single count of soliciting prostitution from an underage girl under Florida state law, and served only 13 months in prison. In addition, prosecutors agreed not to bring charges against Epstein's alleged co-conspirators.

NATIONAL ENQUIRER

Link: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/10/jeffrey-epstein-decade-scandal-prince-andrew

Papers filed in a 2006 lawsuit alleged that Epstein surreptitiously recorded sexual activity between prominent individuals and underage girls for purposes of blackmail, leaving many to wonder whether potential blackmail material played a role in his light sentence:

Link: http://www.ibtimes.com.au/prince-andrew-might-have-been-caught-tape-sex-slave-1407641

Expedited Processing

This request has been the subject of the request is of widespread and exceptional media interest and the information sought involves possible questions about the government's integrity which affects public confidence. Specifically; the issue of whether Mr. Epstein's wealth and connections secured him favorable treatment by the DOJ.

Given that a civil defamation trial between one of Epstein's victims and his alleged co-conspirator, Ghislaine Maxwell, has just begun, the topic is of renewed interest to the public and therefore is worthy of expedited processing.

Certification

The above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Fee Waiver

The National Enquirer is a news organization. Under 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii), the *Enquirer* is entitled to a fee waiver because disclosure of the information sought is in the public interest, is likely to contribute significantly to public understanding of the operations or activities of the government, and is not primarily in the commercial interest of the requester.

Electronic Records

Please furnish all responsive records in electronic format.

Further Correspondence

All correspondence regarding this request can be directed to me at jrobertson@amilink.com

Please be aware that under 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(6)(A), a FOIA request is considered constructively denied after twenty business days.

NATIONAL ENQUIRER

If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this request.

Sincerely,

James Robertson
Senior Managing Editor

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

----------X

RADAR ONLINE LLC :

Plaintiff, :

- v. - :

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, :

Defendant. :

----------X

COMPLAINT

1. This is an action under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552 ("FOIA"), to order the production of Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI") records concerning the agency's investigation and prosecution of financier Jeffrey Edward Epstein ("Epstein") for sexually trafficking underage women. Defendant FBI has withheld these records despite a properly filed FOIA request.

PARTIES

2. Plaintiff Radar Online LLC ("Radar") is an online investigative news outlet read by millions.
3. The FBI, a component of the Department of Justice, is an agency of the United States with possession and control of the records sought by Plaintiff.

JURISDICTION AND VENUE

4. This court has jurisdiction over this action pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1331 and 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(B).
5. Radar's principal place of business is New York City and therefore venue is appropriate

under 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(B).

FACTS

Background of Request

6. Jeffrey Epstein is a billionaire financier, philanthropist, and sex offender. In 2005, Epstein became the subject of an undercover sex trafficking investigation by Palm Beach, Florida police and the FBI. Dozens of underage women were trafficked by Epstein to perform sexual acts on him as well as his friends.

7. Despite the gravity of his offenses, the Department of Justice allowed Epstein to plead guilty to a single count of soliciting prostitution from a minor under Florida state law, and serve only 13 months in prison. In addition, prosecutors agreed not to bring charges against Epstein's alleged co-conspirators.

8. Mr. Epstein enjoyed close ties to numerous prominent political figures, including former President Bill Clinton and Prince Andrew of the British Royal Family, leading many to speculate whether he received preferential treatment from authorities. *See* Goodnough, Abby, "Questions of Preferential Treatment Are Raised in Florida Sex Case," *The New York Times*, Sep. 3, 2006. (Exhibit A)

FOIA Request and Constructive Denial

9. On April 20, 2017 James Robertson, a Senior Editor for *The National Enquirer* and sister-publication Radar Online, submitted a FOIA request to the FBI for all documents relating to the investigation and prosecution of Epstein (the "Request"). (Exhibit B)

10. Robertson requested expedited processing because Epstein's crimes are the subject of widespread and exceptional media interest, and raise questions about the government's integrity, which affects public confidence; specifically, whether Mr. Epstein received

preferential treatment from authorities due to his wealth, connections, and political leverage.

11. The FBI has provided no response to Mr. Robertson's request, nor even assigned it a tracking number. By failing to provide - or formally deny - documents within twenty working days, the FBI has constructively denied the request under 5 U.S. Code § 552(a)(6)(A)(ii).

CAUSE OF ACTION

Violation of the Freedom of Information Act for Wrongful Withholding of Agency Records

12. Plaintiff repeats and realleges paragraphs 1-11.

13. Defendant FBI has wrongfully withheld agency records requested by Plaintiff.

14. Plaintiff has exhausted all administrative remedies.

REQUESTED RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiff requests this Court:

(A) Order defendant to provide access to the requested documents in their entirety;

(B) Expedite this proceeding as provided for in 28 U.S.C. § 1657;

(C) Award plaintiff costs and reasonable attorney fees in this action, as provided in 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(E); and

(D) Grant such other and further relief as may deem just and proper.

Dated: May 25, 2017

By: Dan Novack

Daniel Novack
NY BAR ID: 5010863
Law Office of Daniel R. Novack
4 New York Plaza (2nd Floor)
New York, NY 10004
Phone: (201) 213-1425
Email: Dan@NovackMediaLaw.com
Counsel for Plaintiff

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029418

The New York Times

U.S.

Questions of Preferential Treatment Are Raised in Florida Sex Case

By ABBY GOODNOUGH SEPT. 3, 2006

PALM BEACH, Fla. — In the summer and autumn of last year, when most of the mansions here stood empty behind their towering hedges, the police stealthily watched one at the end of a waterside lane. They monitored the comings and goings of its owner's private jet, subpoenaed his phone records and riffled through his trash.

The owner was Jeffrey Epstein, 53, an intensely private New York money manager with several billionaire clients. Months earlier, the stepmother of a 14-year-old girl told the Palm Beach police that a wealthy older man, whom the girl later identified as Mr. Epstein, might have had inappropriate sexual contact with her.

In sworn statements to the police, the 14-year-old and other teenage girls said a friend had arranged for them to visit Mr. Epstein's home and give him massages, usually in their underwear, in exchange for cash.

Most of the girls, according to the police, said Mr. Epstein had masturbated during the massages, and a few said he had penetrated them with his fingers or penis. They identified him in photos and accurately described the inside of his home. Some recalled that his employees had fed them snacks or rented them cars.

Mr. Epstein pleaded not guilty in August to the crime he was ultimately charged with, soliciting prostitution. But at a time when prosecutors around the nation have become increasingly severe in dealing with people accused of sex offenses, the case has raised questions about whether Mr. Epstein's prominence won him preferential treatment.

By the account of the police, they found probable cause to charge Mr. Epstein with much more serious offenses: one count of lewd and lascivious molestation and four counts of unlawful sexual activity with a minor.

But instead of proceeding with such charges on his own, the Palm Beach County state attorney took the rare step of presenting a broad range of possible charges to a grand jury, which indicted Mr. Epstein in July on the lesser count. In Florida, prosecutors usually refer only capital cases to grand juries.

Even before the indictment, the Palm Beach police chief, Michael Reiter, had accused prosecutors of giving Mr. Epstein special treatment and asked the state attorney, Barry E. Krischer, to remove himself from the case.

In an editorial, The Palm Beach Post attacked Mr. Krischer, a Democrat whose post is elective, saying the public had been left "to wonder whether the system tilted in favor of a wealthy, well-connected alleged perpetrator and against very young girls who are alleged victims of sex crimes."

The case has taken a toll on the reputation of Mr. Epstein, who owns a palatial home in Manhattan, has pledged $30 million to Harvard and once flew former President Bill Clinton on his 727. Politicians including Eliot Spitzer, a Democratic candidate for governor in New York, and Gov. Bill Richardson of New Mexico, also a Democrat, have returned campaign contributions from him.

But Mr. Epstein fought back, assembling a team of star lawyers, including Gerald B. Lefcourt and Alan M. Dershowitz, a friend of his, to look into the backgrounds of his young accusers.

Mr. Lefcourt says that the police acted "outrageously" and that his client has been wrongfully dragged through the mud.

"He disputes that he ever had sex with any under-age person or anything like that," said Mr. Lefcourt, whose clients have included Russell Crowe, Martha Stewart and Abbie Hoffman.

Neither the police nor the state attorney's office would discuss the case in detail. But the police released a thick report on the 13-month investigation after the indictment was unsealed in late July.

The police started investigating Mr. Epstein in March 2005, almost immediately after they were contacted by the stepmother of the 14-year-old, who, according to the report, was in a special school for students with disciplinary problems.

The girl, the report said, told the police that an older friend had "offered her an opportunity to make money" and had driven her to Mr. Epstein's house one Sunday. The friend, identified by the police as Haley Robson, a local community college student, told the girl to say she was 18 if Mr. Epstein asked, the report said.

The girl told the police that Mr. Epstein's assistant had led her upstairs to a room with a massage table and that Mr. Epstein had come in and told her to remove her clothes. She said Mr. Epstein had masturbated as she massaged him, had pressed a vibrator against her underwear and had given her $300 afterward.

In October, the police interviewed Ms. Robson, then 19, who told them Mr. Epstein had routinely paid her to bring teenage girls to his home. The police then interviewed a total of 5 alleged victims and 17 witnesses, many of whom told similar stories about what they had observed or participated in at Mr. Epstein's home. According to the report, at least one said Mr. Epstein had engaged in intercourse with her.

Mr. Lefcourt, his lawyer, said one girl who told the police of having had sex with Mr. Epstein as a minor had lied about both the sex and her age and had not shown up for grand jury questioning. He also said Mr. Epstein had passed a lie-detector test clearing him of any sexual involvement with under-age girls.

A spokeswoman for the Palm Beach police said that early this year, the police went to Mr. Krischer, the state attorney, intending to apply for warrants to arrest

Mr. Epstein. Instead, she said, they were told that Mr. Krischer would convene a grand jury to examine the evidence and decide what charges, if any, to bring.

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Senior Managing Editor
The National Enquirer
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NATIONAL ENQUIRER

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NATIONAL ENQUIRER

If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this request.

Sincerely,

James Robertson
Senior Managing Editor

PRESERVING MONGOLIAN SOVEREIGNTY AND CULTURE

MONDAY, JUNE 19, 2017

The sovereignty of Mongolia is under siege.

The People's Republic China (PRC) regards Mongolia as its "Ukraine"[i], [ii]. Covertly the PRC has ambitions not simply to make Mongolia a client or puppet state, as it was under Soviet domination, but to integrate it with the PRC through a "voluntary" referendum, just as the Russians engineered the assimilation of Crimea in 2014.

This was Mao Tse-tung's prophecy and intent once China could establish parity or surpass Soviet military and economic might.[iii]

As the world's attention is focused on China's South China Sea claims, an asymmetrical war is also being conducted by the PRC to achieve Mongolian assimilation. Russian influence is being marginalized, as are Mongolia's '3rd Neighbor' partners such as Japan, South Korea, Germany, and the US[iv]. China's penetration and Sinification of Mongolia's natural resources, financial system, businesses, infrastructure, media, social media, culture, religion, security, electoral system, and political body are each battle fronts in a multi-pronged asymmetrical campaign to isolate and then assimilate Mongolia[v].

Preserving Mongolian sovereignty demands a global awareness of the PRC's covert intent. An education campaign is needed both within Mongolia and globally to counter a) the PRC's revisionist historical justification for claiming Mongolia as their Crimea[vi] and b) the PRC's effort to isolate Mongolia and control all aspects of Mongolia's economy, resources, politics, and culture.

Without a counter-campaign Mongolia will in a decade's time be assimilate and Sinicized like Inner Mongolia and Manchuria[vii]. Mongolians will become strangers in their own land.

China's assimilation of Mongolia will not only be a tragedy for the Mongolian people and the hope for Central Asian democracy, but a threat to the balance of power in Eurasia.

---

[i] In negotiations in 1956 between the Soviets and the PRC, the Soviet negotiator, Sergo Mikoyan, and CCP Politburo member Liu Shaoqi and Premier Zhou Enlai, the Chinese hoped to connect the granting of Mongolia independence with the question of Stalin's "mistakes." The Chinese requested the Soviets cancel Mongolia independence in the wake of Khrushchev's condemnation of Stalin's personality cult. Liu Shaoqi drew a parallel between Mongolia and Ukraine. He declared that Mongolia was China's "Ukraine". Source: "New Documents on Mongolia and the Cold War" by Sergey Radchenko, Wilson Center Cold War International History Project Bulletin, Issue 16, page 343 and Document 1, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWIHPBulletin16_p4_1.pdf.

[ii] In 26 February 1989 Deng Xiaoping in a revealing complaint to President Bush showed enduring Chinese views on Mongolia in regard to how Stalin had stolen or severed Mongolia from China. "Memorandum of Conversation between George H. W. Bush and Chairman Deng Xiaoping in Beijing", Wilson Center, February 26, 1989, http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116507.pdf?v=9e009d7beac46b3b33fcaafd3bcd08f5.

[iii] On 2 September 1964 during Mao's talk with the Japanese group of socialists, Mao announced that much of Siberia and Far East once belonged to China: "About a hundred years ago the area of to the east of Baikal become the territory of Russia and from then on Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka and other points are the territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet requested settling this account!" The publisher of the article writes that Mao makes this claim based on "the fact that many hundreds of years ago Chinese troops came to these areas and that once the Chinese Emperor collected tribute from the local people. Sourcne: "In connection with Mao Tse-tung's talk with a group of Japanese socialists", Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 2 September 1964, page 9 and 20, https://ia801207.us.archive.org/0/items/MaosTalkWithJapaneseSocialists/Maos%20Talk%20with%20Japanese%20Socialists.pdf.

[iv] "Battered Mongolia faces make-or-break moment" by Ken Koyanagi, Financial Times, 5 February 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/36b059b4-ea10-11e6-893c-082c54a7f539.

[v] "China-Mongolia Relations: Challenges and Opportunities" by Zolzaya Erdenebileg, China Briefing, 6 January 2017, http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2017/01/06/china-mongolia-relations.html.

[vi] Throughout history, Han Chinese have only controlled Mongolia for less than 18 months and that military effort was, ironically, financed by the Imperial Japanese Army.

[vii] "Inner Mongolia has become China's model of assimilation" by Hohhot and West Ujimqin, The Economist, 1 June 2017, http://www.economist.com/news/china/21722853-chinese-mongolians-are-still-asserting-their-identity-inner-mongolia-has-become-chinas-model.

From: Joichi Ito[redacted]
Sent: 7/7/2017 12:05:21 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: A message on the Trump Administration Proposal on Indirect Costs
Attachments: dkkolnphoaemodnh.png

Importance: High

FYI

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Maria T. Zuber" <[redacted]>
Subject: A message on the Trump Administration Proposal on Indirect Costs
Date: July 6, 2017 at 12:27:05 PM EDT
To: all-research@mit.edu
Cc: Suzanne Pettit <[redacted]>, Paul Schierenbeck <[redacted]>
Reply-To: [redacted]

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Martin A. Schmidt, Provost
Maria T. Zuber, Vice President for Research

Dear colleagues,

We are writing to alert you to an issue that threatens all of MIT's federally funded research activities but that is often underappreciated. We're referring to the Trump Administration's proposal to put a 10 percent cap on indirect cost reimbursements to universities by the National Institutes of Health – an idea that is already beginning to be talked about for other federal agencies as well.

An article explaining indirect costs and why they are important to MIT can be found in the most recent Faculty Newsletter: http://web.mit.edu/fnl/volume/295/zuber.html.

The Administration's proposed cuts to federal R&D agency budgets have rightly been met with consternation on campus. The indirect cost cap proposal is actually an even graver danger because it is easier for the government to institute, and it would do far-reaching damage that is harder to reverse. We need faculty and research staff to understand the devastating effects that capping indirect cost would cause to MIT and other research institutions.

The indirect cost cap is easier to implement than a cut to the budget because the Administration can act unilaterally without Congressional approval. The proposed agency budget cuts are already running into strong headwinds on both sides of the aisle in Congress, and they cannot move forward without 60 votes in the U.S. Senate. The indirect cost cap, by contrast, does not attract the same level of attention because it is not well understood, and the Administration can simply impose a cap – at a single agency, or at all of them (since indirect cost reimbursement is fairly uniform across the government now).

What would a 10 percent cap mean for MIT? A 10 percent cap on all federal agencies would cost MIT around $100 million a year. To put that in context, the financial crisis of 2008, where we saw a significant decline in endowment, required us to reduce spending by this same order of magnitude. Fortunately, the recovery of the endowment was relatively quick, and we were able to recoup some of that loss. In this case, the 10 percent cap is unlikely to be altered in the foreseeable future. Since this is a recurring cost, attempting to

recover this in the future through endowment payout would require on the order of an additional $2B in endowment. These indirect cost funds partially reimburse MIT for upkeep of research buildings and equipment, and literally keeping the lights and heating and cooling systems on. A portion of the money also pays administrative costs required to implement federal regulations and to provide staff who help apply for and monitor federal grants.

A cap on indirect costs would directly affect research and researchers. If MIT failed to receive the federal funds needed to operate research infrastructure, we would need to limit the number of federal grants that the Institute accepts. It would be necessary to introduce a process analogous to under-recovery of foundation proposals to identify the indirect costs to support each federal grant. While we would seek other ways to raise revenues, we would also need to cut other expenditures (e.g., through layoffs, salary freezes, etc.), reduce the use of research facilities to cut operating costs, and/or to allow facilities to deteriorate. All of our peer institutions are considering similar steps. In short, a cut to indirect costs is a cut to research funding. And it's a cut that's more difficult to handle than a decision by a federal agency not to fund a particular project in a given year.

The percentage of federal research funding that goes to indirect costs has remained relatively steady for decades, and there has been a federal cap on administrative costs since the 1990s. The Administration may hope that a proposed cap on indirect costs is seen as mitigating the impact of their proposed 22% reduction of the NIH budget. Although it may obscure this impact, in reality it will worsen it. The Administration is claiming that a cut to indirect costs will not cut research, but in truth without indirect cost recovery, academic institutions, including MIT, will not be able to afford to support current levels of federal grants.

The MIT administration is working on this matter with the urgency that it deserves. Let us be clear that no one on campus should be blasé or unconcerned about the proposal to cap indirect costs. Capping these costs will negatively impact every researcher at MIT.

Please let us know if you have any questions or comments. We will keep you informed as this situation evolves.

Sincerely,

Martin A. Schmidt
Maria T. Zuber

From: Lisa New[redacted]
Sent: 12/17/2017 7:18:33 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: thank you to friends of Poetry in America
Attachments: poetry_logo_cmyk_light-bg.jpg

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey: *(and please see personal P.S. under my signature!)*

I am writing now, as I have for the last several years, to update you on the work that Poetry in America and Verse Video Education have done in the last year. Below, I detail the accomplishments of 2017 and, below that, some projects I hope to complete in 2018. But first: my deepest thanks to you who have contributed financially, intellectually, creatively, and in so many other ways to Poetry in America's work.

Some of you receiving this letter have generously supported Verse Video Education, the independent non-profit production company (a 501c3) I founded in 2015. Verse Video Education now partners with WGBH television as well as with Harvard University (and others) to make the highest quality educational media for broad audiences. Whether you supported me by sharing your own interpretive talents on camera or by helping me to land elusive talent; whether you provided me funding, or equipment, or business wisdom, or organizational advice,
or a space in which to film, or just plain interest in the work-- I am immensely grateful. Making media-- and especially television-- is complex, and expensive, and I could not have navigated the road from professor to professor/producer/director without you.

Others of you have supported my humanities work at Harvard, and, in particular, Harvard's efforts to provide distance education of all kinds. Now (along with partners at the Bok Center, HarvardX, the Graduate School of Education, and the Extension School), I produce educational content for a wide global community of learners. Increasingly, Poetry in America not only distributes state-of-the-art humanities content within and beyond Harvard's gates, but we also train, mentor, and support a growing number of Harvard undergraduates and graduate students with interests in education, media, and the public humanities. These students now comprise a vibrant community of young Harvard humanists gaining experience in online teaching, curriculum design, educational policy, international education, video production, video editing, and more. By supporting Poetry in America, you
also support forward-looking humanities education at Harvard. (Update: those of you who are alumni of Harvard College are now eligible to receive class credit for your donations to Poetry in America projects.)

It's thrilling for me to report that our two largest efforts of the last few years are both coming to fruition.

Poetry in America's 13-episode television series, along with its parallel PBS LearningMedia Collection for educators, will air on PBS stations nationwide beginning in April 2018. Click here for a sneak peek at our 90-second series trailer (password: Poetry90). Featuring such guest interpreters as those in the trailer-- and dozens of others-- each half-hour episode of the series offers a deep dive into one important American poem. Discussions on a second season have begun!

Meanwhile, our Harvard partners at the Extension School and the Graduate School of Education have agreed, for a limited time, to make the full suite of Poetry in America online courses accessible to learners all over the world, offering a steep reduction in course fees. Students and teachers worldwide can now take any Poetry in America course-- at any credit level-- for $200. (Take a look at our 2018 offerings here.) Those of you who support individual schools or school networks: please note that through 2018 groups of five teachers or students can take any Poetry in America course for $1000 and receive graduate, undergraduate, or professional development credit-- and, that group's facilitator can receive free tuition. Please feel free to distribute our offerings to educators whose work you support anywhere in the world.

Harvard's highly unusual decision to slash tuition for the next year follows the great success of Poetry in America's first course for educators-- Poetry in America for Teachers: The City from Whitman to Hip Hop. In recognition of this course, David Coleman (president of the College Board) has offered support to allow us to continue developing and providing access to the highest quality educational and professional development humanities content. In 2018, as I lay out below, we seek to expand the scope of our offerings, and to work with our many partners to broaden access to all learners.

Thank you for your support for this work, and warmest best to you all in this holiday season.

Sincerely,
Lisa

P.S. and thank you so much, Jeffrey, for your amazing support , without which much of what I've managed in the last few years would never have happened. My next course for teachers, , as you'll notice, has shifted from art to environment--not because of any less passion on my part for arts content but really because of greater enthusiasm among others for poetry/science for the classroom. I would like to hear more from you about what you think kids/schools need in this area. Larry tells me you have views; as I move out of my central areas, I will need advice xxoolisa

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POETRY IN AMERICA

Poetry in America is now raising funds to complete an exciting group of new projects. Those in the pipeline include:

The Poetry of Earth, Sea and Sky
With commitments now in from the Poetry Foundation, Harvard's Center for the Environment, NextGen Climate, Nautilus Magazine, and more, Poetry in America is now embarking on the development of our second course specifically for teachers: Poetry in America for Teachers: The Poetry of Earth, Sea and Sky. This course will offer teachers innovative ways to blend humanities and science instruction and will provide them with classroom-ready materials. Via our partnership with the Bok Center, Harvard College and GSAS students will have the opportunity to build content, and skills, as they craft media, curriculum, and digital architecture for this second Poetry in America course for teachers.

Medicine and Media
In partnership with Harvard-trained physician and ER creator Neal Baer, poet-physician Rafael Campo, the Arts and Literature Initiative of Harvard Medical School, and the Derek Bok Center for Teaching and Learning at Harvard, Poetry in America will develop media around humane communication for medical practitioners and students. Our initial collection of content will focus on breast cancer health and LGBTQ health, and this project will provide the opportunity for students at Harvard Medical School and in the college to explore deeper registers of communication on vital matters of health. Content developed for this project has the potential to become a television episode.

Poetry in America for Chinese Learners
With seed funding from a Harvard graduate, Poetry in America is now developing content in a variety of formats (for-credit courses as well as short-form video assets to stream on internet platforms) for Chinese learners. Content will aim to offer new modes of humanities instruction to a broad global audience. We hope to expand our offerings beyond poetry to include other content in the humanities, including material on Shakespeare and World Literature.

Poetry in America: the Television Series (Season 2)
Plans for Season 2 are developing, and we hope to embark on a second season as soon as funds allow. On-camera interpreters already filmed or ready to film with us include Katie Couric, Yang Lan, Billy Collins, Julie Taymor, Yusef Komunyakaa, Eve Ensler, Ray Dalio, Kay Redfield Jamison, Mary Chapin Carpenter, Al Gore, Jorie Graham, Maurice Clarett, Jason Collins, Neal Baer, Danielle Ofri, Tom Steyer, and many others.

-- Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
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[redacted]

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 1/3/2018 11:00:51 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Ruberto, Israel & Weiner Trusts & Estates Alert: Estate Planning After the Enactment of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act

Importance: High

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Ruberto Israel & Weiner" <info@riw.com>
Subject: Ruberto, Israel & Weiner Trusts & Estates Alert: Estate Planning After the Enactment of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act
Date: January 3, 2018 at 4:02:49 PM EST
To: [redacted]
Reply-To: info@riw.com

January 2018

Estate Planning After the Enactment of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act

On December 22, 2017, President Trump signed the "Tax Cuts and Jobs Act" into law. The new legislation represents a compromise between House and Senate Republicans on their respective tax overhaul proposals, and is the most significant tax reform legislation to be enacted in over thirty years. Although the inherent complexities of the new legislation, combined with the whirlwind pace of its passage, poses many questions for analysts and tax practitioners alike as they begin to navigate the new tax system, we do have an understanding of what the new law will mean for high net worth individuals interested in advancing their estate planning goals.

Most of the provisions of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (the "Act") became effective on January 1st, and will sunset (or default to prior law) after December 31, 2025, absent further congressional action. In addition to extensive income tax related changes, including modifications to the individual and corporate income tax rates, doubling of the standard income tax deduction, capping of the state and local tax deduction, elimination of the personal income tax exemption, increase in the exemption for the alternative minimum tax, and decrease in the mortgage interest deduction, the Act temporarily doubles the federal estate, generation-skipping transfer ("GST") and gift tax exemption amounts, thereby offering high net worth families enhanced planning opportunities.

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Full Alert

This article was co-authored by Deborah Pechet Quinan and Deborah Qualia Howe.

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For a full description of our Trusts & Estates Group and a list of all of our practice areas, visit www.riw.com or contact any attorney in our T&E Group.

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From: Robert Trivers [redacted]
Sent: 1/4/2018 7:36:39 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: you and Chapman
Attachments: Dear Daniele 1.04.18.doc

Importance: High

attached a message i just sent to President Struppa of Chapman—i am certain that your gift will do the trick—and that the West Coast is indeed more convivial and supportive than the East

i hope i did not f… up your contact with Finkelstein

Carlos told me of the devastation to your island—pretty much as i feared

am amused (at a safe distance) as Bannon takes on Trump—he responds as he always does, threatening a suit he will not in fact file

no internet in my home or nearby in the great, retarded country of Jamaica so i am now at a restaurant some 35 minutes away and only go on-line twice a day—hoping that i will work instead

all best

TAX BULLETIN 2018-1

JANUARY 2, 2018

U.S. TRUST
Bank of America Private Wealth Management

TAX REFORM SIGNED INTO LAW

OVERVIEW

Without much fanfare but with typical political controversy, the House and Senate successfully reconciled their respective tax bills and the new tax legislation (the "Act"), was signed into law by President Trump on December 22nd, 2017. House and Senate conference committee members leaned in favor of many provisions contained in the Senate proposal. A significant move in that direction was retaining the elimination of the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate (the penalty for failing to maintain minimum essential health care coverage) and using the Senate's methodologies for taxing income from pass-through businesses (though some elements of the House bill entered into the computation). In other circumstances, a true compromise was reached, such as meeting in the middle on modifications to mortgage interest deductibility.

In order to abide by Senate budget reconciliation rules and ensure the Act does not result in budget deficits outside the 10-year budget window, the Act makes almost all changes to individual income tax provisions temporary – nearly all expire at the end of 2025. No doubt, this will create tax complexity and political difficulties. On the other hand, most corporate provisions are permanent. This Tax Bulletin 2018-1 summarizes certain provisions of the Act and adds observations on income, estate and pass-through taxation.[1]

INDIVIDUAL TAXES

	2017 Law.[2]	2018 Law.[3]
Individual Tax Rates	10, 15, 25, 28, 33, 35, 39.6%	10, 12, 22, 24, 32, 35, 37% Top rate would apply to income over $600,000 for married filing jointly; $500,000 for single.[4]
Standard Deduction	$12,700 ($6,350 if single)	$24,000 ($12,000 if single), enhanced for elderly and blind.[4]
Kiddie Tax	Unearned income of a child taxed at parents' tax rate if higher than child's rate	Simplifies kiddie tax by applying trust rates to unearned income of a child.[4]
Personal Exemption	$4,050, subject to phase-out	Eliminates; merged with higher standard deduction.[4]
Child / Dependent Tax Credits	$1,000, per qualifying child subject to phase-out beginning at $110,000 (married) and $75,000 (single taxpayers)	$2,000 per qualifying child, $500 per non-child dependent; subject to phase-out beginning at $400,000 (married) and $200,000 others.[4]
Top Capital Gains/Dividend Tax Rate	20% (plus 3.8% surtax)	Maximum rate of 20% is retained; same breakpoints as current law

INDIVIDUAL TAXES (continued)

	2017 Law	2018 Law
Itemized Deductions	Under the "Pease" limitation, up to 80% of most itemized deductions are lost when adjusted gross income exceeds $313,800 ($261,500 for single taxpayers)	Repeals the Pease limitation on itemized deductions Mortgage interest deduction: $750,000 limit on acquisition indebtedness retained (principal or secondary residence); deduction for home equity loan repealed Deduction for state and local income, sales tax and real property taxes limited to $10,000 in aggregate ($5,000 for married filing separately); deduction allowed for state and local taxes on trade or business or if related to production of income. Payment of income taxes in 2017 for a subsequent year would not be deductible in 2017.[4] Deduction for medical expenses retained and liberalized for 2017 and 2018.[4]
Retirement Savings	Contributions can be placed into deferred account, up to contribution cap	Unchanged
AMT	Parallel tax calculation with top rate of 28% and $84,500 exemption for married taxpayers ($54,300 others); phase out of exemption begins at $160,900 for married taxpayers ($120,700 others)	Retains and modifies AMT; exemptions raised to $109,400 (married) and $70,300 (others); phase-out of exemption begins at $1 million for married taxpayers ($500,000 others).[4]
Carried Interest	Retains character as capital gain and eligible for preferential tax rates	Requires three-year holding period to attain long-term capital gains rate
Investment Surtax	3.8% tax on "net investment income"	Unchanged – continues to apply

OBSERVATIONS – INDIVIDUAL TAXES

Under the Act, there will be winners and losers on the personal income tax side. Generally, wage earners from no-tax states.[5] could see tax savings under the Act. For instance, a Florida taxpayer earning $1 million with moderate itemized deductions may see a tax savings of about $30,000 under the Act. A similar taxpayer in New York State may see a savings of about $3,500 according to our preliminary analysis.[6]

Conversely, very high-wage earners from high-tax states could see a higher tax bill. A taxpayer earning $3 million in New York City may see a significant tax increase: $44,000 under the Act, due in part to the loss of significant deductions. A similar taxpayer in Florida would see a tax savings of about $91,000 under the Act (primarily due to the lower top rate, elongated 35% tax bracket and regaining itemized deductions that are no longer phased-out), according to our preliminary analysis.

Married couples could fare worse than two single taxpayers with a similar amount of income. The so-called marriage penalty hits particularly hard under the new tax brackets. The penalty is also exacerbated by permitting married couples only a $10,000 state income/real estate tax deduction, but allowing each of two single filers a deduction in the same amount ($20,000 combined). Under the changes, a single taxpayer with $500,000 of wages

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living in a state that imposes a state income tax (and $10,000 of charitable deductions) would pay a federal tax of about $143,690. Two single taxpayers would pay a total of twice that, or $287,380. However, if these two taxpayers were married, their joint tax liability would jump to $298,280, an increase of $10,900.

It appears that state of residence, type of income (wages versus new "qualified business income"), and mortgage interest will be among the most important factors for determining whether one is better or worse off under the Act.

Capital Gains. Although income tax rates and tax brackets will significantly change in 2018, the long- term capital gains rate will remain the same. The income limits for imposing the 15% and 20% capital gain rates will also remain the same; the 20% rate will apply when taxable income exceeds $479,000 (for married filing jointly). However, the Act's combination of lower rates and fewer deductions could mean that a taxpayer's "taxable income" could rise in 2018, meaning the taxpayer would expose more capital gain to the 20% bracket.

3.8% Surtax. The Act does not directly change the 3.8% surtax imposed on "net investment income." However, it indirectly changes it. When calculating a taxpayer's net investment income, a taxpayer can deduct investment expenses (after application of the 2% floor) and deductible state income taxes, to the extent those are properly allocable to net investment income. The deductibility of those two expenses changes in 2018 -- investment expenses are nondeductible, and state income taxes (with other state taxes) are limited to $10,000. Those expenses might not reduce net investment income in 2018, and as a result the 3.8% surtax might increase.

WEALTH TRANSFER TAXES

	2017 Law	2018 Law
Estate / Gift / GST Tax	40% rate, $5,490,000 exemption (indexed for inflation)	Commencing 2018, exemption for estate, gift and GST tax doubled from $5.6 million to $11.2 million (indexed for inflation) Enhanced exemption expires at the end of 2025
Tax Basis Upon Death	Step-up for estate property	Same as current; step-up for estate property

OBSERVATIONS – WEALTH TRANSFER

The transfer tax proposals in the Act extend the already limited reach of the federal estate, gift and GST taxes to even a smaller subset of only the wealthiest of taxpayers. There would be a temporary doubling of the exemptions until the end of 2025, reverting to current law in 2026. The step-up in basis at death would continue the entire time. Given the high exemption amounts ($11.2 million for individuals and $22.4 million for a married couple in 2018), that would effectively repeal the tax for most people. This change would have a significant effect on both testamentary and lifetime estate planning.

Testamentary planning. It is common for wills and other testamentary documents (such as revocable trusts) to contain dispositions that reference the estate (and GST) exemptions that are in effect at death. These so-called "formula" provisions would automatically adjust for changes in the exemption amounts. While this may achieve a beneficial tax result, the temporary doubling of the exemptions may also cause unintended consequences to the dispositive plan. For example, a common plan is to leave an amount equal to the estate exemption to a bypass

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trust, and the balance for the surviving spouse, either outright or in a marital trust. For a hypothetical $10 million estate, if death occurred in 2017 that would result in roughly half to the bypass trust and half to the spouse. However, if death occurs in 2018 to 2025, that would result in the entire estate being left to the bypass trust. Complications could further arise for individuals living in certain states which impose their own estate tax. Wills and other testamentary documents should be reviewed to make certain they accurately reflect the testator's wishes. As always, documents should be drafted with flexible provisions that can be adjusted for future changes.

Lifetime planning. Lifetime gifts are often made in order to reduce the estate tax that would otherwise be incurred at death. While the doubling of the exemptions may avoid the need for lifetime gifting for certain individuals, that may only be the case if death occurs before 2026. Accordingly, the tax consequences of making a current gift may have to be compared with alternative estate tax scenarios. The temporary nature of the increase in transfer tax exemptions also raises the issue of whether it is advisable to lock-in the higher exemption by making a lifetime gift before 2026. (Similar issues arose in 2012, when there was uncertainty whether the $5 million estate exemption would continue in 2013.) This raises the question of whether the gift could be structured in a manner that could be "undone" if the higher exemption is made permanent. It also raises the question of whether there would be recapture (so-called "clawback") if a lower exemption is in effect at death. In that regard, it appears that the new legislation would eliminate the concern about recapture. In sum, the uncertainty of the estate exemption amount at death will make lifetime planning more challenging.

CORPORATE TAXES

	2017 Law	2018 Law
Top C-Corporate Rate	35%	21% (effective 2018)
AMT	Parallel tax calculation with top rate of 20%	Eliminates corporate AMT
Business Investments	Limited immediate expensing; balance subject to depreciation	Immediate expensing for new and used qualified property acquired and placed in service after September 27, 2017 and before January 1, 2023 (Jan. 1, 2024 for certain property) and partial expensing for other property acquired after 2022 and before 2027.
Interest Expense	No limitation	Limited to business interest *income*, plus 30% of a business's adjusted taxable income (EBITDA for 2017-2021 and EBIT thereafter); with special rules for "floor plan financing indebtedness"; full deduction for small businesses with gross receipts of $25 million or less

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PASS-THROUGH ENTITY TAXES

	2017 Law	2018 Law
Top Rate: Pass-Through Entities (S-corporations, LLCs, LLPs and Partnerships) / Sole Proprietorships	Subject to tax at individual rates up to 39.6%	An individual taxpayer generally may deduct 20% of domestic qualified business income from a partnership, S corporation, or sole proprietorship[4] In the case of a taxpayer who has qualified business income from a partnership, S corporation or sole proprietorship, the amount of the deduction is limited to the greater of (i) 50% of the W-2 wages paid by business or (ii) sum of 25% of W-2 wages paid by business and 2.5% of business capital. This wage limitation (i) does not apply if taxpayer's taxable income is less than $157,500 ($315,000 for joint return); (ii) applies fully if taxable income exceeds $207,500 ($415,000 for joint return); and (iii) applies proportionately if taxable income is between those two limits Trusts and estates that own business interests qualify for this deduction Deduction is a post-AGI item, even for taxpayers not itemizing deductions
Pass-Through Entities – Service Businesses	Subject to tax at individual rates up to 39.6%	For "specified service business," (i) the 20% deduction applies fully if taxpayer's taxable income is less than $157,500 ($315,000 for joint return); (ii) there is no deduction if taxable income exceeds $207,500 ($415,000 for joint return); and (ii) there is a partial deduction if taxable income is between those two limits.[4] Service business includes accounting, law, consulting, investing, etc., but excludes engineering and architecture services

OBSERVATIONS – PASS-THROUGH ENTITIES

As originally proposed, the House and Senate took fundamentally different approaches to the taxation of pass-through entities (sole proprietorships, partnerships, LLCs, LLPs and S-corporations). While they differed from each other, they shared the goal of creating preferential treatment for certain pass-through business income. The Act largely took the Senate's approach but adopted a few elements of the House's approach. The Act approaches small business relief by permitting a non-itemized deduction of 20% of qualified business income; the remaining 80% would then be subject to normal tax rates. Therefore, the top tax rate for business income would be 29.6% (80% x 37% = 29.6%). The provision is riddled with a host of complex limitations. For taxpayers not in the top income tax bracket, the value of the deduction will depend on the marginal bracket that would otherwise be imposed on the income.

Owners of service businesses (e.g., law, accounting and consulting, etc., but not engineering or architectural services) generally would be eligible for the 20% deduction unless taxable income exceeds $315,000 for married filing jointly ($157,500 for others). The benefit of the 20% deduction is phased out and fully eliminated over the

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next $100,000 of taxable income for married filing jointly ($50,000 for others). The following is a simple example for a pass-through entity.

EXAMPLE

H and W file a joint return on which they report taxable income of $200,000 (determined without regard to this provision). H has a sole proprietorship that is a qualified business and is a "specified service business." W is an employee and receives only W-2 wages from her job.

H's qualified business income is $150,000. 20 percent of the qualified business income is $30,000. Because H and W's taxable income is below the $315,000 threshold amount for a joint return, (i) the wage limit does not apply to H's qualified business, and (ii) the limitation applicable to specified service businesses does not apply. H's deductible amount for qualified business income is $30,000.

On their joint return, H & W would qualify for a $30,000 deduction, reducing their taxable income from $200,000 to $170,000. That taxable income would then be subject to regular income rates.

While upper-income wage earners in high-tax states generally do not fare well under the Act, taxpayers with substantial income from pass-through businesses should see a tax benefit compared with current law, since the weighted average rate of business income would be approximately 30%. Capital gains, dividends, and other preferential income from a business would not be considered "business income" and would continue to be taxed at preferential tax rates.

Under the initial Senate version, the pass-through deduction was not available to trusts or estates. Under the Act, however, trusts and estates can benefit from the pass-through deduction.

CORPORATE INTERNATIONAL TAXES

	2017 Law	2018 Law
International Corporate Tax – Scope	Worldwide with deferral available	100% of foreign-source portion of dividends paid by foreign corporation to U.S. corporate shareholder (that owns at least 10%) would be exempt from U.S. taxation
One-Time Deemed Repatriation of Foreign Earnings	No	U.S. shareholders owning at least 10% of a foreign corporation would be taxed on post-1986 net foreign earnings and profits (15.5% on earnings and profits comprising cash or cash equivalents; 8% on remaining earnings and profits); may elect to pay tax over a period of up to 8 years, in annual installments that allow more to be paid at the back end

OTHER PROVISIONS

The Act has other provisions of note that are not included in the charts above.

- **Roth recharacterization no longer allowed.** Under 2017 law, if you converted a traditional IRA to a Roth IRA, you could "recharacterize" that conversion within certain time limits, in effect undoing it. For tax years beginning after 2017, the Act repeals this rule, meaning you can no longer recharacterize

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a Roth conversion. From the current language of the effective date, it is unclear whether this would prevent a 2017 Roth conversion from being recharacterized in 2018.

- **Taxation of alimony.** Under 2017 law, alimony and separate maintenance payments were deductible by the payor and includible in income by the recipient. (Child support payments are not treated as alimony.) The House bill proposed to reverse this treatment, making alimony and separate maintenance payments non-deductible to the payor and non-taxable to the recipient. The Senate bill had no similar provision. The Act generally follows the House bill but delays the effective date by one year, generally being effective for any divorce or separation instrument executed after December 31, 2018.

- **Sale of principal residence exclusion.** Under 2017 law, up to $250,000 of gain ($500,000 if filing jointly) on the sale of a principal residence could be excluded from income. Among the requirements is that the principal residence be owned and used as your principal residence for two out of the last five years. You could use this rule only once every two years. This exemption was available regardless of income. Both the House and Senate Bills proposed that (i) the principal residence must be owned and used as your principal residence for five out of the last eight years and (ii) you can use this rule only once every five years. The House proposal also contained a limit to the exclusion if income exceeded a certain amount. In a surprise, none of these modifications were included in the Act. As a result, no changes were made to the principal residence exclusion rules.

- **Identification of securities sold, exchanged and gifted.** Gain or loss generally is recognized for Federal income tax purposes on the sale of property. A taxpayer's gain or loss on a disposition of property is the difference between the amount realized on the sale and the taxpayer's cost basis in the property. Under 2017 law, if a taxpayer has acquired stock in a corporation on different dates or at different prices and sells or transfers some of the shares of that stock, and the lot from which the stock is sold or transferred is not adequately identified, the shares sold are deemed to be from the earliest acquired shares (the "first-in-first-out" rule; FIFO). However, under 2017 law, if a taxpayer specifically identifies the shares of stock to be sold, the shares of stock treated as sold are the shares that have been identified. The same rules apply to charitable gifts and gifts to trusts or family members. Although the Senate bill had proposed eliminating the ability to specifically identify lots and mandating that the FIFO rule be used, the Act makes no changes; the 2017 rules will remain in place.

- **Like-kind exchanges**. Under 2017 law, real estate and personal property could qualify for a tax-deferred like-kind exchange. The property had to be held either for investment or for use in a trade or business. Under the Act, like-kind exchanges will be available only for real estate, not personal property. This will end, for example, like-kind exchanges of art. This new rule is effective for transfers after 2017. However, there is a transition rule to allow like-kind exchanges of personal property to be completed on a tax-free basis if you either disposed of the relinquished property or acquired the replacement property on or before December 31, 2017.

- **529 Savings Plans.** Under 2017 law, funds in 529 Saving Plans could be withdrawn tax-free if used for higher education expenses. The Act expands the type of expense that can be paid via a 529 Savings Plan and allows up to $10,000 per year to be used for elementary and high school tuition and specifically allows funds to be used for private and religious schools. A provision that would have also

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allowed funds to be used for home schooling was dropped at the last minute and is not in the final legislation.

- **Charitable gifts.** A charitable contribution deduction is limited to a certain percentage of the individual's adjusted gross income (AGI), and this limitation varies depending on the type of property contributed and the type of exempt organization receiving the property. Under 2017 law, cash contributed to public charities, private operating foundations, and certain non-operating private foundations generally could be deducted up to 50% of the donor's AGI. Under the Act, this 50% limitation is increased to 60%. The provision retains the 5-year carryover period to the extent that the contribution amount exceeds 60% of the donor's AGI.

- **Investment expenses and investment interest.** Under 2017 law, investment expenses were deductible as a "miscellaneous itemized deduction" if, and to the extent, they exceed 2% of AGI. The Act repeals the deduction for "miscellaneous itemized deductions" that are subject to the 2% AGI limitation, such as investment management expenses. Under 2017 law and current law, investment interest is not a "miscellaneous itemized deduction." Therefore, the deduction for investment interest remains untouched and continues to be deductible to the extent of investment income.

CONCLUSION

Given the significant tax changes in 2018, planning will be a challenge. It is important to understand the implications that the Act can have on your particular tax situation.

National Wealth Planning Strategies

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[1] Tax Bulletin 2017-5 summarized the key tax provisions in HR1, known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (the "House Bill"), which was passed (227-205) by the House on November 16, 2017. Tax Bulletin 2017-6 summarized the key tax provisions in the initial Senate bill HR1, also known as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which was subsequently amended and passed (51-49) by the full Senate on December 2, 2017. The final Senate version was similarly summarized in Tax Bulletin 2017-7. Tax Bulletin 2017-8 summarized the reconciled bill agreed to by both chambers. Tax Bulletin 2017-9 summarized the final legislation, including some year-end planning ideas that are no longer relevant.

[2] Inflation-adjusted amounts for 2017.

[3] The name "Tax Cut and Jobs Act" had to be removed; this legislation was signed into law by President Trump on December 22, 2017.

[4] This proposed change would be effective starting in 2018 and would not apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025 (e.g. sunsets at the beginning of 2026).

[5] There are nine states that impose no state income tax: AK, FL, NH, NV, SD, TN, TX, WA and WY (NH and TN impose a tax only on dividends and interest).

[6] This illustration assumes the following itemized expenses: charitable gifts $10,000, real estate tax $30,000 (limited to $10,000 under the proposal), mortgage interest of $15,000, and appropriate state income taxes, where applicable.

IMPORTANT: This publication is designed to provide general information about ideas and strategies. It is for discussion purposes only since the availability and effectiveness of any strategy are dependent upon your individual facts and circumstances. Clients should always consult with their independent attorney, tax advisor, investment manager, and insurance agent for final recommendations and before changing or implementing any financial, tax, or estate planning strategy.

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 1/13/2018 11:29:05 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Trump Calls Non-White Countries "S**tholes": The Daily Show

Importance: High

https://youtu.be/OQkfDJ2zVNo

Sent from my iPhone

From: Robert Trivers [redacted]
Sent: 2/9/2018 1:35:43 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Attachments: French Chauvinism.docx; President Obama and Self-dec.doc; It is difficult to pick the stupidest op.docx

Importance: High

Three short pieces that might amuse you (still working on Obama)

President Obama and Self-deception

All of us are vulnerable to deceit and self-deception. Deception of parents by children actually begins in the womb, when they manipulate the mother chemically into providing greater investment than is in her best interests. It continues at six months of age, developing rapidly to incorporate language, other individuals and self-deception in service of deceit—the better to hide the ongoing deception. Bright people may be more vulnerable to self-deception than dim ones. Certainly more intelligent children (and adult monkeys) practice deception more often.

Presidents are no more immune to self-deception than the rest of us, but it is much more visible to others and has potentially far greater effects. Barack Obama's self-deception, as is often the case, was the downside of a major virtue—the ability to integrate opposing factions.

He gave me a scare when after winning the 2008 election he first emerged at night with his gorgeous family between a set of Greek columns. My God, I thought, so his victory is the culmination of 2000 years of Democracy. Instead of humility he chooses self-exaltation. This is exactly the reverse of what works best. What will come next?

What came next were two mistakes, one with immediate negative consequences and the other requiring 8 years to ripen. The US was in a deep recession, second only to the Great Depression, and a major reason why Obama won. Since 1932 it was well known that the appropriate response was massive government spending directed at the newly unemployed and, if possible, at repairing infrastructure. The unemployed will spend the money at once, giving a multiplier effect. Likewise, infrastructure was badly in need of repair and this costs less when unemployment is high, and also increases employment, again with a multiplier effect.

Howard Stieglitz and Paul Krugman, two superb economists and Nobel Memorial Laureates met with Obama and urged a 1.5 trillion dollar infusion, which would have been almost exactly right. But they had both supported Hillary Clinton in the primaries and so he went with his own advisor, Larry Summers who had a record of major mistakes when working for Bill, not to mention as President of Harvard, so Obama proposed an 800 billion infusion and then made the classic "Barry" mistake by giving 400 billion of it to small business. This was well known to have no positive effect whatsoever. Businesses do not invest during a recession, they wait for demand to return. They are happy to get the money, which they promptly put away in savings where it has no effect. In short, Obama's stimulus was ¼ the size it needed to be. It did reverse the slide downwards leading to years of positive growth but the effect was too weak when needed most and chants of "Yes we can" turned, in effect, to chants of "Yes we can but it sure is gong to take a long time" and the Tea Party swept aside many of his powers in 2010.

Barack was known as "Barry" growing up because his Kenyan father Barack was a "rolling stone that gathered no moss" and his son always had to navigate two worlds without the support of his father. He had all the benefits of outbreeding—tall, good looking and very bright—and his ability to navigate the two worlds propelled him upwards—into Harvard Law School, then first "black" Law Review editor, then Illinois legislator—then his memorable "not Red States nor Blue States but United States" speech at the 2004 Democratic Convention. But always with the flaw of compromising where he should not.

The second major mistake he made right away was to appoint Hillary to be Secretary of State, making peace with his defeated opponent, a nice gesture perhaps but unheard of in US history. Why elevate your opponent? Why indeed. She will be in a lead position to replace you 8 years later but will in fact usher in something far worse. "Crooked" Hillary indeed—not because of some foolishness over e-mails but because she was a life-long enabler of a thoroughly dishonest husband, as when she

helped him rebut Jennifer Flowers' irrefutable evidence of infidelity in 1992. Biden, it is widely believed, would have trounced the Republicans in 2016. He is a thoroughly honest and decent man with a lifelong love for his wife and children.

Let us conclude with a minor example—the arrest of Harvard Professor Louis Gates outside his home, six months into Obama's presidency. He did not have to comment on this trivial event but chose to. Corporatist that he is and biased toward the upper strata, he took Gates' side. When there was a hue and cry he arranged a little beer party on the White House lawn—Obama with his long legs underneath the table, Vice President Biden opposite him, a cop wondering how in hell he got roped into this absurd situation and "Skip" Gates happy as a clam in the ocean, all aglow as he held forth on God knows what.

If there was in fact a teachable moment, it was this. ALL Americans should know that no police officer has the right to enter your home without a search warrant or an arrest warrant. This goes way back to English common law—the King must knock at a peasant's door—your home is your castle. The police officer had invited Gates outside. Gates fell for the trick and was promptly arrested. He was the fool, not the cop. And black Americans especially should know the law where police officers are concerned.

Obama draws a line in the sand against Syrian bombings, they cross the line, Obama does nothing. Obama offends Michelle and she promptly puts him through three degrees of hell as he well deserved. And so on.

Finally, I have been dismayed by all the photos I have seen of him since he left office—a big grin while swimming in the ocean, taking a picture of Michelle—at a safe distance—on a super yacht and grinning ear to ear while talking to Prince Harry. He is so happy to be freed from the burdens of the Presidency while enjoying all the perks. May God forgive him. But he did have it all. I used to joke in the 2008

campaign that I liked everything about him except Michelle. People would be all up in my face—what are you talking about? Michelle is beautiful, she is wonderful. Precisely my point, I would say, why does he get to be President AND have Michelle? It isn't right!

TECHNOLOGY

Peter Thiel's Money Talks, in Contentious Ways. But What Does He Say?

By DAVID STREITFELD MARCH 7, 2018

Peter Thiel is Silicon Valley's homegrown Cassandra. He warned for years that the big tech companies were arrogant and clueless and less good for mankind than they believed.

Comeuppance, the billionaire investor warned, was coming.

Trouble has now arrived. Unfortunately for Mr. Thiel, the storm is centered on Facebook, whose board he has been a member of practically since its founding. The

social network, which billed itself as bringing democracy and enlightenment to the world, was used by the Russians to subvert democracy and sow confusion in the United States.

Even people paid to see the future didn't see that one coming.

"The board's role is to help think about some of the medium- and longer-term problems coming around the corner," Mr. Thiel said. "We were far from perfect in doing that."

Mr. Thiel, 50, is at the center of nearly every issue that roils Silicon Valley, ranging from the tech elite's fascination with New Zealand hideaways (Mr. Thiel obtained New Zealand citizenship) to Bitcoin (he is a major investor) to the problems of herd thinking (he is moving from San Francisco to Los Angeles to escape it) to the evolving role of content on the internet (he has been exploring the creation of a media company that would outflank Breitbart and Fox for a younger audience).

Two subjects are currently overwhelming everything else: President Trump, whom Mr. Thiel aggressively backed for president, and Facebook, whose core mission is being called into question in the wake of the Russian revelations. In a typical Thiel move — he tends to run toward controversy even as his Silicon Valley peers try to make themselves inconspicuous — he agreed, in a rare interview, to talk about both.

"It's been a crazier two years than I would have thought," Mr. Thiel said in his new Midtown Manhattan apartment, which is so far up in the clouds that it literally looks down on Trump Tower.

Despite the proximity, the mutual enthusiasm between Mr. Thiel and Mr. Trump seems to have cooled. After Mr. Thiel spoke at the Republican National Convention in 2016, there were unsourced media reports that said Mr. Trump wanted to put him on the Supreme Court. But now even photo ops are rare.

The investor said he had last spoken to the president "a few months ago."

"We don't talk that often," he said, but added, "I can get access anytime I want."

The Trump whom Mr. Thiel touted at the Republican convention was a candidate who would "end the era of stupid wars and rebuild our country," move us past "fake culture wars" and start projects the equivalent of the Apollo space program. That does not seem to be the president he got.

"There are all these ways that things have fallen short," Mr. Thiel said. But he said he had no regrets about his endorsement. "It's still better than Hillary Clinton or the Republican zombies," he said, referring to the other candidates.

The White House did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Thiel is routinely labeled a libertarian. On a bookshelf in the apartment, as if in confirmation, is a hardback copy of Ayn Rand's "Atlas Shrugged," the bible of the movement. A gift, he said.

A lesser-known but possibly deeper influence was the French philosopher René Girard, who taught at Stanford University when Mr. Thiel was an undergraduate there. For 15 years, on and off, Mr. Thiel sat in on a study group about Mr. Girard's ideas. Mr. Girard believed human beings were deeply mimetic, which is to say they copy one another.

"It's very anti-Ayn Rand: There are no self-contained autonomous figures," Mr. Thiel said. "Our desires are not our own. They get shaped powerfully by the society around us."

It was this illumination that helped him see the potential of Facebook — where people could find out in intimate and addictive detail what their friends were up to — when it was barely a year old. He was the first outside investor, buying 10 percent of the company for $500,000.

He sold most of his holdings in 2012 as Facebook went public. A few months ago, with Facebook's market capitalization at about $500 billion, he sold most of what he had left.

Last summer, there was a flap when a memo by a fellow board member, Reed Hastings, the chief executive of Netflix, appeared in The New York Times. In the memo, Mr. Hastings wrote to Mr. Thiel that he displayed "catastrophically bad judgment" in supporting Mr. Trump.

Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook's chief executive, did not ask him to step down from the board, and reports that he wants to leave the board are incorrect, Mr. Thiel said, noting that among other things that he brings "ideological diversity." He declined to say exactly how much or what kind of advice the Facebook board was offering Mr. Zuckerberg, but defended the company from criticism that it was slow to wake up to what the Russians did.

"Remember when Trump said the election was going to be rigged? People said that was crazy — 'How dare you question the integrity of the electoral process?' That was the view of most of the people working at Facebook, too," he said. "They did not think things were so hackable. It was a mistake, but an understandable mistake." Facebook declined to comment.

The anger now being turned on Facebook, Mr. Thiel argued, is less about Russia specifically and more about tech arrogance — its failure to do so much for so many. It is a sentiment that helped put Mr. Trump in the White House.

"The Trump campaign slogan, 'Make America Great Again,' was perhaps the single most offensive thing you could say to Silicon Valley," he said. "Silicon Valley says the future is going to be better than the past. That is the propaganda, if you will."

A friend of his in Silicon Valley had the idea of running for governor of California this year. Mr. Thiel's advice was that he had better have a good answer to this question: Why is tech good for the average person in California? The answer, he cautioned, couldn't be a banality, such as "it's making us more connected," and it couldn't be utopian, such as "it's going to cure all diseases."

"He wasn't able to come up with an answer, and I couldn't come up with one, either," Mr. Thiel said. He declined to identify the friend, but it is well known in tech circles that Sam Altman, the president of Y Combinator, the prominent start-up accelerator, was thinking about running. Mr. Altman confirmed it was him and said he had decided not to run "for many reasons."

There is a big painting of a cresting wave in Mr. Thiel's living room, and it might as well be a visual metaphor for what is going on in big tech now.

"Having some ambition that transcends just making money is a critical thing for a company," he said. "But there is some point where it gets crazy and self-delusional." He added that the companies "are probably in some trouble — maybe it's a little, maybe it's a lot." The prospect of government regulation looms.

In 2015 and 2016, Mr. Thiel gave $300,000 to Josh Hawley, who was campaigning to become Missouri's attorney general. Mr. Hawley won, and in November he opened an antitrust investigation of Google. A spokeswoman for Mr. Hawley, a Republican who is now challenging the state's Democratic senator, Claire McCaskill, said there was "no connection" between Mr. Thiel's donation and the investigation. Google declined to comment.

The news last month that Mr. Thiel is moving from San Francisco to Los Angeles reflects a shift that is as much mental as literal. Getting out of the tech bubble, he figures, will give him more clarity about his investments.

"Network effects are very positive things, but there's a tipping point where they fall over into the madness of crowds," he said.

Another of Mr. Thiel's contentious ideas was destroying Gawker, the online publisher. He secretly financed the privacy lawsuit that Hulk Hogan, the former pro wrestler, filed against the media company, which Mr. Hogan won. That led to Gawker's bankruptcy in 2016.

A news operation that specialized in deflating the arrogance of Silicon Valley should have been to Mr. Thiel's liking. But he argues that his philosophy is consistent here.

"Gawker was trying to cut people down to size for not conforming," he said. "The ability to speak and not have every word you say get distorted, to have wrong ideas and then be able to correct them — these notions were powerfully undercut by Gawker."

Mr. Thiel is still pursuing the remnants of Gawker in court, which has prompted accusations that he wants to remove all of its content from the internet as a final victory.

He denied this. "Terry Bollea, a.k.a. Hulk Hogan, is still owed some money

from the Gawker sale, and that is what I am trying to get," he said. "I don't want the archives. I don't think it makes sense to destroy them. Preserve them, study them instead."

Follow David Streitfeld on Twitter: @DavidStreitfeld.

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From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 3/14/2018 4:51:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Other ways to trade Saudi
Attachments: image001jpg01D3BB9285E20D80.jpg; image002jpg01D3BB9285E20D80.jpg; image003jpg01D3BB9285E20D80.jpg; image004jpg01D3BB9285E20D80.jpg; image005jpg01D3BB9285E20D80.jpg; image006jpg01D3BB9285E20D80.jpg; image001jpg01D3BAF1DF43BF00.jpg; image004png01D3BB6E455E4900.png; image013png01D3BAF2D82BFDD0.png; image014png01D3BAF2D82BFDD0.png; image015png01D3BAF2D82BFDD0.png; image016png01D3BAF2D82BFDD0.png

Importance: High

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Begin forwarded message:

From: "Ens, Amanda" <[redacted]>
Subject: Other ways to trade Saudi
Date: March 14, 2018 at 12:48:07 PM EDT
To: "rkahn"<[redacted]>
Reply-To: "Ens, Amanda" <[redacted]>

Saudi trade continues to gain momentum as we head into March 28 FTSE decision, followed by MSCI in June.
Our base case is for a positive outcome for both EM index reviews.

- **Tadawul +5% past 3 sessions printing new 3 year highs,** Foreign inflows YTD at $1.35bn
- **Recent headline on Aramco:** Saudi Aramco likely to be delayed to 2019. Delay not all together surprising giving complexity of the transaction, delays in choosing the trading venues, as well as to better align the IPO with potential MSCI / FTSE index inflow timelines
- **Crown Prince MBS** will appear on '60 Minutes' on March 18th, one day before he lands in the US for a 10 day tour, meeting Trump on the 20th.
- **Reform agenda picking up speed:** Women Driving; Entertainment/Movie Theaters; Welfare Programs; Market access reforms & Int'l debt issues

Saudi Fundamentals are strong (see Jean-Michel Saliba's report from Jan. 29th below):

- **Growth has bottomed out**
- **OPEC is succeeding at rebalancing the oil market. Fiscal adjustment now sufficient to safeguard stability at cUS$60/bbl.**
- **Equity strategy: remain positive, outlook gains momentum** - We retain our positive view on the Saudi market as we see strong earnings momentum as well as increasing appetite for Saudi equities amongst global investors:

Best way to access the trade: M1SAP (MSCI Saudi Provisional Index)

- 32-name MSCI-owned index, that will rebalance into the full MSCI EM index upon inclusion
- Trades $90m/ day based on bottleneck liquidity
- **Tradable on swap at 1mL+90bps, std comm applies; also accessible on fully funded Luxembourg-listed warrant (MERRI1DT LX)**

10 single stock names to own in Saudi.

- **Al Rajhi**: BAML Top pick for 2018 >> Largest bank in Saudi >> Reflation trade beneficiary >> We see the bank continuing to deliver strong earnings momentum on the back of: (1) Stand out NIM expansion given a unique cost of funding position and further policy rate hikes (2) a continued normalization in asset quality driving CoR lower; (3) Higher loan growth than peers as it benefits from consumer loan growth (particularly housing) whilst taking share in the corporate market and (4) Al Rajhi is set to be a key beneficiary from the potential forthcoming Saudi index inclusions.
- **NCB**: We see NCB as a key beneficiary from the economic diversification program the Government has introduced. Its large balance sheet and resulting ability to finance mega projects should allow it to capture market share in the coming years. Further support will come from having the PIF as a major shareholder. We also see a sublime margin outlook given NCB's ability to benefit from rising interest rates and bond yields.
- **SABIC:** Expect strong earnings momentum in FY18E driven by robust product prices as well as solid plant operations. View company's intent to expand internationally as a catalyst for unlocking balance sheet value. The company is expected to be the largest constituent of Saudi MSCI EM Index (~16%). Shares trade at a 2018E EV/EBITDA of 7.4x, ~20% discount vs global peers.
- **Yansab:** Given robust MEG pricing outlook (40% of profits, prices up 18% YTD) providing a healthy tailwind to earnings this year, we expect an attractive dividend yield of 6% (top quartile globally) in FY18E/19E well supported by FCF yields of 9% and a net cash position.
- **STC**: One of the main beneficiaries of index inflows into Saudi. STC has finally improved management representation to investors with the departure of the previous IR, and new team in place. Significant government receivables recovery to drive stock price for next two quarters, while Careem stake can provide some positive headline risk on valuations.

- **Jarir**: We like Jarir for its potential to increase its market penetration having increased its store count by 13% since August 2017 while maintaining its premium ROE of 53% and attractive dividend.
- **Al Tayyar** : Stock will see a slew of positive catalysts over the next two quarters, particularly a second tranche of substantial gov receivable recoveries in Q1. 130mn SAR loss from associates in 2017 is a one off and should make comps easier this year. Q1 earnings should see the first earnings growth after a very difficult 2 years. Makkah real estate REIT will also provide an uplift.
- **Al Hokair:** has massively under performed in Saudi index and consumer sector and should see substantial improvement in business in 2018 as LFL turns the corner and the company businesses a beneficiary from social reforms in the country. Debt restructuring concerns likely behind us at this point, relief there would be the main catalyst for the name.
- **Malath / Alrajhi Takaful**: 2 of the top motor insurers in Saudi secular growth trend in motor insurance sector over the next two years as the regulator clamps down on more than 50% uninsured drivers while women driving to present multiyear volume growth story.

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GEMs Paper #31

Saudi Arabia: growth bull, fiscal bear

29 January 2018

Key takeaways

- Growth recovers as high oil prices allow looser fiscal, contain near-term deterioration. Mega-projects offer upside potential

- The oil price at which reforms now bring imbalances to low mid-single digit levels moves to US$60/bbl, from US$50/bbl before.
- Earnings momentum, index events make us positive Saudi stocks. Prefer banks, petchems. Top picks: Rajhi, Samba, Yansab, Sabic

FULL REPORT

Macro: sweet spot for now

Economic activity has bottomed out as high oil prices are allowing implementation of looser fiscal policy and containing near-term fiscal deterioration. The government intends to support activity through a) a more gradual pace of fiscal reforms; b) introduction of Household/Cost of Living Allowances and Private Sector Support programs; c) introduction of structural reforms; and, d) the launch of mega-projects. The latter provides most upside potential to our average growth projections of 2.2-2.5%yoy.

Fiscal reforms now need US$60/bbl to safeguard stability

The oil price threshold at which the macroeconomic adjustment brings imbalances to low mid-single digit levels moves to cUS$60/bbl, from our previous assessment of cUS$50/bbl. The revised Fiscal Balance program exposes the budget to volatility in oil prices. Still, there are four ways in which authorities can improve on fiscal dynamics: 1) front-loaded energy pricing reform; 2) privatizations; 3) proceeds from anti-corruption crackdown; and, 4) phasing out of the Royal Order next year.

Equity strategy: remain positive, outlook gains momentum

We retain our positive view on the Saudi market as we see strong earnings momentum as well as increasing appetite for Saudi equities amongst global investors. Our views are based on: (1) attractive valuation, with the Saudi market now trading at a mere 3% premium to GEMs versus a historic premium of more than 30%; (2) improving macro fundamentals; (3) the prospect for accelerating earnings, FCF and dividend growth on the back of reform programs, an expansionary budget and a more pedestrian pace of austerity implementation; and, (4) the potential twin index inclusion events in 2018.

Prefer banks and petchems

Within the Saudi market, our preference lies with companies offering strong earnings and FCF momentum, attractive valuations and dividend yields. In this regard, our sector preference is tilted towards the banks and petchems, who we see as key beneficiaries from the 2018 budget and revised fiscal balance program. We highlight **Al Rajhi** & **Samba** as our top picks amongst the banks, **Yansab** & **SABIC** amongst the petchems. Elsewhere, given the inflationary pressures on operating costs (e.g. expat levies, rising utility costs), we are more selective; focusing on names that are least affected by the regulations and that have attractive company specific growth stories.

Commodities: As good as it gets for OPEC

OPEC is succeeding at rebalancing the oil market. Our supply/demand balances reflect a faster-than-expected market tightening due to improving cyclical conditions, cold winter, and OPEC compliance. A gradual OPEC+ deal exit would keep spot and forward prices in a range with the market in backwardation, and preserve OPEC's long-run market share.

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KSA trading in line with GEMs despite improving outlook

Banks & petchems preferred; selective elsewhere

National Champions strategy remains attractive

2018 - the year of potential twin index inclusions

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Saudi banks key beneficiary of loosened fiscal policy

2018 shaping up to be a strong year for the Saudi banks

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Commodities: as good as it gets for OPEC

Disclosures

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This report is intended for Coleman Mackay

Bank of America
Merrill Lynch

From: Ens, Amanda
Sent: Wednesday, March 14, 2018 12:46 PM
To: Ens, Amanda [redacted]
Subject: MEGA Trade --> Long Saudi...

Opening New MEGA Trade:

Long Saudi Equities (Buy M1SAP on Swap / Liquidity $100mm a Day)

- **Potentially the EM Flow Story of 2018... if FTSE addition is announced on March 28th we expect an inflow of $5bn on a basket which trades 100mm USD a day (50X ADV)... this is even before MSCI announcement in June where inflows could be substantially higher**
- **The Most Powerful Macro Trades are when Macro Fundemantals + Flow Meet... This is Saudi in 2018**

Key Points:

1. **Saudi has significantly underperformed Oil by 14% last 6 months.** With the recent introduction of the citizens account programme, subsidy cuts, pushing out the budget balance to 2023, and the news of increased handouts, Saudi should re correlate with oil and move higher from here.
2. **Saudi equities remain under-owned globally →** foreign ownership of Saudi equities is at 1.3% vs Russia 70%, Turkey 55%, South Africa 50%, Brazil 45%, UAE 20%, Qatar 10%
3. **Good liquidity vs other EMs but volume trading at lows relative to history →** Tadawul ADV close to all-time lows at $1bn (10yr range is $1-8bn)
4. **Major index events in 2018/19 with FTSE announcement on 28th March next catalyst→** FTSE announcement could trigger inflows of up to $5bn . Combined with the MSCI announcement later this year, potential active and passive inflows can total $15-$40bn. **So the potential of at least $20bn inflows on a basket which trades 100mm USD a day (200 Days Volume) ?**
5. In comparison, during the MSCI UAE and Qatar inclusions, UAE was trading 10% below historic avg @14x PE and rerated to 22x into MSCI EM inclusion with Dubai up +110% (vs +47% prev year). Qatar was trading inline with historic avg @11x PE and rerated to 18x MSCI EM inclusion with Qatar up +60% (vs +9% prev year)

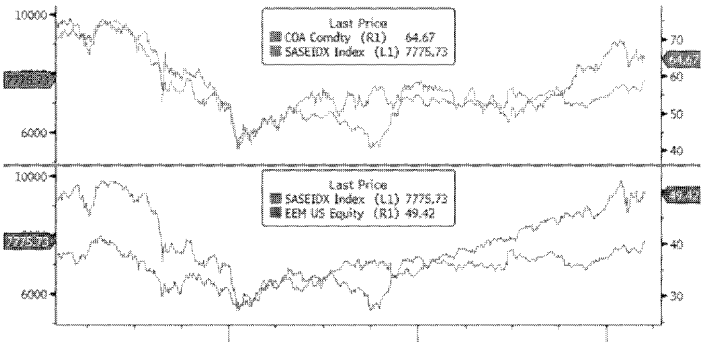
6. **Saudi risk indicators at 2015 pre-crisis levels** → Saudi 5yr CDS is trading at 76 vs 40-210 3yr range; SAR 2yr fwd suggests market is less worried about depeg fears and forward points can be used as a macro hedge

7. **Valuations & dividend yields remain attractive** → Market trades at a 10% discount (13.5x) to its historic PE (Saudi PE range is 10-26x). Avg dividend yield is 3.6% with 45 stocks yield more than 4%.

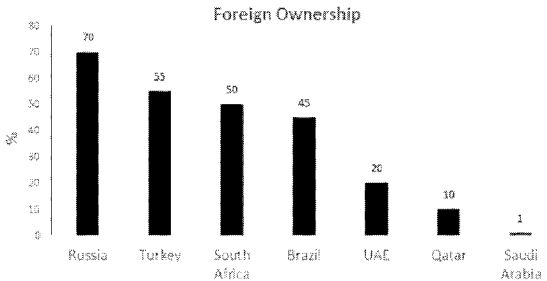
Our Middle East Team ready for Calls - Hamdy Hamoudi in London next week 19th-23rd March. Talal marketing in US 23rd-27th April. Marwan in Trading

MAR disclosure

Saudi has underperformed both Oil and EM in the last 6 months

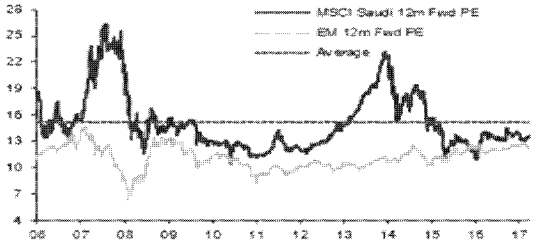


Saudi equities remain under-owned globally

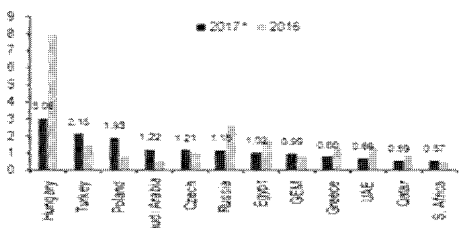


Risk indicators are back to 2015 pre-crisis levels. Saudi 5yr CDS down from 210 to 76 (note 40 was all time low)

Valuations remain attractive – Saudi trading at 10% below historic PE; Saudi ERR now at 1.22 vs 0.4 in 2016



Source: IBES, Datastream, Bloomberg, BofA Merrill Lynch Global Research



Note: *for ERR as of 31.12.2016 and 29.11.2017. Source: IBES, Datastream and Bloomberg, BofA Merrill Lynch Global Research

MEGA Open Trades

Theme/Trade	Trade Expression	Entry Date	Expiry	Entry Level	Current Level	Hit Ratio
We think Fed rates expectations for 2019 remain on the low side with just marginally more than 1 hike priced.	Buy Dec18 Eurodollar Futures (EDZ8) vs Sell Dec19 Eurodollar Futures (EDZ9)	07/02/2018	-	97.63/97.31	97.455/97.125	✔
We do not think the BoE will hike as much as the Fed next year when markets are pricing marginally more from the BoE.	Buy Dec19 Short Sterling futures (L Z9) vs Sell Dec18 Short Sterling Futures (L Z8)	07/02/2018	-	98.76/99.09	98.67/98.98	✔
The risk for equities is a further rise in yields led by higher real rates. Last time 10y real rates were here S&P was closer to 2720.	Long SPX Mar18 2640/2600 put spread	28/02/2018	16/03/2018	10	0.00	✖
We see asymmetry in EURGBP. We expect EUR to react positively if Italy/Germany is neutral/ positive this weekend and ECB pricing to become firmer. On GBP leg, UK political risk remain underpriced with odds of early election in 2018 increasing	Long EURGBP 3m 0.91/0.94 call spread	02/03/2018	-	0.62%	0.45%	✖

MEGA Closed Trades (Hit Ratio Closed Trades = 77%)

Theme/Trade	Trade Expression	Entry Date	Close Date	Entry Level	Close Level	Hit Ratio
Equities set up for hawkish BoE hike. Significant unwinds of FTSE longs into meeting. Dovish hike delivered means Long FTSE remains a catch up trade.	Long FTSE Feb18 7550/7700 call spread for 42 offer (7476 ref) (rolled from Dec, 7460 ref)	02/11/2017	11/01/2018	42	100	✔
Dovish ECB priced in. With a 9x30bn tapering priced, risks skewed to higher core rates and/or tighter spreads both of which benefit SX7E	Long SX7E Feb18 140 calls (rolled from Jan, 134 fut ref)	24/10/2017	25/01/2018	0.9	3.3	✔
We think Fed rates expectations for 2019 remain on the low side with just marginally more than 1 hike priced.	Buy Mar18 Eurodollar Futures (EDH8) vs Sell	11/01/2018	07/02/2018	98.18/ 97.535	98.12/97.31	✔

	Dec19 Eurodollar Futures (EDZ9)					
Positioning short/underweight. Positive news flow for Italy and Spain causing a squeeze in peripheral bonds and equities	Long equal weighted basket of Telefonica; Iberdrola; Enel; Unicredit & Santander	26/10/2017	15/02/2018	97.8	92.9	✖
Rates market continues to re-price ECB. 1y1y Eonia is almost back at recent highs pointing to more upside for SX7E.	Long SX7E Mar18 145 calls (40d, 142 ref)	25/01/2018	22/02/2018	2.85	0.2	✖
Russia is one of the worst performing markets in 2017. Under-positioning and fundamentals getting better.	Long equal weighted basket of Russian Oil names: Gazprom, Lukoil, Rosneft	07/11/2017	22/02/2018	98.95	113.04	✔
We think we are entering a period of increasing volatility into the Italian Elections (4th March) and reduce our Long Equity exposure.	Long SX5E Mar18 3350 puts (35d vs 3406 ref)	22/02/2018	02/03/2018	39	58.40	✔
We see Political risk underpriced in Europe into 4 March (Italian elections and German SPD member vote)	Short FTSEMIB Index via Mar18 futures (STH8 Index)	22/02/2018	02/03/2018	22505	22005	✔
FTSE is the worst performing major market ytd. Moreover, we see asymmetry in GBP with UK political risk underpriced and BoE hikes overpriced. We do not agree that the BoE can hike more than the Fed next year.	Long UKX Mar18 7375 calls	07/02/2018	02/03/2018	55	1.50	✖
The risk for equities is a further rise in yields led by higher real rates. Last time 10y real rates were here S&P was closer to 2720.	Long SPX Mar18 2750/2700 put spread	28/02/2018	02/03/2018	15	30.40	✔

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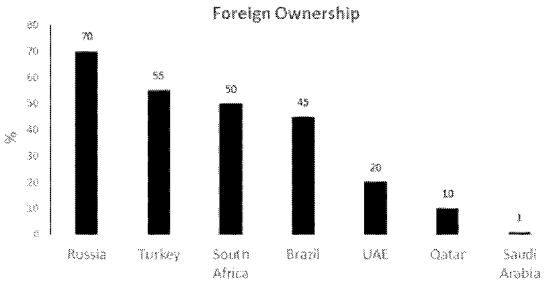
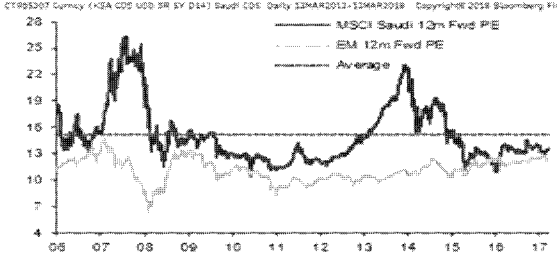
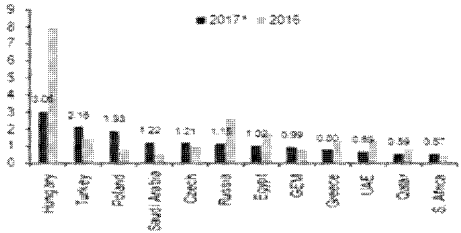
Bank of America Merrill Lynch

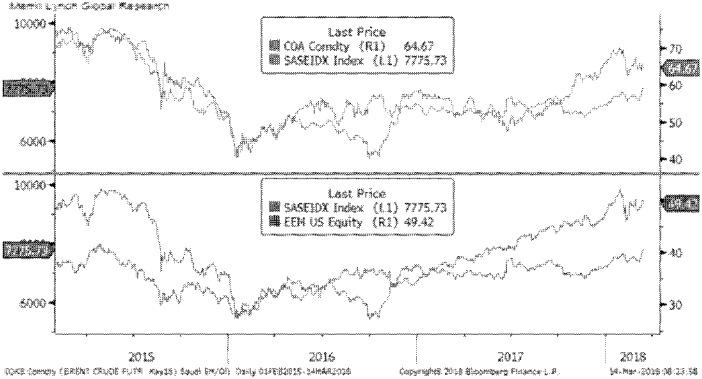




Source: IBES, DataStream, Bloomberg, BofA Merrill Lynch Global Research



Note: *2H BRR as of 31.12.2016 and 29.11.2017. Source: IBES, Datastream and Bloomberg, BofA Merrill Lynch Global Research



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TWIN CITY MOBILE INTEGRATED HEALTH

4200 SION FARM, SUITE 25
CHRISTIANSTED, VIRGIN ISLANDS 00820
321-633-8005 or 321-432-2912

Dear Mr. Jeffrey Edward Epstein

"Twin City; For Today, for the Future, and for Our Community". Twin City Makes Connections for Life.

Twin City Mobile Integrated Health Services (TCMIH) is a private, non-profit, non-emergency, certified, advance and basic life support interfacility ambulance provider, specialized transport and mobile phlebotomy service. Our staff are trained professionals who have the experience of transporting thousands of patients to and from various healthcare facilities and playing a key role in the Virgin Islands Prehospital Care.

TCMIH provides patient centered, compassionate care in an atmosphere of safety and professionalism, serving hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, air ambulance and private medical facilities in the Virgin Islands.
As a provider of mobile medical service, we bring to the community a company that is committed to excellence in medical transportation and patient care. From our team of highly skilled Phlebotomist, EMR's, EMT's, Advanced EMT's, Nurses and Paramedics ready to care for their patient's needs, to the professional management team our focus remains patient centered and safety driven from start to finish. TCMIH is guided by the vision of experienced healthcare providers from our local EMS, Florida EMS and a Certificate of Need/Necessity (CON) awarded by the Virgin Islands Department of Health. Twin City invests heavily in itself through its personnel, equipment, vehicle and training to maintain the highest level of quality and professionalism. We also invest back into the community through donations and community service projects.

While no one anticipates or favors an injury or crisis, mental crisis, illness or the aging process you can rest assured that your medical needs will be met professionally by a team of caring individuals focused on making the most comfortable and compassionate experience possible.

Sincerely!

Eugene Phipps, TNT EMR
President
Twin City Care, Inc.

Jeffery D. Gilliard, BS, NRP/CCEMTP/FPM
CEO
Twin City Care, Inc.

Jerry Galloway, NRP, CCEMTP
Chief Operations Officer
Twin City Care, Inc.

Mission, Vision, Values

It is our goal, as a community non-profit service organization, to provide expedient, reliable, cost-efficient non-emergency ambulance service, mobile phlebotomy and affordable specialized transportation to the citizens of the Virgin Islands. In the pursuit of this goal, we pledge to furnish superior, quality equipment, vehicle, personal, and service, dedicated to the needs and demands of both the public and the local health care agencies. We strive to develop and promote a positive and rewarding work environment. As a team, we inspire a professional, compassionate attitude, knowing that without each other, we would not succeed. The company shall draw its strength from the skill and dedication of its personnel and in turn, inspire the team to provide quality service of which all would be proud.

Vision Statement

Twin City Mobile Integrated Health vision is to deliver service in a manner that sets the standard for professional, compassionate, cost effective and safety oriented non-emergency ambulance service, mobile phlebotomy and specialized transportation. Through our employees, our peers and our patients we understand that we are not making connections for a moment, Twin City makes connections for life.

Values

Patient Centered Care
Compassionate/Dignified Services
Health and Safety Focused
Compliance Motivated
Educationally Driven

Commission on Accreditation of Ambulance Services (CAAS)

Any ambulance service can claim it is delivering quality service, but an accredited agency can prove it through its written or documented procedures systems and reports. TCMIH demonstrates full compliance with national ambulance standards of excellence to meet and maintain CAAS. TCMIH will also maintain Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA), Blood Borne Pathogen (BBP), Vehicle Safety (EMD & CEVO), Virgin Islands Traffic Laws and VI Code Tax Laws.

CAAS was established in 1990 as a not-for-profit national agency to uphold quality operating standards for ambulance services. It is the gold standard for the ambulance industry, in as much as JCAHO (Joint Commission of Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations) is the benchmark for hospital excellence.

The accreditation process entails a serious self-assessment, comparing us to the accreditation standards. We work through a comprehensive application process with guidance, consultation and mentorship from our CEO; Mr. Jeffery Gilliard former Director of Coastal Ambulance, Brevard County Florida.

Within two years TCIMH hopes to achieve and maintain recertification requirements for CAAS Accreditation and joins the 160 agencies in 37 U.S. State, Canada and the West Indies. This is our steadfast commitment and dedication to quality healthcare for our community, each patient, each transport, and each day.

Performance Requirements

As the premier non-emergency, interfacility, advanced and basic life support ambulance service in the Virgin Islands. TCMIH will provide detailed performance parameters including on time performance as outlined below.

Advanced and Basic Life Support

Definitions:

Pre-Schedule Requests	Those requests scheduled 24 hours in advance.
Urgent Requests	Same day requests that are time sensitive in nature, such as transports to emergency room.
Non-Urgent Requests	Same day requests that are not time sensitive in nature such as hospital discharges.

Performance Parameters:

Pre-Schedule Transports	On time 90%
Non-Schedule Urgent	On time within 1 hour of call time 90%
Non-Schedule Non-Urgent	On time within 2 hours of call time 90%

Mental Health Transports

Definitions:

Priority 1	Law Enforcement with the patient.
Priority 2	Transport requests coming from the Emergency Room, include Air Ambulance
Priority 3	Transport request from Hospital rooms, Detention Centers, Exparte, voluntary request, inpatient mental health units, other "stable" environments, and voluntary requests. "Non- Air Ambulance"
Priority 4	Pre-Scheduled transports with a minimum of 24 hours' notice.

Performance Parameters

Priority 1	On scene 45 minutes from time of call's acceptance 90% on time
Priority 2	On scene 1 hour from time of call's acceptance from receiving facility, 90% on time
Priority 3	On scene 2 hours from time of call's acceptance from receiving facility, 90% on time
Priority 4	On scene at the agreed upon time, 90% on time

Fees for Service

Transport Rate Schedule

	Ambulance Transportation
BLS Non-Emergency	$290.00
ALS Non-Emergency	$400.00
BLS Emergency	$440.00
ALS Emergency	$520.00
ALS-2	$775.00
All Mileage	$11.25 per mile
Stand-by or Waiting Time	$125.00 per hour or increment thereof*
Medical Coverage (First Aid Station) Contracts	$800.00 per day

In addition to TCMIH primarily non-emergency inter-facility services, TCMIH will routinely render ambulance services in response to facility requests that fall into the Center for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) guidelines qualifying Twin City for reimbursement under the CMS code for ALS or BLS Emergency based on the "Immediate Response" criteria. The current CMS definition for Emergency is not based on "lights and sirens", it is based on "immediate response".

Ambulance Division and Definition

TCMIH provides Advanced Life Support services (ALS) 24/7, 365 days a year to our hospitals, nursing facilities and various other health care providers in the Virgin Islands. Our entire fleet will stand ready to provide consistent, high quality, patient centered care. Not only are we here for the day-to-day needs of our community, but during times of need, for mutual aid support to the Virgin Islands Department of Health EMS and the Virgin Islands Territorial Emergency Management Agency.

All Paramedics, EMTs, Nurses and Emergency Medical Responders will be working under the guidance of our Medical Director Dr. Christopher C. Hill DO, (Board License Emergency Physician) in accordance with National Highway and Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA).

As the premier interfacility non-emergency ambulance provider for the community, our role is as diverse as the patients we serve. From providing critical care transports to monitoring the vital signs and offering support for a Hospice patient, it is all about the connections we make, each day, and each transport.

Advanced Life Support (ALS)

ALS care is provided by Advance EMTs, and Paramedics who are licensed in pre-hospital care, having qualifications and equipment to provide BLS capabilities as well as advanced airway management, cardiac monitoring and defibrillation, IV administration, administering of life saving medications and capable of handling severe medical emergencies.

Specialty Care Transports (ALS-2)

Patients who require specialized monitoring of IV medication drips and ventilators. Care from Air Ambulance services (Medivac).

Mental Health Transport and Crisis Hotline

Specialized medical transport team, working with agencies such as law enforcement, mental healthcare providers, hospital emergency rooms and nursing facilities to ensure the safe, efficient and dignified transport of the mental health patient. In addition to the transport component, Twin City will be a vested partner in the progress and wellbeing of our mental health community at large. Attending and participating in many community forums such as local planning meetings, any mental health taskforce meetings TCMIH will be committed to assisting with the best practices for the providers for the patients that we serve.

Our crews will be trained as Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT) which will include being a Behavioral Health Technician (BHT) who will meet requirements in:

- Crisis de-escalation, intervention and sensitivity training
- Patient and crew safety
- Documentation and patient confidentiality
- Ethical and Professional Responsibilities
- Crisis Hotline Response & Management
- Intake Assessment Referrals
- Residential Substance Abuse Treatment Referrals
- Individual & Group Counseling Referrals
- Male/Female Specific Support Groups
- Relapse Prevention Education
- Substance Abuse Education & Prevention
- Educational/Vocational Counseling
- Family Education
- Parenting Skills and education
- Children's Services Referrals
- HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis prevention and education services
- Women's Aftercare Program Referrals

Mutual Aid

TCMIH will be available and prepared to fulfill its mutual aid commitment to the Virgin Islands Emergency Medical Services (VIEMS) under the directives of the Virgin Islands Territorial Management Agency (VITEMA). When called upon we will assist in the evacuation of healthcare facilities, special needs residents and nursing facilities to safety, only to return them home again after the storms have passed.

Community Paramedicine

Community paramedicine (CP) is an emerging healthcare profession. It allows paramedics, Nurses and emergency medical technicians (EMTs) to operate in expanded roles to provide healthcare services to underserved populations. It is a way to improve rural emergency medical services (EMS) as well as address the healthcare needs of the community.

Some rural patients lack access to primary care, and misuse 911 services in an attempt to access emergency departments for routine healthcare. This is demanding on our EMS system and causes strains on the workforce. Working in a primary care role, community paramedics can meet the needs of such individuals, as well as others in the community, in a more efficient and proactive way.

Mobile Phlebotomy

Our islands are moving toward new types of patient interactions and each year comes an influx of organizations seeking in-home or direct patient (participants / customers) visits. TCMIH will provide mobile phlebotomy and mobile examiner staffing services for island wide specimen collections and one-on-one health testing.

Our Mobile Phlebotomy is a full-service staffing agency that works with organizations such as specialty labs, doctors, health diagnostic and research companies to provide mobile phlebotomists and mobile examiners directly to your patients around the island. We understand that many organizations depend on reliable and experienced phlebotomists available specifically for short term health screening assignments and specimen collections. Our technicians will collect blood, urine, fecal, hair, nail samples and do Electrocardiograms.

Professional and reliable team members take pride in the quality of their work. They pride themselves in their adherence to requirements for timely collection, delivery and handling of the specimens. We will be the leader in the home blood draw services in the Virgin Islands. We deliver the specimens to the labs so you don't have to. All of our staff will be Certified Mobile Phlebotomy Technicians and carry a mobile centrifuge in their vehicles. This helps assure we get quality specimens.

Medical Oversight (Medical Director)

The American College of Emergency Physicians (ACEP) believes that all aspects of the organization and provision of basic (including first responder) and advanced life support emergency and non-emergency medical service, require the active involvement and participation of physicians. The primary role of the medical director is to ensure quality patient care. Responsibilities include involvement with the ongoing design, operation, evaluation and revision of the system from initial patient access to definitive patient care.

The medical director has authority over patient care, authority to limit immediately the patient care activities of those who deviate from established standards or do not meet training standards, and the responsibility and authority to develop and implement medical policies and procedures. The medical director's qualifications, responsibilities, and authority must be delineated in writing within each system. Ideally, the medical director will be a board-certified emergency physician.

In order to meet requirements and CAAS compliance, TCMIH has already entered into contractual agreement with Dr. Christopher C. Hill DO, ACEP, AAEP, ACOEP, AOA, AMA.

Dr. Hill serves as the Medical Director for EMETS, a paramedic/EMT education/training company in Brevard County and for EMETSEEI Institute Inc in Rockledge, Florida. He is concurrently working at Rockledge Regional Medical Center Emergency Department and enjoys teaching in the clinical setting.

Dr. Hill is currently a member of the American Academy of Emergency Physicians, American College of Osteopathic Emergency Physicians, and American Osteopathic Association.

Training
Ohio University College of Osteopathic Medicine/Doctors Hospital Emergency Medicine Residency and Track Internship

Education
Nova Southeastern University, Doctor of Osteopathic Medicine, Florida Atlantic University, BS Biology

Accreditations/Affiliations
ACEP, AAEP, ACOEP, AOA, AMA

Communications

TCMIH will staff a 24 hour a day dispatch center with dispatchers who are professional, caring and multi-task oriented. They will be responsible for making sure all requests for service are handled in a prompt and courteous manner. The dispatchers handle and maintain all internal and external communication between TCMIH and those agencies requesting ambulance transportation. They are responsible for accepting, coordinating, and screening all requests for service and will remain in radio contact with the crew from start to finish in each transport.

Equipment

As a private Non- profit service organization, a significant portion of our capital will be utilized in the purchase of equipment. Our equipment selection will be based upon the latest advances in the ambulance industry.

Ambulance

Currently we have one unit serving St. Croix with future operational plans to staff four Quick Response Vehicles, and four additional ALS ambulances typically Type III models allowing for additional room for complex equipment and staffing needs for more critical patients. Our expansion intent will cover all of the USVI to include St. Thomas and St. John.

EPCR

To safeguard patient care documentation and best comply with the continuing regulations set forth by Medicare/Medicaid for comprehensive medical necessity documentation TCMIH will be using electronic run reports documentation.

Quality Assurance

In the dictionary the word Quality is defined as “an inherent or distinguishing characteristic; or a degree or grade of excellence”.

At TCMIH "Quality" will be the benchmark for our day to day performance. We believe quality can be measured in many ways, from customer service surveys, on time performance measures, to clinical indicator reviews and run report accuracy just to name a few. To ensure that TCMIH remains focused on providing exceptional patient care from the request for service on through to the reimbursement cycle, we have established quality assurance processes to create a culture in which quality, excellence and accuracy is our focus. To achieve this, each day we will look at the transports from the previous day and review how we performed. We will measure our on-time performance, looking at each run report line-by-line to ensure we have met our protocol requirements. We will make certain the crews have gathered the appropriate information allowing us to properly bill on behalf of the patients while maintaining compliance with all Medicare, Medicaid and other healthcare regulations.

Medical Necessity

Health Insurance providers and Medicare in particular, have strict guidelines on what they will cover and what is deemed as "medically necessary".
For the service to be determined medically necessary, the patient's medical condition at the time of transport must be such that any other means of transportation would have placed the patient at risk for harm or deterioration.
In addition, Medicare and Medicaid have guidelines requiring all non-emergency ambulance transports from a hospital, nursing home, physician's office, out-patient facility or clinic to obtain a Physician's Certification statement (PCS). We will collect this statement at the time the request for service is received as part of our normal practice.

Stand By / Special Events

TCMIH will provide both committed and non-committed ambulance standby / first aid station support during sporting events, community gatherings, concerts, fairs, parades, and other public and private events.

Code of Conduct

TCMIH will attribute its success and reputation to the ethical standards that our employees will set forth in their day-to-day actions. Healthcare is a challenging field of endeavor, yet we know we must meet each challenge with the highest level of integrity and resolve, not with shortcuts.

Operational Code of Professional Conduct

The primary goal of TCMIH is to ensure that all employees provide competent, safe and ethical specialized transportation to the citizens of the Virgin Islands. TCMIH has adapted this Code of Professional Conduct to define a set of professional standards that will augment the technical and clinical aspects of our duties.

Twin City Care, Inc.

Three Year Expansion Prospectus.

March 10, 2018

Dear Mr. Epstein:

In the ever-changing world of reimbursements for patient transportation, a means of cost effective non-emergency medical transportation has emerged. It is the birth of this cost effective non-emergency Ambulance Transportation business that has shown the most growth since President Clinton signed the Medicare Reform Act. In this proposal, we will provide information on our proposed expansion of our non-emergency Medical Ambulance service to include the following.

- Definition
- Competition
- Launch Strategies
- Public Relations
- Success Metrics and Rates
- Funding

Thank you for allowing us to provide you this information. As you will see an opportunity is available to assist in funding this ever-growing business demand in the USVI.

Sincerely,

Jeffery D. Gilliard, BS NRP/CCEMTP/FPM
CEO
Twin City Care, Inc.

Past

Prior to TCMIH there were no Advance Life Support Ambulance providing interfacility service on St. Croix and the Governor Juan F. Luis Hospital was left on numerous occasions with patients who were discharged tying up beds. Transports for Patients who need stretcher services were being transported by the 911 emergency ambulances after no alternatives were provided. The research show that an overwhelming number of patients that need stretcher transportation and medical monitoring could not be provided by the current services on St. Croix.

Present

Presently, the competitor, Wheel Coach Services, hasn't the ability or the authorization to bill the customers insurance and in many cases the patients and family members will have to pay for their own ambulance / stretcher transportation home. The request for Non-emergency ambulance services has experienced an increase on St. Croix 88-92% and has been channeled through the 911 system. Today we also find a lack of Non-emergency ambulance services to provide timely transportation. This constantly creates a multi-tiered domino effect when patients cannot be moved out of the hospital. Discharged patients are tying up valuable beds, family members are angry and receiving facilities are not going to accept late patients. Current reimbursements of ambulance services that are medically necessary are at 100% if filed correctly.

Future

With the present situation of the Governor Juan F. Luis & Lester Schneider Hospital the need to mobilize patients frequently, has caused a growth spurt within the district of St. Croix, St. Thomas, St. John and will continue to grow. This growth will be perpetuated by the hospitals need to transport patients from its facility to either a nursing home or home healthcare. Twin City will currently fill part of the void by providing non-emergency and urgent advance life support ambulance transport to and from JFLH, nursing homes and other health facilities / organizations which would avoid much needed bed delays.

Service Definition

Non-Medical Stretcher service is stretcher patient transportation that requires no medical attention or treatment. The service is provided by utilizing a high-top van with a stretcher mounted in the back or transport of a patient in an ambulance without providing basic medical care / monitoring and is being provided by Wheel Coach Services locally. Twin City will provide Ambulance services which are categorized in the following manner and staffing patterns:

1. ALS ambulance services – One (1) AEMT and One (1) EMR or EMT
2. ALS 2 ambulance services – One (1) Paramedic and One (1) AEMT or EMT

Competition

Presently, there is no competition for Twin City. All non-emergency ambulance and non-medial stretchers are regulated through the Virgin Islands Department of Health and Wheel Coach Services that are currently the only provider of the non-medical stretcher. Since 2003 to this date Wheel Coach is unable to provide non-emergency ambulance service on the island of St. Croix. It is very feasible to conduct successful non-emergency ambulance operations with the local hospitals (JFLH), fee for service (Medicare, Medicaid, Private Insurance, self-pay).

Positioning

It is the goal of Twin City Care, Inc. to operate a Mobile Integrated Health Service which consist of; non-emergency and emergency ambulance, specialized transport, community health and mobile phlebotomy service within the USVI. Contracts for fees for service, and subscription service, shall be sought with the major Hospitals, Skilled Nursing Facilities, Casino's, Tourist Bureau and the Community at large. It is our contention to provide excellent customer service. Considering the numerous complaints of the lack of current service we feel that by instituting a policy that provides performance parameters that meets the customers' needs we will be highly successful in our goal. It is our intention to provide a two-hour window and true scheduled pick up times. According to customer surveys, they desire performance and reliability. Ambulance rates are payable by Medicare at $221.00 base rate and $7.31 per mile, the average ambulance call per day at Twin City is four. We expect to double that within the first month. We will also work with the local physicians to transport all qualifiable patients by ambulance, such as those who are on oxygen or those who need non-emergency and urgent transportation to the hospital. We shall also offer to the people of St. Croix a subscription service for ground ambulance, where if they need an ambulance they receive no bill.

Expansion Launch Strategies

It is our intent to expand Twin City Mobile Integrated Health with two ambulances operating per day, Mon-Fri and one on the weekends, by salaried personnel on St. Croix and St. Thomas. Once these units are at 85% capacitance, a third unit will be added. Along with the third unit, a marketing strategy should be launched in the St. Johns area. Under this expansion project employees and starting salary ranges would consist of the following:

4 fulltime Receptionist / Secretary / Dispatcher, $25k/year each
1 Salaried Chief Executive Officer / Paramedic, $100k/year
1 Salaried Medical Director, $125k/year
1 Salaried Human Resource Director, $75k/year
1 Salaried Chief Operations Officer (Paramedic) $85k/year
1 Salaried Supervisor / Customer Care Advocate (Paramedic or Advance EMT) $75k/year
12 Fulltime Emergency Medical Technician (EMT) $45k/year each = $450k/year
9 Part time Advance Emergency Medical Technician $55k/year each = $495k/year

All calls received after hours, will be answered by the COO / Director and / or Supervisor and immediately ran by the two of them if it cannot be scheduled.

A billing / collection Director will handle all billing. This employee will be paid a salary and a percentage of the daily collections with accurate billings. This will be the driving incentive to do a superior job and keep the revenues high.

Public Relations / Advertising

Through research, it has been recognized many organizations fail to realize that there are three (3) customers in this business. The customer that rides on the stretcher deservers friendly and efficient service. The second customer is the facility requesting patient transport. The third customers are the staff that transports the clients in a timely, professional and courteous atmosphere. These customers deserve prompt quality service as well as friendly and efficient service.

It has been found through research, that the company that makes public relations Priority One has been very successful. With the healthcare profession being a tight circle of professionals, the word will quickly spread of the fast, friendly, and efficient service that is being provided. Once this reputation is established, and maintained, the advertising will be a part of each associates daily activities and duties.

Twin City Mobile Integrated Health Services will also align itself with organizations, whose clients will utilize our service. Such organizations would be local Hospice, Rehabilitation, Casino, Hotels, Cruise Lines and Retirement Groups. The company would also be joining other professional organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, American Ambulance Association, National Association of EMTs and Rotary Club.

Twin City Mobile Integrated Health Services will also provide Community paramedicine (CP) which is an emerging healthcare profession. It allows paramedics and emergency medical technicians (EMTs) to operate in expanded roles to provide healthcare services to underserved populations. It is a way to improve rural emergency medical services (EMS) as well as address the healthcare needs of the community.

Some rural patients lack access to primary care, and misuse 911 services in an attempt to access emergency departments for routine healthcare. This is demanding on EMS personnel in rural areas and causes strains on the workforce. Working in a primary care role, our community paramedics can meet the needs of such individuals, as well as others in the community, in a more efficient and proactive way.

1.0 Executive Summary

The purpose of this business plan is to raise $10,000,000.00 for the expansion of our Mobile integrated health service while showcasing the expected financials and operations over the next five years. Twin City Care, Inc. is a US Virgin Islands based corporation that will provide non-emergency ambulance, mobile phlebotomy, Community Health and specialized medical transportation services to people in its targeted market.

1.1 Products and Service

Twin City intends to provide non-emergency medical transportation of people to hospital, physicians, physical Therapy clinics, and outpatient centers. TCMIH will be able to attend both urgent and non-urgent call. The business will receive a majority of its income from publicly funded healthcare systems and private insurance companies.

1.2 The Financing

Twin City is seeking to raise $10,000,000.00. This funding is primarily for expansion cost, relocation and current office maintenance / repairs. During the storm (Hurricane Maria) we suffered severe damage to our current place of operations. The funding requested should assist our organization to:

1. Make repairs to our interior walls, purchase furniture
2. Replenish radio communication
3. Purchase additional communication equipment (Dispatch Computers)
4. Purchase additional ambulances, 2 Quick Response Units and 2 Supervisors Units
5. 2 years Operational Funds
6. Office supplies
7. Medical supplies
8. General Operational Costs

Twin City has already purchased its first ambulance and will have it in comission by April 2018.

1.3 Management Team

Twin City Care, Inc. was co-founded by Eugene Phipps, Jeffery D. Gilliard, and Jerry Galloway together we have a combined experience of over 90 years in the emergency medical field and 31 years' experience in Non-emergency medical transportation (see Curriculum Vitae's). Through our expertise and knowledge, we will be able to bring the services of this business to profitability with its first year of operations.

TWIN CITY CURRENT FINANCIAL SHEET:

Radio Communications				
Radio Service				$250.00
Dispatch Center				$2,500.00
		Annual Total		$30,250.00

Radio Communications				
Mobile Radio	4	$2200.00 ea.	$8,800.00	
Port. Radio	5	$1800.00 ea.	$9,000.00	
Tablets/ mounts	4	$3,000.00 ea.	$12,000.00	
		Total Cost		$29,800.00

Tele- Communications				
Telephone	Office			$220.00
Fax	Office			$110.00
Cell	Operations	X 3 AT & T	$100.00/ month	$300.00
Internet	Office	Broad Band	$400.00 / Month	$400.00
Internet	Mobile	AT& T	$500.00 / Month	$500.00
		Annual Total		$6,730.00

Facility Rental				
				$3,500.00
		Annual Total		$42,000.00

Utilities				
WAPA				$1,200.00
		Annual Total		$28,800.00

Office Supplies				
Printing Advertising		$125.00/week		$500.00
Direct Mail		$20.00/week		$80.00
Brochure		$375.00/week		$1,500.00
Advertising		$150.00/week		$600.00
Website Advertising / Hosting		$150.00/week		$600.00
Promotional Materials		$375.00/Month		$1,500.00
		Annual Total		$57,360.00

Business License Expenses				
Bus. License				$500.00
Vehicle License				$500.00
Vehicle Ins.				$3,000.00
		Annual Total		$4,000.00

Staff Education				
Monthly	$3,000.00			$3,000.00
		Annual Total		$36,000.00

Staff Uniform				
	$2,500.00			$2,500.00
		Annual Total		$2,500.00

Ambulance Medical/Equipment Supplies			
ITEM	**Amount**	**Cost**	**Total**
ALS Medical Bag (BLUE)	**$462.00 ea.**	**$462.00 X 2**	**$924.00**
Trauma Bag (RED)	**$277.00 ea.**	**$277.00 X 2**	**$554.00**
Pelican Drug Box	**$510.00 ea.**	**$510.00 X 2**	**$1,020.00**
Power Stair Chair (RED) Ferno	**$6800.00 ea.**	**$6800.00 X 1**	**$6,800.00**
Combination Backboard/Scoop	**$950.00 ea.**	**$950.00 X 2**	**$1,900.00**
Head Immobilizer	**$130.00 ea.**	**$130.00 X 4**	**$520.00**
Pedi Board	**$180.00 ea.**	**$180.00 X 2**	**$360.00**
LifePak 15 Defib/ Monitor	**$27000.00 ea.**	**$27000.00 X 2**	**$54,000.00**
Multi-system BP Cuff	**$160.00 ea.**	**$160.00 X 4**	**$640.00**
Reeves Heavy Duty Stretcher	**$378.00 ea.**	**$378.00 X 2**	**$756.00**
Reeves First call bag	**$90.00 ea.**	**$90.00 X 2**	**$180.00**
IO Drill Kit (Hard case)	**$450.00 ea.**	**$450.00 X 2**	**$900.00**
CPAP Kit (MACS)	**$2500.00 ea.**	**$2000.00 X 2**	**$4,000.00**
Thomas EMS Pedi Braslow Bag	**$1320.00 ea.**	**$1320.00 X 2**	**$2,640.00**
	Total		**$75,194.00**

Ambulance 2017			
Chassis	**Cost ea.**	**Amt.**	**TOTAL**
Sprinter Ambulance 2018	**$245,617.74**	**1**	**$245,617.74**
Including Shipping			
Including Graphics			
Stretcher (Ferno)			
	Total		**$245,617.74**

		Intial Project Cost	**$558,251.74**

1.4 Current Assets

Twin City Care, Inc. has current assets consisting of training equipment, 1-2017 Ambulance, EMS Equipment, office furniture and supplies for a total of $358,811.74.

TWIN CITY EXPANSION NEEDS FINANCIAL PROPOSAL:

Additional Radio Communications				
Radio Service				$250.00
Dispatch Center				$2,500.00
		Annual Total		$30,250.00

Additional Portable Communications				
Mobile Radio	4	$2200.00 ea.	$8,800.00	
Port. Radio	5	$1800.00 ea.	$9,000.00	
Tablets/ mounts	4	$3,000.00 ea.	$12,000.00	
		Total Cost		$29,800.00

Tele- Communications				
Telephone	Office			$220.00
Fax	Office			$110.00
Cell	Operations	X 3 AT & T	$100.00/ month	$300.00
Internet	Office	Broad Band	$400.00 / Month	$400.00
Internet	Mobile	AT& T	$500.00 / Month	$500.00
		Annual Total		$6,730.00

Facility Purchase				
10000 Sqft Building				$2,350,000.00
		Annual Total		$2,350,000.00

Utilities				
WAPA				**$2,400.00**
		Annual Total		**$28,800.00**

Office Supplies				
Printing Advertising		**$125.00/week**		**$500.00**
Direct Mail		**$20.00/week**		**$80.00**
Brochure		**$375.00/week**		**$1,500.00**
Advertising		**$150.00/week**		**$600.00**
Website Advertising / Hosting		**$150.00/week**		**$600.00**
Promotional Materials		**$375.00/Month**		**$1,500.00**
		Annual Total		**$57,360.00**
		Annual Total		**$172,080.00**

Business License Expenses				
Bus. License				**$500.00**
Vehicle License x 6				**$3,500.00**
Vehicle Ins. X 6				**$18,000.00**
		Annual Total x 3 years		**$328,000.00**

Staff				
Education/Month	**$ 6,000.00**			**$ 6,000.00**
Wage/Taxes/Benefits/Month	**$ 1,430,000.00**			**$ 1,430,000.00**
		Annual Total x 3 years		**$ 4,296,000.00**

Staff Uniform				
	$ 10,000.00			**$ 10,000.00**
		Annual Total x 3 years		**$ 30,000.00**

Ambulance & QRV Medical/Equipment Supplies			
ITEM	**Amount**	**Cost**	**Total**
ALS Medical Bag (BLUE)	**$462.00 ea.**	**$462.00 X 2**	**$924.00**
Trauma Bag (RED)	**$277.00 ea.**	**$277.00 X 2**	**$554.00**
Pelican Drug Box	**$510.00 ea.**	**$510.00 X 2**	**$1,020.00**
Power Stair Chair (RED) Ferno	**$6800.00 ea.**	**$6800.00 X 1**	**$6,800.00**
Combination Backboard/Scoop	**$950.00 ea.**	**$950.00 X 2**	**$1,900.00**
Head Immobilizer	**$130.00 ea.**	**$130.00 X 4**	**$520.00**
Pedi Board	**$180.00 ea.**	**$180.00 X 2**	**$360.00**
LifePak 15 Defib/ Monitor	**$27000.00 ea.**	**$27000.00 X 2**	**$54,000.00**
Multi-system BP Cuff	**$160.00 ea.**	**$160.00 X 4**	**$640.00**
Reeves Heavy Duty Stretcher	**$378.00 ea.**	**$378.00 X 2**	**$756.00**
Reeves First call bag	**$90.00 ea.**	**$90.00 X 2**	**$180.00**
IO Drill Kit (Hard case)	**$450.00 ea.**	**$450.00 X 2**	**$900.00**
CPAP Kit (MACS)	**$2500.00 ea.**	**$2000.00 X 2**	**$4,000.00**
Thomas EMS Pedi Braslow Bag	**$1320.00 ea.**	**$1320.00 X 2**	**$2,640.00**
	Total		**$75,194.00**
	Total x 6 units		**$451,164.00**

Ambulance 2018			
Chassis	**Cost ea.**	**Amt.**	**TOTAL**
Sprinter Ambulance 2018	**$245,617.74**	**1**	**$245,617.74**
Including Shipping			
Including Graphics			
Stretcher (Ferno)			
	Total for 4 additional units		**$982,470.96**

QRV Units 2018			
Chassis	**Cost ea.**	**Amt.**	**TOTAL**
Ford F350 2018	**$145,266.88**	**1**	**$145,266.88**
Including Shipping			
Including Graphics			
Equipment Box			
	Total for 2 units		**$290,533.76**

Supervisor/Community Paramedicine Units 2018			
Chassis	**Cost ea.**	**Amt.**	**TOTAL**
Sprinter Ambulance 2018	**$245,617.74**	**1**	**$245,617.74**
Including Shipping			
Including Graphics			
Stretcher (Ferno)			
	Total for 2 units		**$982,470.96**
Total Funding Needed Expansion			**$9,978,299.68**
Total Funding Requested			**$ 10,000,000.00**

1.5 Summary

With your donation of $10,000,000.00, Twin City commits to aggressively expand during the next three (3) years of operation. The intentions are to purchase an operations facility, set up a mental health crisis hotline, purchase additional equipment and hire additional personnel. We also intend to implement marketing campaigns that will effectively target individual new customers within the territory. Due to our unique inside and immediate access to the market in which we are involved with, on a daily basis, we will be able to assist and provide guidance to the needs of our patients, constituents and future customers.

Twin City Care
Mobile Integrated Healthcare

From: [redacted]
Sent: 4/1/2018 4:03:51 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Kim Jong Un's visit to China

Importance: High

I am curious to see what will be a reaction from Trump's administration and from Europe if Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi **do** visit Kremlin and possibly Kim's visit right after... Reunion of three socialist countries?

On Sun, Apr 1, 2018 at 11:52 AM, [redacted] wrote:

> Have you seen the full video? so interesting...
> See the beginning. Looks like a theater, they emote too much. It's funny!😊
> And also on 5:45 min when he meets XI Jinping before their diplomatic discussion meeting
>
> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KQplQp0Gw7Y&utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter_axioschina&stream=top-stories

From: Robert Trivers [redacted]
Sent: 4/11/2018 2:18:04 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Gordon Getty [redacted]; Norman Finkelstein [redacted]; david haig [redacted]
Subject: Trump set to dine with law professor Alan Dershowitz

Importance: High

My God

that Jewish Nazi is joining to join our Narcissistic Psychopath for dinner—how appropriate

https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/10/politics/donald-trump-alan-dershowitz/index.html

From: Joichi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 3/18/2016 11:50:05 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Anonymous after Trump

Importance: High

Are you tracking this?

http://mic.com/articles/138244/anonymous-just-made-good-on-its-war-against-donald-trump-in-one-massive-cyberattack?utm_source=policymicFB&utm_medium=main&utm_campaign=social#.arje8kJP9

From: Joi Ito[redacted]
Sent: 5/10/2016 3:44:04 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Peter Theil / Trump

Importance: High

http://hill.cm/0p8MRzu

Sent from my iPhone

From: Alan Dershowitz [redacted]
Sent: 6/30/2016 2:45:27 PM
To: Martin G Weinberg [redacted]; Gerald B. Lefcourt [redacted]; Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: media inquiry - FoxNews.com
Attachments: Screenshot 2016-06-29 13.50.26.png

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Zimmerman, Malia McLaughlin" <[redacted]>
To: "Alan Dershowitz" <[redacted]
Subject: media inquiry - FoxNews.com

Hi Alan

I was reading through the files related to the Jeffrey Epstein case, including the original criminal case where you defended Mr. Epstein, and saw a letter both you and Gerald Lefcourt co-authored on his behalf dated July 6, 2007.

The letter said "Mr. Epstein was part of the original group that conceived the Clinton Global Initiative, which is described as a project 'bringing together a community of global leaders to devise and implement innovative solutions to some of the world's most pressing challenges.' Focuses of this initiative include poverty, climate change, global health, and religious and ethnic conflicts."

I just wanted to clarify if Mr. Epstein was on the board of directors or listed as a founder anywhere or on any paperwork associated with the foundation and if so, in what capacity. Also wanted to clarify what you specifically mean by being part of the original group.

I attached a screen shot of the exact passage I am referring to.

Thanks,

Malia

Malia Zimmerman
Investigative Reporter,
FoxNews.com

2044 Armacost Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90025

M [redacted]
E: [redacted]

This message and its attachments may contain legally privileged or confidential information. It is intended solely for the named addressee. If you are not the addressee indicated in this message (or responsible for delivery of the message to the addressee), you may not copy or deliver this message or its attachments to anyone. Rather, you should permanently delete this message and its attachments and kindly notify the sender by reply e-mail. Any content of this message and its attachments that does not relate to the official business of Fox News or Fox Business must not be taken to have been sent or endorsed by either of them. No representation is made that this email or its attachments are without defect.

From: Deepak Chopra [redacted]
Sent: 7/17/2016 7:26:43 PM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: A hilarious attempt by TE-A-ME to "Purify" Trump | A TE-A-ME Intervention - YouTube

Importance: High

The Indians are getting involved https://m.youtube.com/watch?feature=share&v=hYy7qy2AQeo

Deepak Chopra
[redacted]

Super Genes: Unlock the Astonishing Power of Your DNA for Optimum Health and Wellbeing

Date: Wednesday, July 10 2019 08:07 AM
Subject: [redacted]
From: [redacted] <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Dear Jeff,

I read the news papers today, I can't believe they arrested you again, you are the only man on the planet who would never be bad with any women as you love them too much.
It is so untrue what they are saying. If you need my support I am there.
I was 19 when I meet you with our wonderful commun friend HRH Prince Andrew and you would have never done anything wrong to me.

I meet the few lovely girls around you, they loved you and you were so good with them. They were bringing you ideas, creativity, a touch of youth in this very difficult world and happiness like a young can do.
Nothing more! Then of course I am sure they were happy to hope to become your girlfriend as women are always attracted by men of power!
I traveled with you to discuss my future in business, you introduced me amongst the most important scientists and neuroscientists in the world at Harvard University and you kindly advise me to continue to study. You also explained to me that life is hard and business is difficult.You were feeling I should study more. All your advises were so right. Thank you.

I feel sorry that these girls are only interested by your money. I feel sorry for that and they might be manipulated by people of power who wish to do bad to the Trump gouvernement.
Do you remember that you asked me to be your girlfriend, I was back in France after our trip together in Harvard, you tried to convince me on the phone, I refused and look today we stayed friends for ever. You never did anything wrong as these girls are mentioning, it was up to them to be involved with you sexually, it was their own decision, not your wish.

I don't know if you will read this message. I hope so.

Please receive my warmest wishes and love.
[redacted]

[redacted]

GMI Productions
[redacted]

From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]]
Sent: 5/28/2018 10:56:02 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Middle Eastern Monarchs Look at the Trumps and See Themselves – Foreign Policy

Importance: High

http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/05/28/middle-eastern-monarchs-look-at-the-trumps-and-see-themselves/amp/

Middle Eastern Monarchs Look at the Trumps and See Themselves

America's Arab allies have always wanted to buy direct access to U.S. foreign policy, and they finally found a seller.

May 28, 2018

Ivanka Trump andJared Kushner at the presentation of the Order of Abdulaziz al-Saud medal at the Saudi Royal Court in Riyadh on May 20, 2017.(MANDEL NGAN/AFP/Getty Images)

Almost 20 years ago when I was a graduate student living in Cairo, I published an article in a Washington-based journal called *Middle East Insight*. The magazine had a solid reputation, with a knack for scoring interviews with important people. (In the same edition as my piece, titled "Egypt's Next Generation," there was an interview with Gamal Mubarak, son of long-term Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who had already begun his rise — though not yet his eventual fall — as heir apparent.) A few years later, *Middle East Insight* disappeared. When I heard the news, I figured the magazine was too niche for an expanding media environment, shrugged my shoulders, and went on with life.

I hadn't thought about *Middle East Insight* until its onetime publisher, George Nader, recently exploded into the news as an international man of mystery at the center of an apparent attempt to covertly influence the outcome of the last American presidential election. It seems that in the span of not quite two decades, the guy who ran a small, likely not profitable, but influential policy magazine become a conduit between Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan of the Abu Dhabi, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, and Donald Trump's closest inner circle, both after, and — crucially for special counsel Robert Mueller's ongoing criminal investigation — before Trump's election as U.S. president.

Nader's story is yet another example of the sleaze, greed, and influence-peddling that has come to seem ordinary in Trump-era Washington. But it also offers a view into a more extraordinary and unprecedented problem: a decision by some of America's closest allies in the Middle East to leverage their financial resources in common cause with a bunch of *ganefs* to influence U.S. foreign policy. It is a problem that can be traced back, in ways that haven't generally been understood, to Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner and his mobile phone.

From the perspective of the leaders of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Israel (there is an Israeli angle to the George Nader story, but it isn't yet entirely clear), and Egypt, there was an entirely rational reason to support Trump's presidential bid and try to influence his approach to the Middle East: They did not like former President Barack Obama's Middle East policy. And while they likely understood that presidential nominee Hillary Clinton was more hawkish that the president she served as secretary of state, the Saudis, Emiratis, and Israelis were concerned that she would be tethered to the Iran nuclear deal and thus Obama's Iran policy.

They also believed that Clinton would be soft on Islamists. It is an article of faith in Egypt that she enabled the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood and Mohamed Morsi in 2011 and 2012. For countries in the Persian Gulf, Egypt provides strategic depth, and "losing" it to the Muslim Brotherhood was a major geopolitical blow. The Israelis, for obvious reasons, were deeply concerned about the accumulation of Islamist political power next door and blamed the Obama administration for abandoning Hosni Mubarak, thereby placing Israel's security in jeopardy.

With Trump, Washington's allies got a candidate and president who referred to the Iran nuclear agreement as the "worst deal ever," surrounded himself with people who either make no distinction between al Qaeda and the Muslim Brotherhood or are simply outright Islamophobes, and has forthrightly declared that the United States supports its friends in the fight against terrorism. Full stop. No caveats, buts, or howevers concerning human rights and the need for political reform. To them, this seemed a lot better than the appreciation of nuance and complexity that was a hallmark of the Obama administration.

Of course, even if an American president shares a given ally's view of the world, diplomacy does not stop. The job of ambassadors, foreign ministers, and other representatives of foreign governments is to keep the United States on their side. Traditionally, this is done through formal discussions with U.S. officials at the State Department, National Security Council, and Department of Defense; meetings with members of Congress; writing op-eds in influential media outlets; and informal channels of influence, notably the Washington social circuit of dinners, embassy garden parties, national day events and the like. No doubt there was a lot of this going on through the first year and half of the Trump administration. But as

we now know, there was an entirely parallel effort to influence American foreign policy, and George Nader was at the center of it.

According to the *New York Times*, Nader and Elliott Broidy pitched a scheme to the governments of the UAE and Saudi Arabia in which Broidy would use his extensive contacts in Washington, especially in the White House, to shape U.S. policy toward Qatar, which the Saudis and Emiratis accuse of supporting the Muslim Brotherhood, funding extremism, and cozying up to Iran. Apparently, the Emiratis agreed to the arrangement. Clearly, putting the screws to Qatar's Emir Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani is a high priority for the crown princes of Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi, who undoubtedly would not apologize for using every method and resource at their disposal to advance their countries' interests. What is the Trump administration's excuse, though?

The kind of influence-peddling in which Nader and Broidy were involved can be traced back to Jared Kushner. On Nov. 8, 2016, if not before, he was handing out his cellphone number to all kinds of people in Washington with little regard for the potential consequences and apparently little idea about who was genuinely powerful and who were just posers. No doubt that important people in certain countries had the mobile numbers of senior members of the Obama administration, plus their Gmail addresses, but there was something qualitatively different about the way Kushner was operating. He was essentially opening the door to a Trumpian culture in which there is no process, there is no vetting, everyone and anyone could be an asset, loyalty is the greatest quality second only to money, and there are always ways to get something done no matter what.

Trump's world does not operate the same way as Washington's major Middle Eastern allies, but there are some parallels that make stories like the George Nader affair possible. Trump's tendency to eschew the formal processes and procedures of government dovetails with the way in informal power, uncodified norms, and past practices shape governance and policy in places as diverse as Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Israel. These kinds of informal institutions exist in the United States as well; a lot of things have gotten done in Washington over the years because of the Harvard "old boys'" network or because that's the way it has always been done in the cloakroom. But informal networking has generally not guided the realm of foreign policy, which has always involved an exhaustive (and exhausting) interagency process. Kushner's willingness to hand out his digits signaled that Team Trump was open to doing things significantly differently from previous administrations, and U.S. allies along with people like Nader and Broidy took him up on it. The result was a $650 million contract for Broidy's security firm after he bent the ear of the president and others about the perfidy of the Qatari leadership.

From the vantage point of Middle Eastern capitals, in Trump's Washington, the secretary of state and the national security advisor are superfluous. You could go through Kushner or supplement by engaging in some "riyalpolitik." The influence business has been around

Washington for a long time. The amount of money that foreign governments expend on D.C. lobbying is staggering, but the Nader-Broidy scheme was an attempt to sell American foreign policy — which, as Mueller will soon remind everyone lest anyone in Trump's orbit forget, is different from selling real estate.

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From: Deepak Chopra [redacted]
Sent: 6/6/2018 11:32:09 AM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Lunch with Deepak I: LSD, Quantum Healing, and Plato | Psychology Today

Importance: High

FYI
https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/psyched/201806/lunch-deepak-i-lsd-quantum-healing-and-plato?amp&__twitter_impression=true

Lunch with Deepak I: LSD, Quantum Healing, and Plato

A skeptic and a mystic seek common ground. Part one of four.

Matthew Hutson
Posted Jun 04, 2018

In March, I attended a debate on the proposition "The more we evolve, the less we need God," With Michael Shermer and Heather Berlin for the motion and Deepak Chopra and Anoop Kumar against the motion. The next day I published an account titled "Do Not Debate Deepak Chopra" (subtitle: "He's not even wrong."). Soon after, Chopra reached out to me and invited me to lunch. In April I met him in his office at Deepak Homebase in Manhattan, we had lunch downstairs at ABC Kitchen, and returned to his office. This is a nearly full transcript of our two-hour conversation.

This is part 1 of 4. Here are parts 2, 3, and 4.

Matt: So, I'm curious why you invited me, what you wanted to talk about.

Deepak: I read your article, "Not Even Wrong." [Laughter.] That's been my label for a long time from a lot of people, so I thought I'd give you my perspective on what I think reality is and see if we can expand the conversation.

Matt: So the debate, it seemed like it was ships crossing in the night. The two sides were talking about different things and so I think it was clear to—or everyone else had one conception about what the debate was going to be about: the usefulness of the idea of God as conceived in monotheistic religions. Whereas the two of you were—it seemed like you were avoiding that debate and talking about something else.

Deepak: So let me give you a little background to that. The first time we were invited to the debate by the organizers—I didn't know who they were—the topic was, "As we evolve do we need religion?" So I called the organizers and I said, "Let me rephrase that if you don't mind. Can we say, 'As we evolve do we need religious experience?'" So they said "We don't

know what that means." I said, as I look across the religions of the world, the common features I see are: Number one: transcendence—as a religious experience, not the dogma, not the ideology, not the institution—but transcendence, going beyond subject-object split. Number two: the emergence of platonic values as a result of that experience, like the desire to know the truth, goodness, beauty, harmony, love, compassion, joy, equanimity, gratitude and humility, wonder, curiosity. It's very human but it gets overshadowed by everyday experience. And number three: a loss of the fear of death, because that happens to experience, not to the consciousness in which that experience occurs. I think they didn't understand that, honestly, so they rephrased it as "Do we need God?" So I said, "Listen, before I even go there, can we have a conversation?" So they were very gracious. We all got together with the board or whatever and we had a conversation. I said, "Honestly, God is a very loaded term and if by God we mean some imagined deity or some dead white male in the sky then it's not something that we can even address because we don't have that conception of God as an imagined deity."

Matt: You mean that's not something you personally can address?

Deepak: Yeah I can't address it, nor can my partner. They said, "Well if you make that clear up front, then it's fine, but we still want to maintain God in the title." So I was keen to have this conversation because Michael and I have been going back and forth for 30 years now, and I thought, Michael's come to a very good place with me personally. So we agreed to the title. But if you go to the Eastern wisdom traditions—Buddhism, Vedanta, Shaoism, all the Eastern traditions—then God is pure consciousness, period. So the debate, you're right, they were talking about the mythical God and we were talking about that which is inconceivable as consciousness but makes every concept possible.

So I can give you a background on that because monotheistic religions are at war all the time amongst each other, and all of the problems in the world right now are a consequence of that. But nobody talks about "What is a religious or spiritual experience?" Hundreds of millions of people across the world don't have that idea at all that the monotheistic religions propose. In fact, if you go deep into the teachings of Buddhism, etc., the word God is not mentioned. Only consciousness is mentioned. Vedanta, only consciousness is mentioned. And it's a very different take on consciousness. So, if you'll allow me for a moment to explain that. So when I was a kid, I grew up in India with a father who was agnostic or atheist, who was trained in England as a cardiologist. He went on to become a very famous person. He discovered high altitude mountain sickness. When the Indian and Chinese army were fighting in Tibet he was putting catheters in people's hearts and measuring their cardiac pressures. He described high altitude pulmonary edema and hypertension. My mother was what you might call a Hindu. But even when she told us stories as kids and she talked about all these mythical gods and goddesses, she emphasized the fact that these are mythical, imaginary, symbolic expressions of deep aspirations in human consciousness to understand reality. Now she was also, by the way, she wasn't a very educated woman like

my father was. But she had enough ideas in her upbringing to say that the world you experience as everyday reality is not real. She would say that probably because she had heard it an amount of times. But when you're a child, that sticks with you, that the world you experience is not real. So that's my childhood background until I went to medical school. Medical school, I embraced everything that my father had taught about reality being physical, material. He was actually more than—he was almost like Michael Shermer in the earlier days when I was growing up.

Matt: How did your parents get along?

Deepak: Oh he was a very loving person.

Matt: Completely different philosophies.

Deepak: Yeah but he was an amazing person in terms of being a physician. I mean this is long before technology. He could listen to a heart with a stethoscope and tell you, which you may or may not know, the PR interval, which means the difference in microseconds between the atrial and the ventricular beat, which you could verify on an electrocardiogram. He was astonishing as a diagnostician. He trained with Wallace Brigden in England who was one of the earlier pioneers in electrocardiography. He was a consultant to the royal heart hospital to the queen at one time before he came back to India, the British army. So, he was an amazing person but he was also very compassionate. On weekends he would see patients free of charge, and my mother would cook food for them and make sure they had enough money for their bus or their train. So there was a very compassionate aspect to him, but he didn't believe in religion or anything like that.

So then when I went to medical school I totally embraced my father's constructs. Except for one or two experiences during medical school, which was in India by the way. And it was one of the newer medical schools after British independence, called the Indian Institute of Medical Sciences, and it was funded by, amongst other people, the Rockefeller Foundation, and so we had lots of international faculty. So in my fourth year of medical school, when the Beatles were in India—that's George Harrison behind you, by the way, in a turban sitting next to me. So that is a later picture but the Beatles came to India in 1969, when I was finishing my medical school. I didn't know these guys at that time. But Sergeant Pepper's had come out, Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds, and we had four medical students as visitors to our classroom for the summer from Harvard. And they had with them a bunch of LSD. So my first experience was—and **I was just near 18, when we had the first LSD experience**. And then another one. Twice. And suddenly what my mother had been saying all these years about the world being an illusion was in the way an epiphany to me, at the age of 17. I mean I saw that the construction of—dissolving of boundaries like this, this, this and melting away. And then just colors and shapes and forms and sounds. And then a vast nothingness with no boundaries. But I was there. Not as a body, not as a mind, not as anything I could identify with, but just totally boundless. It was totally life-shifting at the age of 18 years. But

then what happened is the medical school is very busy. You have to study, pass exams, this, that. And I put that aside, that experience side.

Then at the age of 22, I came to the United States, and I had to do a lot of hardship to get here. My father wanted me to follow in his footsteps and be an academic. He was a professor, too, of cardiology. So I worked hard. India wasn't encouraging people to leave. I had to go to Sri Lanka to pass my exams, I had to borrow money to get a flight to the United States, I passed all that, I had to spend a year in New Jersey at a very ordinary community hospital, hard-working, and I got a residency in Boston with various hospitals with academics. So, Harvard, Tufts, BU, internal medicine, hard work, no thinking about consciousness whatsoever. Just passing one exam after another, getting one fellowship after another.

And then I came here in 1970, July 1, basically as an intern in a hospital that no longer exists in New Jersey, MuhlenbergHospital, but then in the next year I got into all these academic institutions in Boston and went from one to another. I trained in internal medicine. And then I had heard vaguely of a discipline called neuroendocrinology, and I had also heard vaguely of this new revolution in medicine at that time, which was looking at peptides in the circulation. And the peptide that was very popular at that time was something called opiates, which are now popular again, and the opioid receptor, with somebody called George Solomon in Washington, who was an expert in that, but I discovered that the number one guy in the world in neuroendocrinology at that time was a professor at Tufts New England Medical Center, and his name was Seymour Reichlin and he was a legend. Okay, so, if you found a snake in his garden he would dissect it and look at the hypothalamus and identify receptors for opioids, serotonin, this and that. I'll show you his photo recently. I just met him the other day at the consciousness conference, which is bizarre because I hadn't met him in all these years. He's 94, and he was giving a lecture on serotonin and mystical experiences, at the age of 94, and he came to my lecture, and he was one of the most amazing guys in the world, actually. It was a real joy to meet him. This is him, let me show you. Anyway I'll show you his photo in a second. He's 94, he gives talks on serotonin, but he was a legend.

I got a fellowship with him, and through him I met somebody who is no longer alive, Candace Pert, who had actually discovered the opioid receptor, and she and I met at a conference. She later became the chief of brain chemistry at the NIH. And she told me these molecules that we're talking about, serotonin, opiates, oxytocin, dopamine they are the molecules of emotion. So that's the first time I've heard that expression. I said, "You should write a book about it." She did. I wrote the foreword and it was for me one of the milestones of my life. And so I applied to Reichlin's fellowship and I got it, and it was like the most prestigious thing you could get.

But then I had my own issues with medicine. Is this interesting to you? So I had my own issues, including the fact that I was seeing patients and I can see that the response was not

predictable. You could give two patients the same disease and they had completely different outcomes. So at least in human beings, we didn't respond predictably. As does always occur, the bell-shaped curve, which there is to everything now. So, I started getting interested in mind-body medicine, and I would say I probably coined the phrase. In 1985 I wrote a book which nobody would accept, no publisher would accept, so I published it on my own, called Creating Health: Exploring the Mind-Body Connection. The book then was picked up by Houghton Mifflin and became at national bestseller. And I wrote another book called Quantum Healingwhich was vilified by the medical establishment because I was basically proposing, long before anybody was talking about entanglement, I was talking about the entanglement of mind, body, neuropeptides, molecules of emotion, etc., etc., from my own experience. But the books did very well with the lay public. The New England Journaldid a good review of *Quantum Healing* in 1988, but basically **I'm still ridiculed for it by the regular medical establishment.**

Matt: Were you talking about quantum entanglement—

Deepak: I wasn't using the word quantum entanglement. I was talking about the fact that thoughts and molecules are inseparable, basically, and that between a thought and a molecule there's a gap, and that gap is consciousness. It's now 30 years since the book, and Rudy was my co-author. He's a neuroscientist at Harvard and the head of neuroscience at Mass General. He wrote the foreword to the reissue of *Quantum Healing*, which I'll send you, but it's almost now quaint with all that we know of now. But I used that word which annoyed a lot of people, including Richard Dawkins, who ridiculed me, and I said, "Listen, I'm using it as a metaphor."

All science, I was saying, was a metaphor anyway, but it was then that I also got very interested in meditation. And then I went to India, and I spend about 10 years in India talking to these teachers, basically, of consciousness, where consciousness is fundamental reality, it is beyond thought or experience, and the word they use is pure consciousness. So I went through an experience with a teacher of meditation who basically asked me questions like I can ask you right now. What is this? [Matt: "It's a glass."] And what's this? [Matt: "Flower."] And what's this? [Matt: "A candle."] What's this?" [Matt: "A Sharpie."] "What's this?" [Matt: "A hand. Did I get them all right?"] So far. I said the same thing. But I was having a conversation with somebody, and he said to me, "Those are human constructs." And I was trying to tell this person, who was a meditation teacher, I was telling him about the molecules of emotion. Serotonin. He said they're not real.

So that got me thinking, okay, and I seriously went into wanting to experience pure consciousness, which they all talk about, as transcendence, beyond subject-object split. So, this person that I had this conversation with, he said, "If you were a baby and you had no language, not exposed to any language, this would not be a hand. This would be a shape, a form, a color, maybe a smell, a texture, a sensation, as an activity of consciousness. But then

you would be told, 'This is a hand, you have a body,' and then you would have an interpretation of that experience, which you would call a thought. And then you would also be told, 'This is your body. You have a mind. You're Indian. And you come from a Hindu family.' All social constructs. Fundamental reality is sensory perception, which is an activation of consciousness, and its interpretation is thought. The rest is a story. Mind, body, and even universe is a story." **Well, that was pretty mind-boggling for a young person at the age of 35.** I'd already trained now, here. Slowly, that lead to how one construct leads to another construct. Okay, so this is an iPhone. It's matter. Well I have now reified sensory experience in consciousness, an activity of consciousness in consciousness, with a construct, iPhone. Then I reify it further, made of matter. And now this is very convenient. I can study it. It's made of molecules, made of atoms. So one construct leads to another construct, particles. Then you get ultimately to possibility waves and then you're stuck again.

Okay [laughter], but along the chain, one construct built to another construct to another construct to another construct. Very useful. New York City is a construct. Latitude is a construct. Longitude is a construct. Time is it construct. Money is a construct. Wall Street is a construct. Religion is a construct. God is a construct. Universe is a construct, which you call a model, Okay. So, this led me to consciousness, exploring consciousness. Where now, you have—you know I just came from this conference, on the science of consciousness, where you have physicalists, you have dualists, you have panpsychists, you have idealists, and they're all arguing about the constructs.

So the physicalists are now in a difficult position, because they're trying to explain consciousness with the construct of physicality, and you can't. Because physicality itself is a construct. Then you have the idealists going back to Plato who are saying it's all mental. But even mental ideas are constructs. Then you have the dualists, Descartes, the two are separate, mind and body. But then how do you explain their interaction? It violates simple laws like thermodynamics. If mind is separate and body is separate, how do I lift my arm? I start with a thought so I do this. How do I speak, how do I walk, how do I do anything? So, dualism doesn't make me happy. Idealism doesn't make me happy. Physicalism, I don't know what matter is anymore.

I interviewed the Nobel laureate Wilczek, physicist from MIT. So I said, "What is matter?" "It's particles." I said, "What are particles, subatomic particles?" He says, "They are little things." I said, "But then everybody says that's a wave potential, that's in Hilbert space. What is that? Where is Hilbert space?" He says, "It's mathematical." "What is it?" "It's infinitely dimensional or zero dimensional." "Where is it?" The usual answer is "Shut up and calculate," right? So I realized that the entire new paradigm of multiverse, superstrings, eternal inflation, whatever, is all in mathematical imagination. Hilbert space is in mathematical imagination, the wave potential is in mathematical imagination. I said to Wilczek, "What is matter?" And he said, "We're still trying to figure that out." [Laughter.] **I**

mean this is coming from a Nobel laureate who discovered a particle, you know. So I ended up where I began, which is non-dualism, that there is only consciousness.

Matt: Isn't that idealism?

Deepak: Idealism comes out of non-dualism.

Matt: So there are two types of monism [non-dualism]. There's materialism and then there is idealism. [Each holds that] there's only matter or there's only consciousness.

Deepak: Okay then we can say idealism is closest to non-duality. They don't use that word in the East. Let's go for lunch. [We head downstairs.]

Deepak: With idealism one usually relates to Plato in the West or to Bishop Berkeley and all those guys, you know. But basically, what idealism espouses, it's mental. But non-dualism says even mental is a construct. When you say mental you have words. As soon as you have a word for an experience it's no longer fundamental.

Matt: Non-dualism is a construct too.

Deepak: If I have to use words, yes.

Matt: There's no getting away from constructs.

Deepak: No, there is a way of getting away from constructs. It's called transcendence. Shut up and just be.

Matt: We never stop filtering experience—

Deepak: Every experience is filtered through given constructs. There is no getting away from it. But then we start looking at consciousness—let's find our table. [We find our table.]

Deepak Chopra MD

[redacted]

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From: MARK TRAMO[redacted]
Sent: 10/14/2018 5:16:21 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Donald Trump, Kanye West, and the diagnosis of Bipolar Disease

Importance: High

Given your interest in Creativity:

Did you see the entire Kanye West soliloquy in the Oval Office with Trump and Jim Brown? I am using that clip in my Talent & Creativity class when we discuss "Creativity & Psychopathology." In Psychiatry, the formal terms that apply are "flight of ideas," "pressured speech," "delusions of grandeur,", and "clang associations." A truly great example of Hypomania. There's an interesting book on hypomania and success in America today.
xxx

--
Mark Jude Tramo, MD PhD
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http://merci.ucsd.edu

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ELISA NEW
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature

Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

November 25, 2018

Dear Ms. Williams:

I am writing now to invite you to be a featured guest of *Poetry in America* (poetryinamerica.org). *Poetry in America*'s first season's guests included Bill Clinton, Joe Biden, Cynthia Nixon, Shaquille O'Neal, Yo Yo Ma, Samantha Power, Herbie Hancock, John McCain, Nas, Angela Duckworth, Bono, Regina Spektor, Frank Gehry, Stuart Weitzman, E.O. Wilson, and many others. Seasons Two and Three will feature just as distinguished a line up. The series airs on public television stations everywhere, streams via Amazon Prime and other streaming services, and it is now also airing on a variety of domestic and international airlines.

The poem we'd read and interpret together is by Pulitzer Prize winner Sharon Olds, and it's called "The Language of the Brag." It's a gutsy poem that compares feats of (male) athletic prowess—and feats of poetic prowess—to childbirth. You are the ideal reader for this poem. We would use what we filmed together in an upcoming season of *Poetry in America.* We would also use the content in an online course for medical professionals I am creating in partnership with Harvard Medical School. Everything we create would be non-commercial and educational.

Thank you for considering this request. I would be very honored to work with you.

Sincerely,

Elisa New
Director and Host of *Poetry in America*
Powell M. Cabot Professor, Harvard

Jeffrey Epstein settles one suit, but more to come

By CURT ANDERSON
The Associated Press

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla. — A decade ago, Florida financier Jeffrey Epstein pleaded guilty to sex crimes involving underage girls and got 13 months behind bars.

What the public and his accusers didn't know at the time was that he had secretly struck a deal with federal prosecutors that spared him from charges that could have put him away for the rest of his life.

When the deal finally came to light years later, it immediately raised suspicions that Epstein — a man who counted Bill Clinton and Donald Trump among his friends and had some of the finest legal talent in America as his lawyers — had used his wealth and political connections to win special treatment.

Epstein is also a resident of the Virgin Islands as owner of Little St. James Island off the East End of St. Thomas. He is listed on the VI. sex offender registry as a result of that 2008 Florida conviction.

Allegations against him flared anew in recent weeks as news organizations, led by The Miami Herald, published interviews with the alleged victims and took a closer look at Alexander Acosta, who as the U.S. attorney in Miami in 2008 approved the secret deal. Acosta is now President Donald Trump's secretary of Labor.

On Tuesday, a lawsuit that many had hoped would expose some of the lurid allegations against Epstein by putting some of his accusers on the stand ended abruptly in a settlement just as jury selection was about to begin.

Jeffrey Epstein

But the attempt to get to the bottom of the Epstein case and how he managed to get such a light sentence is not over: Some of his accusers are pursuing a separate legal effort to nullify the plea agreement and, they hope, expose him to federal prosecution again.

"That injustice needs to be addressed and will be addressed," said Jack Scarola, one of the attorneys lined up against Epstein. "There is no justification for the broad scope of immunity that was granted."

Epstein, 65, reached the non-prosecution deal with Acosta's office while under investigation on suspicion of sexually abusing at least 40 teenage girls. Under the deal, he pleaded guilty to two state charges, did his time in jail, paid settlements to many of the alleged victims and registered as a sex offender.

He could have faced a far more severe penalty if federal prosecutors had pursued a draft 53-page indictment that was never filed and included sex trafficking charges.

Some of Epstein's accusers are now arguing that their rights were trampled under a federal law that says crime victims must be informed about plea bargains.

One of Epstein's lawyers, Roy Black, has said there was no conspiracy to violate victims' rights, and the plea agreement was "no sweetheart deal by any stretch of the imagination."

Even if the plea bargain is nullified, the final decision on bringing charges would rest solely with the Justice Department.

On Tuesday, Epstein settled a defamation lawsuit brought against him by a lawyer for some of the accusers, Bradley Edwards, who said Epstein tried to derail his representation of the women and ruin his career. In settling, Epstein apologized and agreed to pay an undisclosed amount.

Edwards said some of the accusers — some of whom say they were 13 or 14 when they were molested — were prepared to testify in the lawsuit and may yet get their day in federal court.

"They're willing to talk. They want to share their stories," Edwards said.

Congressional Democrats are calling for an internal Justice Department investigation.

Rep. Lois Frankel, who represents the Palm Beach area, said Tuesday that Epstein "allegedly had dozens and dozens of young, vulnerable women, young women taken to his house where they were sexually exploited."

"I think what has been equally shocking is what I call an extreme minimal punishment for this man without really any public explanation as to why this happened," Frankel added.

Acosta has not commented about the case during the recent media coverage. He was asked briefly about the non-prosecution agreement at his Senate confirmation hearing.

"At the end of the day, based on the evidence, professionals within a prosecutor's office decided that a plea that guarantees someone goes to jail, that guarantees he register generally and guarantees other outcomes, is a good thing," he said.

According to court papers, Epstein had a Palm Beach mansion where girls were brought for what they were sometimes told were massage sessions. He allegedly had female fixers who would look for suitable girls, some of them recruited from Eastern Europe and other parts of the world.

Before the scandal broke, Epstein was friends with Trump and had visited the real estate developer's Mar-a-Lago resort. Trump told interviewers that Epstein was "a great guy." Records also show Clinton flew on Epstein's jet more than two dozen times.

One young woman alleged in court documents that Epstein shared her with his friends, including Britain's Prince Andrew, a charge denied by Buckingham Palace.

Epstein's legal team at various times included such big names as Whitewater prosecutor Kenneth Starr and Harvard professor Alan Dershowitz.

Neither Trump nor Clinton has been accused of any wrongdoing related to Epstein.

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From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 4/20/2019 10:49:45 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Noam Chomsky Calls Dem Focus on Russia a 'Huge Gift' to Trump: 'They May Have Handed Him the Next Election'

Importance: High

https://www.mediaite.com/trump/noam-chomsky-calls-dem-focus-on-russia-a-huge-gift-to-trump-they-may-have-handed-him-the-next-election/

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
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June 2019

Lost paradise at the Palm House

The planned $91M hotel-condo project has been a case study in EB-5 fraud, leaving investors in the lurch and an unfinished building in its wake

By Keith Larsen | June 17, 2019 11:00AM

The Palm House

When Chinese, Iranian and Turkish investors received marketing brochures for the town of Palm Beach's first EB-5 project in 2012, it seemed like a sure thing.

Pamphlets in Chinese and Farsi showed photos of the Clintons and Donald Trump as part of the Palm House condominium and hotel advisory board of "political and business leaders with worldwide experience." In addition, the marketing materials named Celine Dion, Tony Bennett and billionaire Bill Koch as celebrity members at the hotel's club.

But more than six years later, the Palm House's planned $91 million makeover remains unfinished. The dilapidated 80,000-plus-square-foot hotel finally sold in a bankruptcy auction last month to a U.S. affiliate of the real estate investment firm London & Regional Properties for just shy of $40 million.

To add salt to the wound, Trump and Clinton were never on the project's advisory

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in EB-5 funding for personal expenses, including the purchase of a 151-foot yacht named "Alibi" and his own debt payments.

Matthews and the project's general contractor, Nicholas Laudano, recently pleaded guilty to fraud charges in federal court, while the 91 EB-5 backers lost their $500,000 investments and never received their green cards.

The EB-5 regional center in charge of marketing the Palm House project and soliciting the investments, however, has not been criminally charged. The South Atlantic Regional Center (SARC) and its director, Joseph Walsh Sr., were allegedly able to siphon nearly $9.5 million of the foreign investors' money, according to a civil complaint filed by the SEC in federal court.

To date, Walsh has only been charged civilly. He was allegedly even found recently trying to solicit other EB-5 investors for another hotel project in Miami Beach, per a lawsuit filed in Palm Beach County.

"This is the most egregious fraud case I have ever seen," said attorney David George, of George Gesten McDonald PLLC, who's representing EB-5 investors in the Palm House lawsuit.

Robert Matthews

Regional centers like SARC function as middlemen between developers and their foreign investors. But despite the key role they play in the EB-5 process, there's minimal regulation over how they operate and few safeguards to protect investors.

The current system, critics say, is a petri dish for fraud that allows bad actors to come and go — in many cases with no criminal prosecutions. At the same time, lobbyists for the real estate industry have pushed to ensure these rules remain in place.

"No one is watching the regional centers," said Doug Litowitz, a Chicago attorney who was not involved in the Palm House lawsuit but represents Chinese clients in other

Matthews, 61, gave investors the impression that he was a well-known luxury hotel developer with a global track record, including completed projects in New York, Bora Bora and Mexico. There is no evidence of him completing these projects.

Instead, his past dealings were mired in controversy and litigation, including another failed condo-hotel project in Nantucket called the Point Breeze that was forced into bankruptcy in 2010.

Matthews, who was raised in Massachusetts, moved to Connecticut in the mid-80s after dropping out of college and started buying up apartments and commercial properties in Waterbury. Locals there began drawing comparisons between Matthews and the fictional Jay Gatsby due to his ritzy parties and expensive tastes, according to the Hartford Courant.

He owned a 108-foot yacht named the Bon Vivant and claimed to possess North Carolina's original Bill of Rights, which had been stolen by a Union soldier in 1865 and was recovered by the FBI just over 10 years ago. Adding to the Gatsby comparisons, Matthews became close with Connecticut's then-governor, John Rowland, in the 90s.

The developer used his political connections to secure favorable contracts with the state government, allowing him to purchase government-owned property, among other things, according to the New York Times. To return the favor, Matthews allegedly bought a condo in Washington, D.C., from Rowland through a straw buyer in 1997 for nearly 20 percent more than what the governor had originally paid.

The condo sale and other business dealings eventually led to a corruption investigation into Rowland. But Matthews was never charged. So, he headed to South Florida where he first bought the historic Palm House — which needed substantial repairs — in 2006. Then six years later, Matthews began soliciting EB-5 investors for what he called Palm Beach's last opportunity to build a "five-star hotel."

investors generally function as individual lenders on those projects, but they rarely have a way to collect money if the project fails.

> **"This is not unlike any other industry that can produce a toxic product like the opioid industry or the tobacco industry. There is a powerful interest involved."**
> MICHAEL GIBSON, USADVISORS.ORG

"The whole thing has to do with corralling desperate people in China, who believe that Americans wouldn't lie to them out right," Litowitz said.

And while the program was designed to create jobs in rural and distressed regions known as "targeted employment areas," communities like Palm Beach — a top destination for wealthy retirees with a median household income of more than $110,000 — somehow met the same criteria.

Florida's Department of Economic Opportunity approved the Palm House project for such a designation in 2012 because Palm Beach had an unemployment rate of 18.5 percent, above "the qualifying rate of 13.4 percent for that time period," according to the state agency. Other EB-5 projects, including Hudson Yards in New York, the largest private real estate development in the country, were also able to take advantage of similar demographics.

Without mentioning his past dealings in Connecticut or in Nantucket, Matthews touted his wife Mia Matthews' success as an actress, singer and star of the Nickelodeon show "Every Witch Way" and CW's "South Beach," which lasted all of one season. To further show off his connections and status in Palm Beach, he would take EB-5 immigration agents from China to a Mar-a-Lago charity event to meet Trump and take picture with him, according to a complaint filed by EB-5 investors in Palm Beach County Court.

The developer's investment pitch also failed to mention that it was actually his second time acquiring the Palm House. And there was no mention of the fact that

By the books?

To legally get EB-5 investors to put money into his project, Matthews was required to go through a regional center regulated by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services under the Department of Homeland Security.

So, he tapped Walsh — a South Florida resident who had a specious track record with development projects — to raise the money through SARC. While it's unclear how the two met, Walsh allegedly lent Matthews more than $5 million of the foreign investors' funds to keep his Palm Beach mansion from being foreclosed on.

(Click to enlarge)

In March 2014, Matthews sent Walsh an email to thank him for "saving [his] house," according to the SEC complaint.

As more developers turned to EB-5 for cheap financing after the financial crisis, more regional centers received approval from the USCIS. From late 2014 to June 2019, the number of regional centers in the U.S. jumped nearly 60 percent to 884, according to USCIS. At the same time, close to 300 regional centers have been shuttered since 2007.

That high failure rate among EB-5 regional centers stems from an approval process

"really just needs a business plan and numbers to support the government's jobs projections and give the appearance that it is able to execute on that plan."

But a handful of legal experts argued that there's minimal oversight by USCIS during the course of most projects being built.

The agency is "inept at controlling the fraud," said Michael Gibson, managing director at the EB-5 advisory firm USAdvisors.org. "No one knows who the true owners of the regional centers [are,] and there is no information on any of this. How can you deter fraud when there is no way for anyone to do any due diligence?"

A spokesperson for USCIS said the agency has a team of auditors that conduct compliance reviews on regional centers and noted in an email to *The Real Deal* that it "does not release information on specific EB-5 applications, investors or related projects due to [the Privacy Act] and other restrictions."

"USCIS takes any violation of the law seriously, and we will explore all actions available to us to ensure the integrity of our immigration system," the spokesperson added. "Where instances of fraud are suspected or proven within the program, USCIS takes appropriate measures to deal with any actors involved in the fraud, including terminating regional center designation."

Regional centers have come under scrutiny for their roles in these EB-5 frauds in recent years.

USCIS shutdown Vermont's sole EB-5 regional center last year on the heels of the country's largest EB-5 fraud to date in the state's so-called Northeast Kingdom.

Elsewhere, in Jupiter, Florida, Nicholas Mastroianni — who's helped raise EB-5 funds for the Kushner family's real estate projects — was sued last October over his Harbourside Place development by nearly 80 Chinese investors who accused him of defrauding them. Mastroianni has denied these charges.

One of the underlying problems is that regional center

Solutions. In turn, regional centers do not have an obligation to protect investors' money if a development project sours.

"That's where the weak link of the chain is — there is no real enforcement of the fiduciary rule to protect investors," Latour added. "The regional center says, 'Hey I'm not responsible.'"

The USCIS spokesperson said the agency has terminated nearly 220 regional centers since January 2017, due to evidence of foul play.

But U.S. legislators have continued to kick the EB-5 program down the road, giving it about 20 short-term extensions with many lasting only six months. And industry lobbyists have aggressively pushed back against any reform. The EB-5 trade group Invest in the USA has spent nearly $1.8 million lobbying on the federal program's behalf since 2014, while the lobbying group for the Related Companies' EB-5 business spent more than $500,000 in 2018 alone, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

"This is not unlike any other industry that can produce a toxic product like the opioid industry or the tobacco industry," Gibson said. "There is a powerful interest involved. They don't want any oversight. They don't want information about their projects to come public."

Blurry middlemen

Unlike Matthews, whose background is well documented in local news, SARC's Walsh remains something of a mystery.

In the Palm House EB-5 marketing brochures, the smiling gray-haired regional center operator claims to have a background in advertising and electrical engineering. He also claims to have launched "several startup computer and graphics firms that he brought to the public markets in the late 1990s and early 2000s."

Walsh could not be reached for comment through his lawyer.

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selling the mineral rights to 600,000 asteroids in space, an investor prospectus claimed.

Walsh's son did not respond to multiple requests for comment.

(Click to enlarge)

Despite proclaiming innocence, Walsh is not in the U.S. to face any charges, according to multiple sources. George, the plaintiff attorney, said SARC's founder is now either in Vietnam or Australia.

Walsh's success in getting foreign backers on board for the planned Palm House project, according to the SEC's complaint, was largely based on lies made to unsuspecting investors who believed the project carried minimal risk.

In bold font, one marketing brochure claimed that the EB-5 investor money would only be used for 43 percent of the project's total costs while the rest would be covered by a $29 million loan from a "reputable bank" and $22 million in equity from the developer.

None of that was true.

SARC also claimed the investors' funds would be held in an escrow account at PNC Bank until their green cards had been approved by USCIS and that the money wouldn't be touched until then. Investors were even sent photos of a PNC account

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029527

Fast withdrawals

As soon as deposits for the Palm House came in, Matthews, Walsh and Laudano, the project's general contractor, allegedly began to withdraw money for personal uses.

After Matthews was charged with using the account as a piggy bank, Walsh fired off a press release last year claiming he and SARC had been absolved.

"It saddens me to see the waste of time, money and talent, and the human and financial capital that these conspirators perpetrated in multiple courts and plain good old fashion lies to continue their charade for years," Walsh said in the release.

He even reportedly went a step further by hiring Brian Aryai, a certified accountant who claims to have worked as senior special agent for the Department of Homeland Security, to provide a detailed audit showing how the money was lost.

The report, meant to clear Walsh's name, noted that he moved $9.3 million from the Palm House account to his own company through more than 39 individual transactions between September 2013 and January 2015.

SARC's founder is now facing additional civil charges over an office condo project in Royal Palm Beach — another development SARC raised $6.5 million in EB-5 funds for.

"Walsh solicited and obtained investors for all of these projects," George said.

But USCIS didn't have to travel far to determine the unfinished project was a racket — the agency's local office sits directly across the street from the Royal Palm site, according to Google Maps.

"It's remarkable… These cases come and go, and there is no reform," said Gibson, who cited "egregious misuse of funds [while] the industry continues without a bump in the road."

Tags: eb-5, palm house, palm house hotel, robert matthews, South Florida June 2019

SOUTH FLORIDA REAL ESTATE NEWS

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From: Mohamed Waheed Hassan [redacted]
Sent: 1/27/2013 3:49:54 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Jeffrey,
Need your advice.
My finance minister is telling me that he has an anonymous funds manager who is willing to deposit 4 billion dollars in Maldives and that they are willing to lend a percentage of that in exchange for government promissory notes. The 4 billion would be deposited in the Central Bank. But they want us to set up a special purpose vehicle, a construction company fully owned by the government to receive the loan. Such a company can only be set up under a presidential decree.

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What do you think I should do. I am very uncomfortable. In addition to the finance minister, a leading politician and leader of the coalition parliamentary group is behind it. He could be my leading contender for presidency.

Does this sound all ridiculous to you. I have a strange feeling about this whole thing.
Best regards
Waheed

Sent from President's iPad

On Jan 18, 2013, at 5:06 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

as chairman of the council of europe , he is really mr human rights, Im sure that if he can be of help, he will

On Fri, Jan 18, 2013 at 5:27 AM, [redacted] wrote:
I remember meeting Jagland at your place when I came with Sultan.

Sent from Windows Mail

From: Jeffrey Epstein
Sent: 18 January, 2013 2:40 AM
To: Mohamed Waheed Hassan
Subject: Re:

also be advised that thorbjorn jagland is a great friend.

On Thu, Jan 17, 2013 at 3:26 PM, Mohamed Waheed Hassan [redacted] wrote:
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On Thu, Jan 10, 2013 at 11:00 AM, Mohammed Waheed Hassan <[redacted]> wrote:

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World Energy Forum and CGI guys are here. I am meeting Clinton people in a few minutes.

I have some funding now but will ask all friends to help raise more later when things start happening in full swing. Election is now scheduled to early September.

Hope all is well and look forward to seeing you here in the not too distant future.
Warm regards,
Waheed

On Jan 9, 2013, at 6:03 PM, Jeffrey Epstein wrote:

how is it shaping up? what are the biggest hurdles.

--

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From: Mohamed Waheed [[redacted]
Sent: 1/27/2013 4:33:18 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Thank you. You are my savior. I will do exactly what you said.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 27, 2013, at 9:29 AM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

this from a fraud web site, your mimister will get upset that you dont want to at least try, what do we have to lose , always the pitch. THe following from the fraud site. --The essential fact in all advance-fee fraud operations is that the promised money transfer never happens—because the money does not exist. The perpetrators rely on the fact that, by the time the victim realizes this (often only after being confronted by a third party who has noticed the transactions or conversation and recognized the scam), the victim may have sent thousands of dollars of their own money, and sometimes thousands or millions more that has been borrowed or stolen, to the scammer via an untraceable and/or irreversible means such as wire transfer.[13] Stay away, however if you want to embarass your possible opponent , you might set it up so that he looks like a fool, ask for amemo of why he thinks you should agree , have it include as many detials as possible, so that when you prove its a fraud,, you will make him look very silly as opposed to his saying , you missed an opportunity, anyway,, glad you are well

On Sat, Jan 26, 2013 at 10:49 PM, Mohamed Waheed Hassan <[redacted]> wrote:

Jeffrey,
Need your advice.
My finance minister is telling me that he has an anonymous funds manager who is willing to deposit 4 billion dollars in Maldives and that they are willing to lend a percentage of that in exchange for government promissory notes. The 4 billion would be deposited in the Central Bank. But they want us to set up a special purpose vehicle, a construction company fully owned by the government to receive the loan. Such a company can only be set up under a presidential decree.

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latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-0529-morrison-trounson-20130529,0,7837846.column

latimes.com

Patt Morrison Asks

Alan Trounson, California's Dr. Stem Cell

As president of the California Institute for Regenerative Medicine, the Australian is helping guide the state to a high-tech medical future.

Patt Morrison

May 29, 2013

In 2004, with President George W. Bush dead set against stem cell research, California just went ahead and did it. Voters made stem cell research a state constitutional right, and endorsed $3 billion in bond sales for 10 years to cement the deal. CIRM, the California Institute for Regenerative Medicine created under Proposition 71, has become a world center for stem cell research, and its president is Australian Alan Trounson, a pioneer in in vitro fertilization. As Proposition 71 approaches its 10-year anniversary, Trounson offers a prognosis.

advertisement

It's been almost 10 years since California funded what may be the world's biggest stem cell research program. What are you up to?

We are working hard to get six or seven projects to clinical trials. We have more than 70 [total] programs moving [toward] clinical trials. It's a lot of work to chaperon.

I'll give you three examples: one, linking genetics, or genomics work, to stem cells, integrating the two. We're going to create a center in California that will bring a lot of [genetics] studies and clinical work to a new level.

Secondly, we've set up a structure for banking the 3,000 cell lines from "induced pluripotent stem cells" that we turn into the equivalent of embryonic stem cells. We call them IPS cells. You take a skin cell or blood cell and convert it to the equivalent of an embryonic stem cell.

We've also taken samples from patients with complex diseases, and we're banking these so scientists can "interrogate" these diseases — like heart disease, Alzheimer's, blindness. We are targeting a range of conditions — autism, cerebral palsy — for which we have scant understanding of causes and major drivers. This is material for long-term research studies.

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What we're doing is meaningful. Somebody with cancer may have a better treatment. Parkinson's patients might be in a clinical trial around 2016, 2017.

Are Californians getting enough bang for their buck?

I think we're way ahead of what people predicted. Nevertheless, it takes a lot of time to do this. I think we're hurrying carefully.

What else?

I'm intending to set up a network of stem cell clinics in California in the next couple of years, to make treatments available as clinical trials or as registered treatments for patients. I'm going to ask the [CIRM] board for about $70 million to get that set up. It will make California a go-to place for stem cell therapies. I want to make sure it's part of our medical fabric.

An Oregon scientist reports that he has cloned human stem cell lines. Is Oregon doing something different from California?

The one thing that's different is that we can't compensate women adequately for donating eggs [as a source for creating a particular type of stem cell]. We can pay for the cost of drugs but not for the time and inconvenience. So that really does limit the number of women who would like to donate eggs to research, and that's a handicap. I think it would be very useful to develop those cell lines.

The words "cloning" and "human" together set off alarm bells for some people.

[Under Proposition 71] we can't do any reproductive cloning. We can't do it and we shouldn't do it — none of us wants to do that — but we would like to make those cell lines.

Is stem cell research highly competitive now, as it was in the 1980s, when you were beginning your work?

I don't think it's very competitive at all. There's a little bit of competition between California and Harvard, but that will always be the case, I suspect. What's important with [California's] $3 billion is that it's taken away a lot of the silliness of the competition — that you hold your data and you don't show anyone and you wait until you [get it published] in a journal. In Australia, there's very few funds for this kind of work and so it's extremely competitive — you don't know what others are doing even in the same laboratory. That's not the case in California. People are collaborating, and that's why we're moving so fast because we work together. Scientists like to reach out to other scientists.

Could embryonic stem cells become unnecessary because other cells can be just as adaptable?

Maybe longer term. IPS cells have a very strong memory of what they were, whether they were a blood cell or a skin cell. Embryonic stem cells don't. We have to find out whether IPS cells can [really adapt] or whether they'll be poor relatives of the embryonic stem cell. Embryonic stem cells are being used for therapy, but IPS cells are being taken from patients with different diseases to interrogate those diseases. They're not therapeutic at this time.

What surprises have you encountered?

I'm surprised all the time. That you can actually create a cure for HIV/AIDS with stem cells — that's in clinical trials [in Denmark] now. That we found how to jump a skin cell to a pancreatic cell or a

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029540

cardiac muscle cell. Every month comes a new surprise, tumbling toward totally different medicine that we'll have in 30 or 40 years' time.

This work is still controversial. Your team in Australia created the technique that has allowed 5 million in vitro fertilization babies to be born worldwide. But you were still called a "baby murderer." Astrophysicists don't get that kind of reaction.

In the surveys I've seen across the U.S., you get 70% or 80% of people very much in favor [of stem cell and IVF work]. If we get cures or treatments for some of these debilitating diseases, which is going to happen over the next four or five years, people will embrace what's necessary to help a Parkinson's patient or someone who's got Type 1 diabetes. I'm not afraid of what some small sector feels outrage about. It's their right, but it's not the majority feeling.

Have you faced such personal criticism here?

Not really. Last year I was invited to the Vatican to present a paper, but when I sent in a summary of what I was going to say, they decided not to have it. They sent a check to the treasurer of California and the treasurer rang us up and said, "What the heck is this check from the Vatican for?" It was for the inconvenience!

Will California own patents from the research?

I expect there's a lot of intellectual property with some of these [treatments] that will be really big returns for California. But it'll take some time; the so-called blockbuster treatments will take 10 years or more. Gov. [Arnold] Schwarzenegger pointed a finger at me and said, "We're going to give you the opportunity to deliver this, but understand it's a 25-year gig." The feds put $3.8 billion into the human genome project and the return from that, according to a study, is about $1,400 for every dollar.

The big story about CIRM last year was its conflict-of-interest protocols. What's being done?

The [national] Institute of Medicine gave CIRM management strong positives. They had issues on conflict of interest. They felt if the [schools represented by] deans of medicine on the board were the recipient of CIRM [grants], they were potentially in a conflict of interest. The board decided to take away the [grant-making] vote for those [members, at least temporarily]. They also had a view that if the patient advocates [on the board] were strongly advocating for [research for] a disease, that was another kind of conflict. They [changed] some patient advocate roles in some grant selection process. I didn't see this as a problematic issue, but from the point of view of the Institute of Medicine, it didn't look right, and I can understand that. Much has been done to correct that.

You and your wife got married so that she could come here and work.

We didn't really feel it was necessary; we'd been together 20 years and have two lovely boys, but she couldn't come to America without being married to me. She's a scientist — not a stem cell scientist — but [once she got here] she couldn't work at universities in California because of [potential CIRM] conflicts of interest. So she's back in Australia, doing her work and loving it, but it's not optimum. But this is an important job which I promised to do.

Do you get letters from people with diseases asking for help?

All the time. I try to be supportive and send them to talk to the best people in that area. There would be dozens a week who write to me.

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You have a heart condition; will this research one day benefit you?

I've got atrial fibrillation; I don't think it's going to help that. But I have a brother who has HIV/AIDS, and my mum died of lung disease.

What do you hear from your colleagues around the world about what California's doing?

They always say, "You've got the best job in the world. How did California do this?" That's California. California is a can-do place, and when they want something, they stand up and do it. Many of [my colleagues] want to come to California. It's just a wonderful place. You could sail it off the coast of America and it would be the most wonderful country in the world.

patt.morrison@latimes.com.

Follow Patt Morrison on Twitter @pattmlatimes

This interview was edited and excerpted from a taped transcript. An archive of Morrison's interviews can be found at latimes.com/pattasks.

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
Barker Center - 12 Quincy Street - Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

ELISA NEW
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature

Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

Dear Woody,

As I know Jeffrey has told you, I really enjoyed our conversation on the plane last spring about William Carlos Williams's "This Is Just to Say." You offered a reading of the poem that seemed to me completely persuasive and plausible and, yet, also, one that is not strictly dictated or delimited by the lines themselves. These are lines that seem to me unusually open to divergent readings-- including, for instance, a reading much more coaxing and seductive; another, much more defensive and manipulative; another, much more about language itself as a mode of sharing. I left our conversation wanting to explore with you the aggressive (or maybe mock aggressive) reading you gave, as well as the way this poem, perhaps more than many, sustains so many readings. You helped me think about Williams's poem as it seems in some ways more like a "script" than a poem, a poem written in such a way as to be turned by different voices in different directions, a poem that might even be "directed" by the reader. I'd love to hear you read the poem again and, if you are willing, to discuss it a bit with me on camera for my upcoming Massive Open Online Course on American poetry.

To remind you, the course I'm working on is *Poetry in America*, one of three Humanities courses that will be launched internationally by edX in the next 18 months. This free course will allow students of all ages around the world to immerse themselves in the history, the art, and the interpretation of American poetry. Using state of the art tools, the course will combine text, video, audio, archival materials, on site historical narrative and interactive features, and it will have a companion book that docks with it. (I'm writing that book now.)

As I'm asking you here, I am inviting other distinguished Americans to do short cameo readings and, when they are willing, short discussions of the poem with me. Those who have already done tapings, or have agreed to participate, include Supreme Court Justice Elena Kagan, Harvard President Drew Faust, performer and activist Eve Ensler, journalist Michael Pollan, Tour de France champion Greg Lemond, professor and PBS personality Henry Lewis Gates, (my husband!) Larry Summers, Rabbi Moshe Waldoks, poet Martin Espada, playwright Tony Kushner, and Boston Mayor Thomas Menino. We are now reaching out to Bill Clinton, Matt Damon, Natalie Portman, and John McCain, among others, and feel confident that many will agree. I'm very much hoping that you will agree to join this distinguished group.

The poem I'm hoping you would read is one that we discussed, William Carlos Williams's iconic poem "This Is Just to Say." The poem is copied below. There are, naturally, commentaries on it I could share, if you wanted to read some, but you seem to have already thought about it quite a bit.

This Is Just to Say

I have eaten
the plums
that were in
the icebox

and which
you were probably
saving
for breakfast

Forgive me
they were delicious
so sweet
and so cold

Logistically, we are at your service. I would be happy to film you when I visit New York on October 24th. Or, I would love it if you would come visit Larry and me in Boston with Jeffrey. We could show you and Soon Yi around Harvard, eat a big bowl of plums, and talk poetry. I would introduce you on camera and you'd read, or recite, and we'd perhaps talk about the poem for a moment.

Thank you very much for considering this proposal. I admire you immensely and would feel honored to bring you into this project.

Best,
Lisa New

From: Tyler Shears [redacted]
Sent: 2/8/2014 1:32:58 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Christina Galbraith [redacted]; Richard Kahn [redacted]
Subject: Re: boosting strategy

Importance: High

Understand the two negatives are still present. We are still on track per our last call of 60 days from 1/10 if we can get the placement out next week Christina is preparing for us and results continue to respond as they have been.

It takes 30 days for Google to respond in most cases and we ramped up 28 days ago with boosting alternate URLs per our call

We are working very hard to make this happen and should have Christina set up to support us with columns on a few top sites at no cost moving forward

I am available for a call now or this weekend to review.

On Feb 7, 2014, at 6:56 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

About 4,880,000 results (0.33 seconds) different computer, not good

Search Results

1. *Jeffrey Epstein* - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

*en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Jeffrey_Epstein***
Wikipedia
Jeffrey Edward *Epstein* (born January 20, 1953) is an American financier and science and education philanthropist. He worked at Bear Stearns early in his **...**
Life - Financial career - Science funding - Solicitation of prostitution

2. *Jeffrey Epstein*: International Moneyman of Mystery

nymag.com/nymetro/news/people/n_7912/
New York Magazine
He's pals with a passel of Nobel Prize–winning scientists, CEOs like Leslie Wexner of the Limited, socialite Ghislaine Maxwell, even Donald Trump. But it wasn't **...**

3. *Jeffrey Epstein*: Sex Offender, Yes. Billionaire, No. - Forbes

*www.forbes.com/.../**jeffrey-epstein**-sex-offender-yes-bil...*
Forbes
by Clare O'Connor - in 144 Google+ circles
Feb 28, 2011 - Palm Beach pervert *Jeffrey Epstein* is all over the news today, thanks to a series of stories in the UK's Daily Mail linking the convicted pedophile **...**

4. *Jeffrey Epstein* Philanthropy: Overview

*www.**jeffreyepstein**.org/*
Jeffrey Epstein Philanthropy supports innovative research and programs in science, medicine, education and international affairs.

5. **Billionaire *Jeffrey Epstein*: I'm a sex offender, not a predator | New ...**

*nypost.com/.../billionaire-**jeffrey-epstein**-im-a-...*
New York Post
by Amber Sutherland
Feb 25, 2011 - Billionaire pervert *Jeffrey Epstein* is back in New York City — and making wisecracks about his just-ended jail stint for having sex with an **...**

6. ***Jeff Epstein* | Bessemer Venture Partners**

www.bvp.com › Team
Bessemer Venture Partners
Jeff Epstein is an Operating Partner at Bessemer Venture Partners, working out of the Menlo Park, CA office.

7. ***JEFFREY EPSTEIN* VI FOUNDATION: Home**

*www.**jeffreyepstein**foundation.com/*
Jeffrey Epstein, Science Philanthropist, Changes the Course of Evolution at Harvard. Wall Street Journal. NEW YORK, June 12, 2013 /Ten years ago the **...**
Jeffrey Epstein +1'd this

8. ***Jeffrey Epstein* VI Foundation - New York, NY - Medical & Health ...**

*https://www.facebook.com/**jeffreyepstein**vifoundation*
Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation, New York, NY. 28 likes · 1 talking about this. The *Jeffrey Epstein* VI Foundation was founded in 2000 by *Jeffrey Epstein* to sponsor **...**

9. ***Jeff Epstein* profiles | LinkedIn**

*www.linkedin.com/pub/dir/**Jeff/Epstein***
View the profiles of professionals named *Jeff Epstein* on LinkedIn. There are 25 professionals named *Jeff Epstein*, who use LinkedIn to exchange information, **...**

10. **Dr. *Jeffrey* M. *Epstein*, MD - Babylon, NY - Neurosurgery ...**

www.healthgrades.com › ... › New York (NY) › Babylon
HealthGrades
Rating: 4.3 - 6 reviews
Visit Healthgrades for information on Dr. *Jeffrey* M. *Epstein*, MD. Find Phon

On Fri, Feb 7, 2014 at 4:17 PM, Tyler Shears [redacted] wrote:

Thank you Christina - I tried your cell a few minutes ago and will be available on mine at your convenience. It is imperative we get a placement out by mid next week in order for us to hit the timeline I spoke to Mr. Epstein about.. The fresh piece needs to come out while we are dislodging the current results (as you are observing now).

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Sincerely,

Tyler Shears

On Fri, Feb 7, 2014 at 10:47 AM, Christina Galbraith <[redacted]> wrote:

Hi Tyler,

Ok thanks so much for the review. I've cc'd Jeffrey. I'll be in touch this afternoon.

Christina Galbraith
[redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

From: Tyler Shears <[redacted]>
Date: February 7, 2014 at 10:33:16 AM EST
To: Christina Galbraith <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: boosting strategy

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Thanks for you input.

Christina

Christina Galbraith
cell: [redacted]
email: [redacted]

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****
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the use of the addressee. It is the property of
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Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
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return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
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From: Christina Galbraith [[redacted]
Sent: 2/8/2014 2:07:34 AM
To: Tyler Shears[redacted]
CC: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Richard Kahn [redacted]
Subject: Re: boosting strategy

Importance: High

Almost finished with a batch of content as well as a press release--you'll have it over the weekend.

Also the PED set up a page called 'Friends' which is where they'll place jeffrey. I'll send you the URL when done.

Tyler, could you check google highlighter?

Thank you,

Christina Galbraith
[redacted]

On Feb 7, 2014, at 8:32 PM, Tyler Shears <[redacted]> wrote:

Understand the two negatives are still present. We are still on track per our last call of 60 days from 1/10 if we can get the placement out next week Christina is preparing for us and results continue to respond as they have been.

It takes 30 days for Google to respond in most cases and we ramped up 28 days ago with boosting alternate URLs per our call

We are working very hard to make this happen and should have Christina set up to support us with columns on a few top sites at no cost moving forward

I am available for a call now or this weekend to review.

On Feb 7, 2014, at 6:56 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

About 4,880,000 results (0.33 seconds) different computer, not good

Search Results

1. *Jeffrey Epstein* - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

*en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Jeffrey_Epstein***
Wikipedia
Jeffrey Edward *Epstein* (born January 20, 1953) is an American financier and science and education philanthropist. He worked at Bear Stearns early in his **...**
Life - Financial career - Science funding - Solicitation of prostitution

2. *Jeffrey Epstein*: International Moneyman of Mystery

nymag.com/nymetro/news/people/n_7912/
New York Magazine

He's pals with a passel of Nobel Prize–winning scientists, CEOs like Leslie Wexner of the Limited, socialite Ghislaine Maxwell, even Donald Trump. But it wasn't **...**

3. *Jeffrey Epstein*: Sex Offender, Yes. Billionaire, No. - Forbes

*www.forbes.com/.../**jeffrey-epstein**-sex-offender-yes-bil...*
Forbes
by Clare O'Connor - in 144 Google+ circles
Feb 28, 2011 - Palm Beach pervert *Jeffrey Epstein* is all over the news today, thanks to a series of stories in the UK's Daily Mail linking the convicted pedophile **...**

4. *Jeffrey Epstein* Philanthropy: Overview

*www.**jeffreyepstein**.org/*
Jeffrey Epstein Philanthropy supports innovative research and programs in science, medicine, education and international affairs.

5. Billionaire *Jeffrey Epstein*: I'm a sex offender, not a predator | New ...

*nypost.com/.../billionaire-**jeffrey-epstein**-im-a-...*
New York Post
by Amber Sutherland
Feb 25, 2011 - Billionaire pervert *Jeffrey Epstein* is back in New York City — and making wisecracks about his just-ended jail stint for having sex with an **...**

6. *Jeff Epstein* | Bessemer Venture Partners

www.bvp.com › Team
Bessemer Venture Partners
Jeff Epstein is an Operating Partner at Bes://www.bvp.com/team">Team
Bessemer Venture Partners
Jeff Epstein is an Operating Partner at Bessemer Venture Partners, working out of the Menlo Park, CA office.

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including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved
l>

From: Katherine Keating [redacted]
Sent: 10/28/2011 4:33:44 PM
To: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Keating Interview

Importance: High

Yes. Just arrived back from San Fran.

On Oct 28, 2011, at 12:32 PM, jeffrey epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Are you here

Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 28, 2011, at 12:36 AM, Katherine Keating <[redacted]> wrote:

Paul Keating explains as never before

- BY:PAUL KELLY, EDITOR-AT-LARGE
- From:The Australian
- October 22, 2011 12:00AM

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/paul-keating-explains-as-never-before/story-e6frg6z6-1226173493029&ct=ga&cad=CAcQAhgAIAAoATAAOABAkPKI9QRIAVAAWABiBWVuLVVT&cd=JW8oAOivUQM&usg=AFQjCNHd0mUbAjc-2liiig3_exEbZmRt2w

WITH his panoramic view of world affairs sharper than ever, Paul Keating blames the current global crisis on blunders by European and US leaders and warns that Australia must rediscover the keys to national success.

Interviewed in his Sydney office, furnished in a style he calls "the last gasp of revolutionary classicism", Keating's new 600-plus page book sits atop his desk, an insight into his intellectual, aesthetic and political obsessions.

What has Keating been doing since he left office in 1996? He has been travelling, speaking and analysing the world and Australia with undiminished intensity suggesting a man operating as prime minister-in-exile.

His idea of leadership is more philosophical than ever, more distant from Bob Hawke or John Howard. His focus is the synthesis between beauty and reason and his book encompasses China's currency, the world malaise, Mahler's Symphony No2 and breaking the republic with the Queen.

DURING THE INTERVIEW KEATING TALKS, AS NEVER BEFORE, ABOUT HIS LEADERSHIP CONCEPT. BUT HE IS DOING SOMETHING ELSE: EXPLAINING HIMSELF TO A STILL PUZZLED NATION.RECOMMENDED COVERAGE

Creativity is central to our endeavours

"The great changes in civilisation and society have been wrought by deeply held beliefs and passion rather than by a process of rational deduction," Keating tells me. In retirement, his political inspiration comes from music and beauty, not opinion polls.

There are signs he has mellowed. While ruthless with his judgments Keating is keen to support a struggling Labor Party while addressing the source of its strategic demise.

"The failure of the Rudd and Gillard administrations is the lack of an over-arching story, the lack of a compelling story," he says when interviewed last week.

"I'm happy that Labor took us through this dreadful financial crisis so competently. But they are not in the business of teaching. And governments, to succeed with change, must be in the business of educating the community.

"Our Labor governments have failed to conceptualise the changes. We need a framework.

"What is the framework? It is 'Australia in Transition' strategically and economically. That's the story we have to present.

"I think the Australian people are very conscientious. During the 1980s and 1990s we proved they will respond conscientiously to necessary reforms. They mightn't like them but they'll accept them. But reforms have to be presented in a digestible format.

"I know that in the age of the internet, opinion and perpetual static it is difficult to get the message over. I accept that. But the big messages have their own momentum. If we get the story of transition right then other things will find their place.

"Our problem is what I call shooting-star policies. We have a policy on carbon pricing, on minerals, on boatpeople, but they are not connected up to the big picture about Australia's direction and its transition."

Pressed on whether he thinks the Australian Labor Party is in permanent decline, Keating defends Labor, insists it doesn't have to decline but highlights the problem. "Labor must recognise what it has created," he says, invoking the Hawke-Keating era. "It has a created a new society and it has to be the party of the new society.

"It can't be the party of part of the old society. Labor must be the party of those people who gained from the pro-market growth economy that we created. Labor must be open to the influences of this middle class, to people on higher incomes. And I don't think it is."

It is, perhaps, the clearest statement of Labor's problem. The party, in an act of strategic folly, abandoned the path of its previous success. It turned inwards on itself, away from the community.

"At the operating level it's become the party of insiders," Keating says. "The problem is that members get too caught up in the gift of faction managers and they get caught up in the false construct of popularity, the false god."

Fixated by the nature of political leadership, Keating's book After Words shouts out: "The great curse of modern political life is incrementalism."

Leaning across the table he says to me that briefing notes and economic texts aren't enough: the leader must locate his own source of higher command and inner belief. He laments the efforts of US President Barak Obama and German Chancellor Angela Merkel in the teeth of contemporary challenges.

"There is nothing preordained about American decline any more than the European project is destined to fail," he writes.

"But the portents are not good. Despite the rhetoric, President Obama conducts himself as an arbitrator or mediator between the competing strands of American economic and political ideology. He repeatedly eschews striking out, snatching the naked flame and hanging on. But the cost of this strategy is not simply a cost to him; it is a cost to the whole world.

"On the other hand, Chancellor Merkel is the archetypal worry-wart. She does not lead; she assesses.

"You really wonder why leaders want these jobs when they really do not want to lead. And what is their risk? That Barack Obama will not get a second term? Or that Angela Merkel's coalition might finally end up on the rocks? If they actually made the leap they might astound themselves. Because, in the end, everyone in political life gets carried out - the only relevant question is whether the pallbearers will be crying."

For Keating, the 20th-century leader exerting most influence on the coming century is China's Deng Xiaoping.

"If you look at the other figures of the century, Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Mao, none will leave the legacy in terms of the 21st century that Deng leaves," he says. "He walked away from the ideology of the Communist Party just as effectively as Mikhail Gorbachev walked away from the essence of the Soviet Union."

By 2050 Keating sees a world order with nations in terms of gross domestic product in this hierarchy: (1) China, (2) US, (3) India, (4) Japan, (5) Brazil, (6) Russia, (7) Britain, (8) Germany, (9) France and (10) Italy.

The key, however, is that Japan lags a distant fourth behind the top three.

On America, Keating is dismayed by the pivotal change in its outlook after the end of the Cold War. "When the Berlin Wall came down the Americans cried victory and walked off the field," he says.

"Yet the end of the Cold War offered the chance for America to develop a new world order. It didn't know what to do with its victory. This at the moment the US should have begun exploiting the opportunity of establishing a new world order to embrace open regionalism and the inclusion of great states like China, India and the then loitering Russia.

"Well, frankly, the US didn't have the wisdom. It just wanted to celebrate its peace dividend. The two Clinton terms and the two George W. Bush terms, that's four presidential terms, have cost US mightily."

For Keating, the malaise in US politics is the problem. He says: "The most compelling thing I've seen in years is that in the great burst of American productivity between 1990 and 2008, of that massive increment to national income, none of it went to wages. By contrast, in Australia real wages over the same period had risen by 30 per cent." Keating sees this "as the breakdown of America's national compact", the shattering of its prosperity deal. He says American conservatives abandoned the middle ground represented by Republican presidents such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Bush Sr and became radicals. The derailment, he argues, began under Ronald Reagan and reached its zenith under George W. Bush.

With the goodwill gone the US "is not able to produce a medium-term credible fiscal trajectory or get agreement on rebuilding its infrastructure". This paralysis "is significant not just for the US but for the world."

Keating links the collapse of this "prosperity compact" to the financial crisis. Too many Americans were unable to sustain themselves from wages and salaries.

How did they get by? They used the easy credit of the banking system, thereby feeding the frenzy that ended in bad loans and meltdown.

Keating's book has an abiding message for Australia: in the transformed world we "will find ourselves increasingly on our own" having to master our own destiny.

The job is to rediscover the productivity and savings agenda of the 1990s. Why did Australia survive the 2008 financial crisis? "Because of the flexibility of the economy," Keating says. "Flexibility which came from the reform of Australia's financial, product and labour markets that began 25 years ago. This has given us one of the most flexible economies in the world - arguably the most flexible. But further structural changes are ahead of us."

He lists them. It is a mix of the new and old Keating agenda: a shift in resources to the extractive industries; a lift in capital inflow driving a high current account deficit putting a premium on savings; recognition that competitiveness will lie "in the creativity of our people as much as it does in our oil and gas"; a renewed emphasis on the value of hi-tech and education; and above all, a cultural change that integrates Australia more into East Asia. "Cultural transformation is the key for us," Keating says. He rates it as more important than economic reform.

"There is less interest now in being part of East Asia than there was in the 1990s," he laments.

Keating wants this idea revived. And he ties it to the republic arguing that to succeed in Asia we must become a republic, a proposition Howard always dismissed.

On China, Keating is an optimist yet alive to the daunting economic challenge China now confronts. "What is happening in China knows no precedence in world economic history," he says. "Never before have 1.25 billion people dragged themselves from poverty at such a pace. China is now half the GDP of the US and incomes have risen by a factor of 10." He argues, however, that the origin of the 2008 financial crisis lies in the global imbalances - China has built huge foreign exchange reserves by exporting too much and America, in turn, is saving too little.

Keating says: "China must shift the basis of growth from net exports and investment to domestic consumption. Will they achieve this? Probably. Will there be strains along the way? There have to be."

Unlike many Australian leaders, Keating is a Europhile. "I think the European project is the most significant project since the second world war," he says. But he sees two huge blunders made in Europe.

From the euro's inception, Keating said it should constitute only Germany, France and the Benelux nations, not the peripheral countries around the Mediterranean, and "Greece should never have been allowed in".

Why were the weaker economies given entry?

Keating says: "It's because president Mitterrand and the French wanted it. They weren't ready to sit beside the German unified state without some friends."

So the eurozone was flawed from the outset, a structure awaiting internal assault: "The problem is we have a single currency without a political union and without a fiscal union."

The second blunder was the 1990s expansion of NATO to the Russian border. For Keating, this was recklessness for which the world may yet pay.

"Sensible policy would have included a place for Russia in the new world order," he says. "But that didn't happen. So Russian liberals were pushed to one side by Russian nationalists. In a sense the US has created Vladimir Putin."

Who is responsible? He points the finger at Bill Clinton.

On the 2008 financial crisis, he says former US Federal Reserve chief Alan Greenspan must bear "a fair amount of responsibility".

"Greenspan is someone I know and like," Keating says. "But if you are so naive to believe that institutions with a balance sheet with assets geared at 45 to one is not an accident waiting to happen then you don't deserve to be chairman of the Federal Reserve."

He praises Obama for seeking a return to the "liberal internationalism" that, in Keating's view, made the US great in the post-World War II age. This is the US he loves but it is still in retreat.

Asked about the nature of leadership, Keating reveals what lies within his heart: "I believe there is a poetic strand to life that doesn't exist in an economics textbook.

"This is not to say that rationalism isn't important and good. It is. But left to itself without the guidance of higher meaning and a higher concept, rationalism can be mean and incomplete. I say if you simply live on rational policy and briefing notes you are not sufficiently informed.

"You need a higher calling or some inner system of belief - here I mention Kant and the inner command that tells you what is true, what is right, what is good. The inner command must be the divining construct in what you do.

"Music has always been a large part of what makes me tick. You listen to a great work . . . you hear the majesty of these works and your head and soul gets caught up in them. When that happens you are in for bigger things and you will strike out to be better.

"When I was listening to music I would always have the pad out to write the ideas down."

From: Katherine Keating [redacted]
Sent: 10/31/2011 8:21:27 AM
To: Katherine Keating [redacted]]
Subject: After Words

Dear Friends,

I wanted to share with you the forward to my father's new book '*After Words'*. He truly is an inspiration and so is his writing. The book, which is a compilation of his speeches, was launched yesterday in Sydney. I will be sure to send you a copy, it's a brilliant read.

I trust this email finds you well.

Kindest regards

Katherine X

Creativity is central to our endeavours

- BY:PAUL KEATING
- From:

The Australian

- October 22, 2011 12:00AM

Paul Keating is aware that many people see him as a puzzle and contradiction. During the interview he explained he wrote this introduction to his book as a guide to help people see the unifying philosophy of his life, public and private.

FRIEDRICH Schiller, the German philosopher, said: "If man is ever to solve the problems of politics in practice he will have to approach it through the problem of the aesthetic, because it is only through beauty that man makes his way to freedom."

Romantic and idealistic as that view may seem to some, the thought is revelatory of the fact that the greater part of human aspiration has been informed by individual intuition and privately generated passions, more than it has through logic or scientific revelation. The moral basis of our public life, our social organisation, has come from within us - by aspiration and by light, not by some process of logical deduction.

Immanuel Kant referred to our inner impulses as "the higher self", an unconscious search for truth, going deeply into ourselves to establish who we are and what we should be.

Beauty is about the quest for perfection or an ideal, and that quest has to begin with aesthetic imagination - something informed by conscience, carved by duty. Kant called it "the inner command", the ethical construct one creates to guide one from within.

But we need tools to mine good intentions: inspirations, ones which await the creative spark, the source of all enlargement. Creativity is central to our progress and to all human endeavour.

Music provides the clue: unlike other forms of art, music is not representational. Unlike the outcome of the sciences, it was never discoverable or awaiting discovery. A Mahler symphony did not exist before Mahler created it.

E.T.A. Hoffman, a contemporary of Beethoven's, famously said: "Music reveals to man an unknown realm, a world quite separate from the outer sensual world surrounding him, a world in which he leaves behind all feelings circumscribed by intellect in order to embrace the inexpressible."

This is not to turn our back on reason. Or to argue that modernism, with all its secular progress through education, industrialisation, communications, transport and the centralised state, has not spectacularly endowed the world as no other movement before it. But a void exists between the drum-roll of mechanisation with its cumulative power of science and the haphazard, explosive power of creativity and passion. Science is forever trying to undress nature while the artistic impulse is to be wrapped in it.

While these approaches are different - perhaps often diametrically opposite - they inform related strands of thinking in ways that promote energy and vision.

This is what I have found when these forces are contemplated in tandem. When passion and reason vie with each other, the emerging inspiration is invariably deeper and of an altogether higher form. One is able to knit between them, bringing into existence an overarching unity - a coherence - which fidelity to the individual strands cannot provide.

In the world I have lived in, the world of politics, political economy and internationalism, the literature exists in abundance. But what is far from abundant are the frameworks for the intuitive resolution of complex problems that require multi-dimensional solutions.

But from where do we glean this extra dimensionality?

For me, it has always been from two sources: policy ambition in its own right and from imagination - the dreaming. Policy ambition arising from Kant's higher self, and imagination promoted by those reliable wellsprings - music, poetry, art and architecture - blending the whole into a creative flux.

This collection of speeches reflects many of those interests and impulses - whether it be Joern Utzon's Opera House or the imperative of liberal internationalism in foreign policy or Neoclassicism, the future of native title or the rise of China. Each is related in a wider construct which is part and parcel of the way I have viewed and thought about the world.

While the speeches are from the period after my prime ministerial life and period in government, the impulse in writing them came from the same framework and inclinations which informed my life in public office.

The speeches may be read individually or read together, subject to subject, idea to idea. Either way, a common thread informs them all.

I trust this might be evident to the reader.

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/creativity-is-central-to-our-endeavours/story-fn59niix-1226173494033

Paul Keating explains as never before

- BY:PAUL KELLY, EDITOR-AT-LARGE
- From:The Australian
- October 22, 2011 12:00AM

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His idea of leadership is more philosophical than ever, more distant from Bob Hawke or John Howard. His focus is the synthesis between beauty and reason and his book encompasses China's currency, the world malaise, Mahler's Symphony No2 and broaching the republic with the Queen.

During the interview Keating talks, as never before, about his leadership concept. But he is doing something else: explaining himself to a still puzzled nation.

"The great changes in civilisation and society have been wrought by deeply held beliefs and passion rather than by a process of rational deduction," Keating tells me. In retirement, his political inspiration comes from music and beauty, not opinion polls.

There are signs he has mellowed. While ruthless with his judgments Keating is keen to support a struggling Labor Party while addressing the source of its strategic demise.

"The failure of the Rudd and Gillard administrations is the lack of an over-arching story, the lack of a compelling story," he says when interviewed last week.

"I'm happy that Labor took us through this dreadful financial crisis so competently. But they are not in the business of teaching. And governments, to succeed with change, must be in the business of educating the community.

"Our Labor governments have failed to conceptualise the changes. We need a framework.

"What is the framework? It is 'Australia in Transition' strategically and economically. That's the story we have to present.

"I think the Australian people are very conscientious. During the 1980s and 1990s we proved they will respond conscientiously to necessary reforms. They mightn't like them but they'll accept them. But reforms have to be presented in a digestible format.

"I know that in the age of the internet, opinion and perpetual static it is difficult to get the message over. I accept that. But the big messages have their own momentum. If we get the story of transition right then other things will find their place.

"Our problem is what I call shooting-star policies. We have a policy on carbon pricing, on minerals, on boatpeople, but they are not connected up to the big picture about Australia's direction and its transition."

Pressed on whether he thinks the Australian Labor Party is in permanent decline, Keating defends Labor, insists it doesn't have to decline but highlights the problem. "Labor must recognise what it has created," he says, invoking the Hawke-Keating era. "It has a created a new society and it has to be the party of the new society.

"It can't be the party of part of the old society. Labor must be the party of those people who gained from the pro-market growth economy that we created. Labor must be open to the influences of this middle class, to people on higher incomes. And I don't think it is."

It is, perhaps, the clearest statement of Labor's problem. The party, in an act of strategic folly, abandoned the path of its previous success. It turned inwards on itself, away from the community.

"At the operating level it's become the party of insiders," Keating says. "The problem is that members get too caught up in the gift of faction managers and they get caught up in the false construct of popularity, the false god."

Fixated by the nature of political leadership, Keating's book After Words shouts out: "The great curse of modern political life is incrementalism."

Leaning across the table he says to me that briefing notes and economic texts aren't enough: the leader must locate his own source of higher command and inner belief. He laments the efforts of US President Barak Obama and German Chancellor Angela Merkel in the teeth of contemporary challenges.

"There is nothing preordained about American decline any more than the European project is destined to fail," he writes.

"But the portents are not good. Despite the rhetoric, President Obama conducts himself as an arbitrator or mediator between the competing strands of American economic and political ideology. He repeatedly eschews striking out, snatching the naked flame and hanging on. But the cost of this strategy is not simply a cost to him; it is a cost to the whole world.

"On the other hand, Chancellor Merkel is the archetypal worry-wart. She does not lead; she assesses.

"You really wonder why leaders want these jobs when they really do not want to lead. And what is their risk? That Barack Obama will not get a second term? Or that Angela Merkel's coalition might finally end up on the rocks? If they actually made the leap they might astound themselves. Because, in the end, everyone in political life gets carried out - the only relevant question is whether the pallbearers will be crying."

For Keating, the 20th-century leader exerting most influence on the coming century is China's Deng Xiaoping.

"If you look at the other figures of the century, Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Mao, none will leave the legacy in terms of the 21st century that Deng leaves," he says. "He walked away from the ideology of the Communist Party just as effectively as Mikhail Gorbachev walked away from the essence of the Soviet Union."

By 2050 Keating sees a world order with nations in terms of gross domestic product in this hierarchy: (1) China, (2) US, (3) India, (4) Japan, (5) Brazil, (6) Russia, (7) Britain, (8) Germany, (9) France and (10) Italy.

The key, however, is that Japan lags a distant fourth behind the top three.

On America, Keating is dismayed by the pivotal change in its outlook after the end of the Cold War. "When the Berlin Wall came down the Americans cried victory and walked off the field," he says.

"Yet the end of the Cold War offered the chance for America to develop a new world order. It didn't know what to do with its victory. This at the moment the US should have begun exploiting the opportunity of establishing a new world order to embrace open regionalism and the inclusion of great states like China, India and the then loitering Russia.

"Well, frankly, the US didn't have the wisdom. It just wanted to celebrate its peace dividend. The two Clinton terms and the two George W. Bush terms, that's four presidential terms, have cost US mightily."

For Keating, the malaise in US politics is the problem. He says: "The most compelling thing I've seen in years is that in the great burst of American productivity between 1990 and 2008, of that massive increment to national income, none of it went to wages. By contrast, in Australia real wages over the same period had risen by 30 per cent." Keating sees this "as the breakdown of America's national compact", the shattering of its prosperity deal. He says American conservatives abandoned the middle ground represented by Republican presidents such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Bush Sr and became radicals. The derailment, he argues, began under Ronald Reagan and reached its zenith under George W. Bush.

With the goodwill gone the US "is not able to produce a medium-term credible fiscal trajectory or get agreement on rebuilding its infrastructure". This paralysis "is significant not just for the US but for the world."

Keating links the collapse of this "prosperity compact" to the financial crisis. Too many Americans were unable to sustain themselves from wages and salaries.

How did they get by? They used the easy credit of the banking system, thereby feeding the frenzy that ended in bad loans and meltdown.

Keating's book has an abiding message for Australia: in the transformed world we "will find ourselves increasingly on our own" having to master our own destiny.

The job is to rediscover the productivity and savings agenda of the 1990s. Why did Australia survive the 2008 financial crisis? "Because of the flexibility of the economy," Keating says. "Flexibility which came from the reform of Australia's financial, product and labour markets that began 25 years ago. This has given us one of the most flexible economies in the world - arguably the most flexible. But further structural changes are ahead of us."

He lists them. It is a mix of the new and old Keating agenda: a shift in resources to the extractive industries; a lift in capital inflow driving a high current account deficit putting a premium on savings; recognition that competitiveness will lie "in the creativity of our people as much as it does in our oil and gas"; a renewed emphasis on the value of hi-tech and education; and above all, a cultural change that integrates Australia more into East Asia. "Cultural transformation is the key for us," Keating says. He rates it as more important than economic reform.

"There is less interest now in being part of East Asia than there was in the 1990s," he laments.

Keating wants this idea revived. And he ties it to the republic arguing that to succeed in Asia we must become a republic, a proposition Howard always dismissed.

On China, Keating is an optimist yet alive to the daunting economic challenge China now confronts. "What is happening in China knows no precedence in world economic history," he says. "Never before have 1.25 billion people dragged themselves from poverty at such a pace. China is now half the GDP of the US and incomes have risen by a factor of 10." He argues, however, that the origin of the 2008 financial crisis lies in the global imbalances - China has built huge foreign exchange reserves by exporting too much and America, in turn, is saving too little.

Keating says: "China must shift the basis of growth from net exports and investment to domestic consumption. Will they achieve this? Probably. Will there be strains along the way? There have to be."

Unlike many Australian leaders, Keating is a Europhile. "I think the European project is the most significant project since the second world war," he says. But he sees two huge blunders made in Europe.

From the euro's inception, Keating said it should constitute only Germany, France and the Benelux nations, not the peripheral countries around the Mediterranean, and "Greece should never have been allowed in".

Why were the weaker economies given entry?

Keating says: "It's because president Mitterrand and the French wanted it. They weren't ready to sit beside the German unified state without some friends."

So the eurozone was flawed from the outset, a structure awaiting internal assault: "The problem is we have a single currency without a political union and without a fiscal union."

The second blunder was the 1990s expansion of NATO to the Russian border. For Keating, this was recklessness for which the world may yet pay.

"Sensible policy would have included a place for Russia in the new world order," he says. "But that didn't happen. So Russian liberals were pushed to one side by Russian nationalists. In a sense the US has created Vladimir Putin."

Who is responsible? He points the finger at Bill Clinton.

On the 2008 financial crisis, he says former US Federal Reserve chief Alan Greenspan must bear "a fair amount of responsibility".

"Greenspan is someone I know and like," Keating says. "But if you are so naive to believe that institutions with a balance sheet with assets geared at 45 to one is not an accident waiting to happen then you don't deserve to be chairman of the Federal Reserve."

He praises Obama for seeking a return to the "liberal internationalism" that, in Keating's view, made the US great in the post-World War II age. This is the US he loves but it is still in retreat.

Asked about the nature of leadership, Keating reveals what lies within his heart: "I believe there is a poetic strand to life that doesn't exist in an economics textbook.

"This is not to say that rationalism isn't important and good. It is. But left to itself without the guidance of higher meaning and a higher concept, rationalism can be mean and incomplete. I say if you simply live on rational policy and briefing notes you are not sufficiently informed.

"You need a higher calling or some inner system of belief - here I mention Kant and the inner command that tells you what is true, what is right, what is good. The inner command must be the divining construct in what you do.

"Music has always been a large part of what makes me tick. You listen to a great work . . . you hear the majesty of these works and your head and soul gets caught up in them. When that happens you are in for bigger things and you will strike out to be better.

"When I was listening to music I would always have the pad out to write the ideas down."

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/opinion/paul-keating-explains-as-never-before/story-e6frg74x-1226173493029

English is a difficult language ..... for some!
This is a true story from the Japanese Embassy in US!!!

A few days ago, Prime Minister Mori was given some Basic English conversation training before he visits Washington and meets president Barack Obama...

The instructor told Mori Prime Minister,
when you shake hand with President Obama, please say 'how r u'. Then Mr. Obama should say, 'I am fine, and you?' Now, you should say 'me too'. Afterwards we, translators, will do the work for you.' It looks quite simple, but the truth is...

When Mori met Obama ,
he mistakenly said **'who r u?'** (Instead of 'How r u?'.)

Mr. Obama was a bit shocked but still managed to react with humor:
'Well, I'm Michelle's husband, ha-ha..'

Then Mori replied **'me too, ha-ha.. .'.**

Then there was a long silence in the meeting room.

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/4/2018 7:45:38 PM
To: Robert Trivers [redacted]
Subject: Re: you and Chapman

Nice

On Thu, Jan 4, 2018 at 2:36 PM Robert Trivers <[redacted] wrote:

> attached a message i just sent to President Struppa of Chapman—i am certain that your gift will do the trick—and that the West Coast is indeed more convivial and supportive than the East
>
> i hope i did not f… up your contact with Finkelstein
>
> Carlos told me of the devastation to your island—pretty much as i feared
>
> am amused (at a safe distance) as Bannon takes on Trump—he responds as he always does, threatening a suit he will not in fact file
>
> no internet in my home or nearby in the great, retarded country of Jamaica so i am now at a restaurant some 35 minutes away and only go on-line twice a day—hoping that i will work instead
>
> all best

--

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/25/2018 11:40:36 PM
To: Elisa New[redacted]
Subject: Re: invitation

sorry , that was meant as a filler what is important is that she is joining the others priority . and not appearing on your show. ! :) i invite you to appear is DOA

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:39 PM Lisa New [redacted] wrote:
this poem about *childbirth* and is *not* for children.
It's for adults and it raises awareness on the issues of discrimination against women athletes in sports ,and, against women of color in childbirth. These are Serena's big issues now.

Lisa

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 6:35 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
serena , bill clinon shaque and,,,,, have all on pbs. ? read poetry for children. I would love to have you do the same.....blah blah blah do not say come on my show.

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:30 PM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
Jeffrey,

How's this

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 11:05 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Needs edit. Start with id like you to join clinton ..eyc

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 10:52 AM Lisa New <[redacted] wrote:
Dear Jeffrey,

Here is an invitation you can forward. Fingers crossed.

I'm going upstairs to hunt for my copy of *Lolita,* or will get on my kindle and reread on our way to Australia. I may have lent it to one of my kids. I would recommend reading *My Antonia* by Cather next time you're on a long plane trip. The prose is gorgeous, and the book has-- come to think of it-- similar themes to *Lolita* in that it's about a man whose whole life is stamped forever by his impression of a young girl.

Thank you for this help with Serena. I'm so sorry about what happened with WA. I will keep the "bootleg" episode and hope to release someday. It's so good, and he was so kind to read the poem with me and you were so kind to make it happen.

Lisa

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Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature

Director, Poetry in America
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
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[redacted]

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/25/2018 11:55:13 PM
To: Elisa New [redacted]
Subject: Re: invitation

[redacted]

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:45 PM Lisa New <[redacted] wrote:
can you give me a little bit of phrasing you think is optimal? I'm not sure I know how to ask her to join this company without asking her to be
part of poetry in america. It does also seem to me perhaps relevant that Serena thinks of herself as a poetry person.
For people who think that way, maybe not nothing (hasn't been nothing to others) that a Harvard poetry professor seeks her wisdom on the art form?

Would really appreciate your edit.
Lisa

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 6:41 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/25/2018 11:56:06 PM
To: Elisa New[redacted]
Subject: Re: invitation

count how many times you say I or me?

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:30 PM Lisa New <[redacted]n> wrote:

Jeffrey,

How's this

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 11:05 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Needs edit. Start with id like you to join clinton ..eyc

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 10:52 AM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/26/2018 2:40:00 AM
To: Lisa New[redacted]
Subject: Re: invitation

Yes

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 8:06 PM Lisa New <[redacted] wrote:
okay....let me revise with I and me in mind before I talk to you.
Can I call you tomorrow am?

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 6:56 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/26/2018 3:26:46 PM
To: Elisa New [redacted]
Subject: Re: invitation

can you call me [redacted]

On Mon, Nov 26, 2018 at 10:32 AM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
better?

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:06 PM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
okay....let me revise with I and me in mind before I talk to you.
Can I call you tomorrow am?

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[redacted]

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Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Director, Poetry in America
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
02138
[redacted]

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/12/2018 5:28:38 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070

Yup

On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 1:27 PM [redacted] wrote:

> Woow😲
> Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/12/2018 6:28:33 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070

sexy

On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 1:44 PM [redacted] wrote:

> How are you sneaky?
>
> On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 12:28 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> > Yup
> >
> > On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 1:27 PM [redacted] wrote:
> >
> > > Woow😲
> > > Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070
> >
> > --
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>
> --
> Sincerely [redacted]

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/22/2018 3:48:55 PM
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump has discussed firing Fed chief after latest interest rate hike: report | TheHill

One unusual thing about Powell's appointment is that he is a lawyer, not an economist. From Yellen going back to Alan Greenspan, who started as chair in 1987, all Fed chairs have held a Ph.D. in economics. Alan Blinder, an economist at Princeton, has said that a doctorate has become more or less a prerequisite of the job—without one, he told *Harvard Business Review*, "the Fed's staff will run technical rings around you." While that remains to be seen, it is true that there are over 300 Ph.D. economists on the Fed's staff, and Powell could end up needing to lean on their expertise more than a Fed chair with a doctorate in economics might.

On Sat, Dec 22, 2018 at 10:40 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

Can u get rid of Powell or really get rid of mnuchin

On Dec 22, 2018, at 10:35 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

getting rid of powell much more important than syria /mattis. . I guess pompeo , only one left. . unless ambassador heather has a brilliant idea. - a first. . jared and ivanka , need to go. !!!

On Sat, Dec 22, 2018 at 10:31 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

LMAO

Perfect mnuchin hit

On Dec 22, 2018, at 9:22 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

In 1993, Powell began working as a managing director for Bankers Trust, but he quit in 1995 after the bank got into trouble when several customers suffered large losses due to derivatives. He then went back to work for Dillon, Read & Co.[15]

he didnt understand the markets 25 years ago. obama appointed him to the board. what else do you guys need to know

On Sat, Dec 22, 2018 at 8:21 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

https://thehill.com/policy/finance/422577-trump-considering-firing-federal-reserve-chief-after-latest-interest-rate-hike

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/15/2019 11:36:59 AM
To: Michael Wolff[redacted]
Subject: Fwd:

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **J** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, Jan 15, 2019 at 7:13 AM
Subject:
To: jeffrey epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]>

it would go something like this. ..... 1 Donald doesn't really own very much, he rents out his name. he puts it on buildings projects etc. for a royalty or piece of the upside. he then claims the asset is " his " . its very much like hyatt hotels. it says Hyatt hotel on the front but it is owned by someone else. (sometimes by Hyatt but not often). Hyatt receives 3 percent per year of revenue and a piece of the profits sometimes if the hotel is sold at a profit. .
money launderers. need a name to purchase trophy properties. why? there is little suspicion if a famous wealthy person buys a property that is likely to show in the press. , it cant be jojo my driver. up front , so they approach wealthy people and tell them for 2 -5 million dollars for doing nothing at all. - just lend us your name . - and the person get the positive press. so and so bought the most expensive painting. sold the most expensive painting, house., diamond. etc. -ex the GANZ art collection was bought and sold by Joe Lewis. . all the publicity was the ganz family estate. selling etc.

hypothetically, . someone approached trump and said can you buy the palm beach house. in your name. (it was trump properties llc) , not sure who actually owns the llc. ? Donald can get a loan from a bank , but it is guaranteed by , an entity controlled by R R has a bvi co. xitrans. that is owned by a family trust. (cyprus). R wife settles in oct after trump anounces candidacy . the llc agreement or the loan agreement allows Donald to get a few million for his name. . R in essence is the " owner. ". he was part of the panama papers release. he also sold the da vinci to mbs. . ? if you are a gangster , where and how can you invest money. answer not through the front door.

Donald's financial disclosures are the same , he represents his " income " as the GROSS receipts of his clubs. " , means nothing at all ZERO. no income as we no it.

he lists his " assets" ,and their VALUE - but not the corresponding loans. against it. so no net number , hence meaningless.

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/4/2019 11:27:03 PM
To: Joi Ito[redacted]
Subject: Re: $25K from ASU

https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/04/opinion/letters/jeffrey-epstein.html

On Mon, Mar 4, 2019 at 11:08 AM Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

I'm good. Good luck!

- Joi

On Mar 4, 2019, at 7:45 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

brutal press. . sorry . it seems im a symbol for all ills. :). if you hate the rich, the men , the trump types . im your boy . at least for the moment. . hope you are well

On Thu, Feb 28, 2019 at 1:24 PM Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

Thanks!

On Feb 28, 2019, at 1:18 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

No problem- Trying to get more black for you

On Thu, Feb 28, 2019 at 1:10 PM Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

Hey Jeffrey.

How are things?

Just to let you know. We were able to keep the Leon Black money, but the $25K from your foundation is getting bounced by MIT back to ASU.

Sorry…

- Joi

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
Barker Center - 12 Quincy Street - Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

ELISA NEW
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature

Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

November 25, 2018

Dear Ms. Williams:

I am writing now to invite you to be a featured guest on my public television series, *Poetry in America* (poetryinamerica.org). If you agree, we'll spend 45 minutes at a location of your choice discussing a contemporary poem by Sharon Olds that compares feats of athletic prowess to childbirth. I will use what we capture in an upcoming season of *Poetry in America,* and I'll also use this content in a course for medical professionals I am creating in partnership with Harvard Medical School.

Poetry in America's first season's guests included Joe Biden, Cynthia Nixon, Shaquille O'Neal, Yo Yo Ma, Samantha Power, Herbie Hancock, John McCain, Bill Clinton, Nas, Angela Duckworth, Bono, Regina Spektor, Frank Gehry, Stuart Weitzman, E.O. Wilson as well as 12 of the most distinguished poets of our time. Seasons Two and Three will have a similar line up. The series air on most public television stations, streams on Amazon Prime and is now airing on a variety of domestic and international airlines. I thank you for considering this request. I would be very honored to work with you.

Sincerely,

Elisa New

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 11/25/2018 11:30:39 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: invitation
Attachments: invitation to Serena Williams November 25.docx

Importance: High

Jeffrey,

How's this

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 11:05 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Needs edit. Start with id like you to join clinton ..eyc

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 10:52 AM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
Dear Jeffrey,

Here is an invitation you can forward. Fingers crossed.

I'm going upstairs to hunt for my copy of *Lolita,* or will get on my kindle and reread on our way to Australia. I may have lent it to one of my kids. I would recommend reading *My Antonia* by Cather next time you're on a long plane trip. The prose is gorgeous, and the book has-- come to think of it-- similar themes to *Lolita* in that it's about a man whose whole life is stamped forever by his impression of a young girl.

Thank you for this help with Serena. I'm so sorry about what happened with WA. I will keep the "bootleg" episode and hope to release someday. It's so good, and he was so kind to read the poem with me and you were so kind to make it happen.

Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Director, Poetry in America
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
02138
[redacted]

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Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature

Tel: [redacted]
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November 25, 2018

Dear Ms. Williams:

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The poem I'd like to read and interpret with you is by Pulitzer Prize winner, Sharon Olds , and it's called "The Language of the Brag." It's a gutsy poem that compares feats of (male) athletic prowess-- and feats of poetic prowess-- to childbirth. You are the ideal reader for this poem: indeed, I picked it for the season in hopes you would be my co-interpreter. If you agree to film with me, I'll use what we capture in an upcoming season of *Poetry in America.* I'll also use the content in an online course for medical professionals I am creating in partnership with Harvard Medical School.

I thank you for considering this request. I would be very honored to work with you.

Sincerely,

Elisa New

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 11/25/2018 11:45:45 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: invitation

Importance: High

can you give me a little bit of phrasing you think is optimal? I'm not sure I know how to ask her to join this company without asking her to be
part of poetry in america. It does also seem to me perhaps relevant that Serena thinks of herself as a poetry person.
For people who think that way, maybe not nothing (hasn't been nothing to others) that a Harvard poetry professor seeks her wisdom on the art form?

Would really appreciate your edit.
Lisa

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 6:41 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
sorry , that was meant as a filler what is important is that she is joining the others priority . and not appearing on your show. ! :) i invite you to appear is DOA

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:39 PM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
this poem about *childbirth* and is *not* for children.
It's for adults and it raises awareness on the issues of discrimination against women athletes in sports ,and, against women of color in childbirth. These are Serena's big issues now.

Lisa

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 6:35 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
serena , bill clinon shaque and,,,,, have all on pbs. ? read poetry for children. I would love to have you do the same.....blah blah blah do not say come on my show.

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:30 PM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
Jeffrey,

How's this

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 11:05 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Needs edit. Start with id like you to join clinton ..eyc

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 10:52 AM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
Dear Jeffrey,

Here is an invitation you can forward. Fingers crossed.

I'm going upstairs to hunt for my copy of *Lolita,* or will get on my kindle and reread on our way to Australia. I may have lent it to one of my kids. I would recommend reading *My Antonia* by Cather next time you're on a long plane trip. The prose is gorgeous, and the book has-- come to think of it-- similar themes to *Lolita* in that it's about a man whose whole life is stamped forever by his impression of a young girl.

Thank you for this help with Serena. I'm so sorry about what happened with WA. I will keep the "bootleg" episode and hope to release someday. It's so good, and he was so kind to read the poem with me and you were so kind to make it happen.

Lisa

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Harvard University

148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
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[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 11/26/2018 12:06:18 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: invitation

Importance: High

okay....let me revise with I and me in mind before I talk to you.
Can I call you tomorrow am?

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 6:56 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
count how many times you say I or me?

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:30 PM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
Jeffrey,

How's this

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 11:05 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Needs edit. Start with id like you to join clinton ..eyc

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 10:52 AM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
Dear Jeffrey,

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Thank you for this help with Serena. I'm so sorry about what happened with WA. I will keep the "bootleg" episode and hope to release someday. It's so good, and he was so kind to read the poem with me and you were so kind to make it happen.

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From: Lisa New[redacted]
Sent: 11/26/2018 2:31:48 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: invitation
Attachments: invitation to Serena Williams November 25 (1).docx

Importance: High

better?

On Sun, Nov 25, 2018 at 7:06 PM Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
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Can I call you tomorrow am?

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--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Director, Poetry in America
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
02138
[redacted]

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Director, Poetry in America
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
02138
[redacted]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
Barker Center - 12 Quincy Street - Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

ELISA NEW
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature

Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

November 25, 2018

Dear Ms. Williams:

I am writing now to invite you to be a featured guest of *Poetry in America* (poetryinamerica.org). *Poetry in America*'s first season's guests included Bill Clinton, Joe Biden, Cynthia Nixon, Shaquille O'Neal, Yo Yo Ma, Samantha Power, Herbie Hancock, John McCain, Nas, Angela Duckworth, Bono, Regina Spektor, Frank Gehry, Stuart Weitzman, E.O. Wilson and many others. Seasons Two and Three will feature just as distinguished a line up. The series airs on public television stations everywhere, streams via Amazon Prime and other streaming services, and it is now also airing on a variety of domestic and international airlines.

The poem we'd read and interpret together is by Pulitzer Prize winner, Sharon Olds , and it's called "The Language of the Brag." It's a gutsy poem that compares feats of (male) athletic prowess-- and feats of poetic prowess-- to childbirth. You are the ideal reader for this poem. We would use what we filmed together in upcoming season of *Poetry in America.* I'll also use the content in an online course for medical professionals I am creating in partnership with Harvard Medical School.

I thank you for considering this request. I would be very honored to work with you.

Sincerely,

Elisa New
Director and Host of *Poetry in America*
Powell M. Cabot Professor, Harvard

From: [redacted]
Sent: 12/12/2018 5:27:36 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070

Importance: High

Woow😲
Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070

From: [redacted]
Sent: 12/12/2018 5:44:32 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070

Importance: High

How are you sneaky?

On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 12:28 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> Yup
>
> On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 1:27 PM Renata B <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > Woow😲
> > Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070
>
> --
>
> please note
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--

Sincerely[redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: 12/12/2018 7:50:12 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070

Importance: High

😊always!

On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 1:29 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
sexy

On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 1:44 PM [redacted] wrote:
How are you sneaky?

On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 12:28 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Yup

On Wed, Dec 12, 2018 at 1:27 PM [redacted] wrote:
Woow😲
Michael Cohen Sentenced To 3 Years In Prison Following Plea That Implicated Trump - https://www.npr.org/676040070
--
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--
Sincerely [redacted]

--
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--

Sincerely [redacted]

Judge: Prosecutors broke law in Epstein sex case

By JULIE K. BROWN
Miami Herald

MIAMI — A judge ruled Thursday that federal prosecutors — among them, U.S. Labor Secretary Alexander Acosta — broke federal law when they signed a plea agreement with a wealthy, politically connected sex trafficker and concealed it from more than 30 of his underage victims.

U.S. District Judge Kenneth A. Marra, in a 33-page opinion, said the evidence he reviewed showed that Jeffrey Epstein had been operating an international sex operation in which he and others recruited underage girls — not only in Florida — but from overseas, in violation of federal law.

"Epstein used paid employees to find and bring minor girls to him," wrote Marra, who is based in Palm Beach County. "Epstein worked in concert with others to obtain minors not only for his own sexual gratification, but also for the sexual gratification of others."

Instead of prosecuting Epstein under federal sex trafficking laws, Acosta, then the U.S. attorney in Miami, helped negotiate a nonprosecution agreement that gave Epstein and his co-conspirators immunity from federal prosecution. Epstein, who

Photo by ASSOCIATED PRESS
Jeffrey Epstein, second from left, in custody in West Palm Beach, Fla., in 2008.

lived in a Palm Beach mansion, was allowed to quietly plead guilty in state court to two prostitution charges and served just 13 months in the county jail. His accomplices, some of whom have never been identified, were never charged.

Acosta agreed to seal the deal, which meant that none of Epstein's victims, who were mostly 13 to 16 years old at the time of the abuse, were told about it until it was too late for them to appear at his sentencing and possibly reject the deal. Upon learning that Epstein had pleaded guilty without their knowledge, two of his victims filed a lawsuit in the Southern District of Florida in 2008, claiming that prosecutors violated the Crime Victims' Rights Act, which grants victims of federal crimes a series of rights, including the ability to confer with prosecutors about a possible plea deal.

Marra agreed, saying that while prosecutors had the right to resolve the case in any way they saw fit, they violated the law by hiding the agreement from Epstein's victims. Marra's decision capped 11 years of litigation — which included the release of a trove of emails showing how Acosta and other prosecutors worked with Epstein's high profile lawyers to conceal the deal — and the scope of Epstein's crimes — from both his victims and the public.

"Particularly problematic was the Government's decision to conceal the existence of the (agreement) and mislead the victims to believe that federal prosecution was still a possibility," Marra wrote.

The U.S. attorney's office in Miami declined to comment.

In addition to Palm Beach, Fla., Epstein also has a home in New York and, lives on Little St. James Island off St. Thomas.

Brad Edwards, the Fort Lauderdale attorney who brought the case, said he was elated at the judge's ruling, but admitted he is bitter that the case took 11 years to litigate, blaming federal prosecutors for needlessly dragging out the case when they could have remedied their error when it was brought to their attention in 2008.

While the victims ultimately would like to see Epstein go to jail, the judge's ruling stopped short of issuing a remedy or punishment. He gave the government and victims 15 days to confer with each other to come up with a resolution. It's unclear what that resolution would be.

Edwards conceded that Epstein's sentence isn't likely to be overturned. He was released in 2009.

But victims' rights advocates say that other charges can still be brought against Epstein if more victims come forward in other jurisdictions. There has been no statute of limitations for sex trafficking since 2002.

The decision follows a three-part series published by the Miami Herald in November, "Perversion of Justice," which detailed how federal prosecutors worked in concert with Epstein's lawyers to arrange the deal.

Since then, the U.S. Department of Justice has launched a probe into whether federal prosecutors committed any wrongdoing.

WSTX FM 100 PRESENTS

Gov. Bryan heads to D.C.

Daily News Staff

Gov. Albert Bryan Jr. departed the territory for Washington, D.C. on Thursday for a series of meetings with Trump administration officials and members of Congress.

In his absence, Lt. Gov. Tregenza Roach will be acting governor.

Included on Bryan's schedule is a senior plenary session of the Interagency Group on Insular Areas, where he, along with governors from the other U.S. territories, will outline their federal priorities with the leadership of the U.S. Department of Interior.

On Tuesday, Bryan will testify before the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources during a hearing to examine the state of U.S. territories.

He also will be participating in the National Governors Association conference, during which the governors will have a lunch meeting with Vice President Mike Pence.

Bryan is scheduled to return to the territory on Wednesday.

Low-Price Maintenance

From: Joi Ito[redacted]
Sent: 3/4/2019 4:08:40 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: $25K from ASU

Importance: High

I'm good. Good luck!

- Joi

On Mar 4, 2019, at 7:45 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

brutal press. . sorry . it seems im a symbol for all ills. :). if you hate the rich, the men , the trump types . im your boy . at least for the moment. . hope you are well

On Thu, Feb 28, 2019 at 1:24 PM Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

Thanks!

On Feb 28, 2019, at 1:18 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

No problem- Trying to get more black for you

On Thu, Feb 28, 2019 at 1:10 PM Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

Hey Jeffrey.

How are things?

Just to let you know. We were able to keep the Leon Black money, but the $25K from your foundation is getting bounced by MIT back to ASU.

Sorry…

- Joi

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From: Larry Summers [redacted]
Sent: 3/16/2019 9:38:20 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Disaster but maybe i

Importance: High

Figuring out how.

Could say she has now used up 80 percent of what she was owed through my changes in plan.

Or say xi changes meeting w trump.

I think she is tired of this alas.

Sustaining w secrecy hard.
Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

On Mar 16, 2019, at 5:27 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Firm delivered through humor

On Sat, Mar 16, 2019 at 5:16 PM Larry Summers <[redacted]> wrote:

> No I meant that thanking her will be wierd because we had 45 minutes of friendly convo before the bit I described.
>
> I'll wait till tmrw and send her some article and then say some version of your msg.
>
> At some point need more firmness though.
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]
>
> Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
> www.larrysummers.com
>
> On Mar 16, 2019, at 5:10 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> And?
>
> On Sat, Mar 16, 2019 at 4:33 PM Larry Summers <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > Doesnt work I talked to her for 45 minutes.
> >
> > Sent from my iPhone

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On Mar 16, 2019, at 4:16 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Just send , happy for the time we spent together- have fun see you soon

On Sat, Mar 16, 2019 at 3:57 PM Larry Summers <[redacted]> wrote:

I'm really mad at the deception.

Should I just wait for her to call?

This guy different. Maybe married or old or something. I sense from body language she is really attracted but he is unsuitable as partner.

I can hardly be possessive under circumstances but schedule changing because she gets a better offer is not acceptable.

If I say this she will rage back about times I changed plans because of family and work constraints.

She knew I was upset. I think significant chance she ll send note saying this may not be fair to you why Not take time off or that she will say this.

In her way very tough.

But nothing for now.

R from my iPhone
Larry
Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

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Sent from my iPhone

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www.larrysummers.com

On Mar 16, 2019, at 3:19 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

shes smart. making you pay for past errors. . ignore the daddy im going to go out with the motorcycle guy, . you reacted well.. annoyed shows caring. , no whining showed strentgh.

On Sat, Mar 16, 2019 at 3:08 PM Larry Summers <[redacted]> wrote:
We talked on phone. Then "I can't talk later". Dint think I can talk tomorrow".

I said what are you up to. She said "I'm busy". I said awfully coy u are.

And then I said. Did u really rearrange the weekend we were going to be together because guy number 3 was coming"

She said no his schedule changed after we changed our plans.

I said ok I got to go call me when u feel like it. Tone was not of good feeling.

I dint want to be in a gift giving competition while being the friend without benefits.

Think time to just stay away for a while. If there is potential here she ll find way back.

I think I'm too eager weak at this point. The Prada thing by someone else is natural. By me seems desperate.

Had good sense not to send off a note.

She must be very confused or maybe wants to cut me off but wants professional connection a lot and so holds to it.

I think life as stand by in case she needs leverage against another guy sucks.

But I get when I think about it stay cool.

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at:[redacted]

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www.larrysummers.com

On Mar 16, 2019, at 2:10 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

how was it communicated to you?

On Sat, Mar 16, 2019 at 1:59 PM Larry Summers <[redacted]> wrote:
guy 3 seems to be in London for weekend which is why my visit cut short.

I got mad. Didn't send angry note after call though.

This is a ridiculous activity.

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

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www.larrysummers.com

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From: Larry Summers [redacted]
Sent: 3/17/2019 1:56:54 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Disaster but maybe i

Importance: High

Not funny

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

On Mar 16, 2019, at 7:07 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

you could say something like . try not to call him larry by mistake. . though it would be amusing.

On Sat, Mar 16, 2019 at 5:38 PM Larry Summers <[redacted] wrote:
Figuring out how.

Could say she has now used up 80 percent of what she was owed through my changes in plan.

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Date: Sunday, June 30 2019 11:41 AM
Subject: list for bannon steve
From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: jeffrey epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

---

mandelson , barnaby summers watson, axel bottstein. karim terje, pritzker edelman. set lloyd, martin novak minsky, tata susskind, strominger krauss, hopkins. randall, kosslyn, gardner gates, thiel. hoffman, hoie sinofsky, sheldrake, suzlberger. jes staley, joscha bach, joi ito. . HBJ berge, miro, anas raafat, sultan, nathan feigenbaum, ramashandran, goelberg. demasio, shristakas brockman hillis, kaufman, seligman. gould, saks, john kery, george mitchell, mandelbbrot. chomsky, barrack barak, zagat, nathan , brian greene, yau, eo wilson, prince andrews, jagland, clinton pastrana, richardson, leahy, jarecki, schumer, ranieri, waheed, mongolia, gambat ehud, jacque lang woody, churkin, sergey , ruemmler, weingarten, amabani, rochsild, dersh , ken starrk karp, , dubai castro, pople queen , pres king pm, mandelson balir, , mette, , midlefafrt; gergen , . melusine margarita ovitz. barrak, mabuto, kashoogi, rockefeller, .

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Biography

Kathleen Harrington

Founding Partner, C/H Global Strategies

Founding Partner of C/H Global Strategies, a strategic consulting firm, Kathleen Harrington brings decades of experience in domestic and international affairs to her new venture, with Co-Founder, Christina Culver. An innovative leader in business, communications, foreign policy, non-profit development, global venture philanthropy and maximizing public-private partnerships, Kathleen is a catalyst for changing organizations, a passionate advocate for women and children and a free and open media.

Previously, Kathleen was Senior Vice President at Dutko Worldwide where she headed the company's Asia and global venture philanthropy practices. She has also been the CEO of her own consulting company, founder of an internet news network, former Executive Director of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, and former Chief of Staff of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, overseeing global broadcast services. An expert on Asian affairs, Kathleen founded the U.S.-Korea Foundation and worked as Senior Advisor in the State Department's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs under President Clinton. With deep political roots on Capitol Hill, Kathleen served on the staff of Senator Christopher Dodd and has worked on several Presidential campaigns.

A graduate of Yale College with a Masters degree from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, Kathleen is an avid sports woman and Red Sox fan, whose kids, Erin and Desmond, make every day a wonderful journey.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/16/2009 11:20:59 AM
To: Sultan Bin Sulayem [redacted]

just as we thought------Russian bank Sberbank has quietly taken over his Capital Group's biggest asset, a massive housing, shops and offices project called Gorod Stolits, in Moskva-City on Moscow's outskirts. Under a $400 million (£270 million) loan agreement, the bank will ensure construction of the complex goes ahead at the end of the year as planned by Doronin, who has been likened to Donald Trump.

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Jeffrey Epstein
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments.

Date: Sunday, April 3 2011 08:44 PM
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>;

Posted 02 August 2010 - 12:47 AM
Jeffrey Epstein, Jew Billionaire Pedophile, Child Trafficker Goes Free..WoW! 20 year old Hearsay is enough to destroy catholic priest. What happened here to the justice system?

Conchita Sarnoff
http://www.thedailyb...hile- goes-free/
Conchita Sarnoff has developed multimedia communication programs for Fortune 500 companies and has produced three current events debate television programs, The Americas Forum, From Beirut to Kabul, and a segment for The Oppenheimer Report. She is writing a book about child trafficking in America.

Hedge fund mogul and sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, who went free this week, lived in a depraved world of thrice-daily massages, pornographic artwork, and hush money—that's only now being revealed. Conchita Sarnoff follows up on her investigation of the legal wrangling that saved him from a long prison term and reports on the sordid details in part two of her exclusive exposé. Also:

• Palm Beach's police chief objected to Epstein's "special treatment" and gave The Daily Beast an exclusive look at his nine-hour deposition about the investigation.

• Earlier versions of the U.S attorney's charges, including a sealed 53-page indictment, could have landed Epstein in prison for 20 years.

• Victims alleged that Epstein molested underage girls from South America, Europe, and the former Soviet republics, including three 12-year-old girls brought over from France as a birthday gift.

• The victims also alleged trips out of state and abroad on Epstein's private jets, which would be evidence of sex trafficking—a much more serious federal crime than the state charges Epstein was convicted of.

• Epstein's attorneys investigated members of the Palm Beach Police Department, while others ordered private investigators to follow and intimidate the victims' families; one even posed as a police officer.

• Then-Attorney General Alberto Gonzales told The Daily Beast that he "would have instructed the Justice Department to pursue justice without making a political mess."

Film director Roman Polanski is not the only convicted pedophile to walk free this month and return to a life of privilege. On Wednesday, hedge fund manager Jeffrey Epstein completes his one-year house arrest in Palm Beach, which has been even less arduous than Polanski's time at a Swiss ski chalet.

Watch Jeffrey Epstein Storm Out of a Deposition When Asked About His Penis

During Epstein's term of "house arrest," he made several trips each month to his New York home and his private Caribbean island. In the earlier stage of his sentence for soliciting prostitution with a minor—13 months in the Palm Beach Stockade—he was allowed out to his office each day. Meanwhile, Epstein has settled more than a dozen lawsuits brought by the underage girls who were recruited to perform "massages" at his Palm Beach mansion. Seven victims reached a last-minute deal last week, days before a scheduled trial; each received well over $1 million—an amount that will hardly dent Epstein's $2 billion net worth.

• Conchita Sarnoff: Epstein Faces Sex Traffic Probe
• The Billionaire Pedphile's Sex Den
With that, the known victims of Epstein's sexual compulsion have been officially silenced, and the case against him is closed unless new ones come forward. According to banking sources, he has been moving assets out of the U.S. and may well follow Polanski into a

luxurious exile.

But the question remains: Did Epstein's wealth and social connections—former President Bill Clinton; Prince Andrew; former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak; New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson; and former Treasury Secretary Larry Summers were just a few of the prominent passengers on his private jets—allow him to receive only a slap on the wrist for crimes that carry a mandatory 20-year sentence? Was he able, with his limitless assets and heavy-hitting lawyers—Alan Dershowitz, Gerald Lefcourt, Roy Black, Kenneth Starr, Guy Lewis, and Martin Weinberger among them—to escape equal justice?

Epstein Faces Sex-Traffic Probe
http://www.thedailyb...obref=obnetwork

The Justice Department is investigating Jeffrey Epstein for child trafficking, The Daily Beast has learned—and has widened the scope of its probe to include a famous modeling agency.

Hedge-fund manager Jeffrey Epstein completed his sentence for soliciting prostitution with a minor last week. But it appears his problems may not be over. Now The Daily Beast has learned that:

• Federal investigators continue to investigate Epstein's activities, to see whether there is evidence of child trafficking—a far more serious charge than the two in his non-prosecution agreement, the arrangement between Epstein and the Department of Justice allowing him to plead guilty to lower-level state crimes. Trafficking can carry a 20-year sentence.

• The FBI is also investigating Epstein's friend Jean Luc Brunel, whose MC2 modeling agency appears to have been a source of girls from overseas who ended up on Epstein's private jets.

Because Epstein's predatory habits stretch back many years and involved dozens of young-looking girls, there may well be more evidence to uncover.

Under the concept of double jeopardy, Epstein can no longer be prosecuted for any of the charges covered by his non-prosecution agreement, in which he agreed to serve a short term of incarceration, fund the civil suits of named victims, and register as a sex offender. The victims who accepted cash settlements in these civil suits agreed not to testify against him or speak publicly about the case. However, new evidence developed by the Department of Justice on other offenses not covered by the agreement, including allegations by additional victims who come forward, could lead to new charges. There is no statute of limitations in the federal sex-trafficking law, which was also enacted by the state of Florida in 2002. Because his predatory habits stretch back many years and involved dozens of young-looking girls, there may well be more evidence to uncover. (Several young women who claim to be Epstein victims have recently contacted a Ft. Lauderdale lawyer, but to date no new civil complaints have been filed.)

• Conchita Sarnoff: The Billionaire Pedphile's Sex Den
• Billionaire Pedophile Goes Free
These new developments come one week after the publication of two articles in The Daily Beast about Epstein's pattern of sexual contact with underage girls, which Palm Beach police began investigating in 2005 and the U.S. Attorney's office then settled in a 2007 plea deal. The first article quoted a deposition by then-Palm Beach Chief of Police Michael Reiter, in which he stated that Epstein, a billionaire with many powerful friends, had received special treatment in both his plea deal and the terms of his incarceration. Although federal investigators at one point produced a draft 53-page indictment against Epstein, he was eventually allowed to plead guilty to only two relatively minor state charges and receive a short term of incarceration: 13 months in the county jail, during which he went to the office every day, and one year of community control, during which he traveled frequently to New York and his private island in the Virgin Islands.

The Daily Beast has now discovered another instance in which Epstein apparently received special consideration: As a convicted sex offender, he is required by law to undergo an impartial psychological evaluation prior to sentencing and to receive psychiatric treatment during and after incarceration. This is because child molesters tend to be repeat offenders with high rates of recidivism. According to a

source in law enforcement, however, Epstein was allowed to submit a report by his private psychologist, Dr. Stephen Alexander of Palm Beach, Florida, whose phone has since been disconnected with no forwarding information.

The Daily Beast's second article provided details about Epstein's systematic abuse of underage girls at his Palm Beach mansion, where members of his staff allegedly recruited and paid a parade of teenagers, most of them 16 or younger, to perform daily massages that devolved into masturbation, groping, and sometimes full-blown sexual contact. It also revealed a monetary relationship between Epstein and Jean Luc Brunel, a frequent visitor to whom he gave $1 million around the same time that Brunel was starting his MC2 modeling agency. Some of the young girls MC2 recruited from overseas—often from Eastern Europe and South America—are known to have been passengers on Epstein's private jets.

The U.S. Attorney General's Office in Florida says that it is against policy to confirm or deny the existence of an investigation. Jeffrey Epstein's lawyer, Jack Goldberger, says he has no knowledge of an ongoing probe, and he told The Daily Beast, "Jeffrey Epstein has fully complied with all state and federal requirements that arise from the prior proceedings in Palm Beach. There are no pending civil lawsuits. There are not and should not be any pending criminal investigations, given Mr. Epstein's complete fulfillment of all the terms of his non-prosecution agreement with the federal government."

Conchita Sarnoff has developed multimedia communication programs for Fortune 500 companies and has produced three current-events debate TV programs, The Americas Forum, From Beirut to Kabul, and a segment for The Oppenheimer Report. She is writing a book about child trafficking in America.

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#2 **bruce**

- Registered User
- Group: Members
- Posts: 11113
- Joined: 12-August 08

Posted 02 August 2010 - 12:59 AM

These slugs leave slime wherever they go.america is owned by these pigs.filthy pigs.

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4 June, 2011

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Article 1.
NYT

President Assad's Bloody Hands

Editorial

June 3, 2011 -- Syrians have shown extraordinary courage, standing up to President Bashar al-Assad's reign of terror. We wish we could say that about the international community. So long as Mr. Assad escapes strong condemnation and real punishment, he will keep turning his tanks and troops on his people.

Human rights groups believe that more than 1,000 protesters have been killed in a three-month crackdown and that 10,000 more have been arrested. Hamza Ali al-Khateeb, the 13-year-old boy whose tortured body was shown in an online video, has become a heartbreaking symbol of the regime's brutality. According to activists, he was arrested at a protest on April 29 and not seen again until his broken body was delivered to his family almost a month later.

His murder and that of at least 30 other children who joined the protests show the depths to which Mr. Assad and his thugs have sunk. On Friday, in some of the biggest demonstrations yet, thousands of people again returned to the streets to demand political freedoms. Activists said dozens of protesters were killed in Hama after troops and regime loyalists opened fire. Independent journalists are barred from the country, so the full extent of the violence is unclear. What we do know is that the Syrian government has unleashed a wave of repression, perhaps the most vicious counterattack of the Arab spring.

After the killing began, the United States and Europe imposed sanctions — mostly travel bans and asset freezes — on certain key regime officials while exempting Mr. Assad. Only later did they add his name to the list. The rhetoric is stiffening. On Thursday Secretary

of State Hillary Rodham Clinton declared that Mr. Assad's legitimacy is "if not gone, nearly run out." But some American and European officials still buy the fantasy that Mr. Assad could yet implement reforms.

Most appalling, the United Nations Security Council is unable to muster the votes to condemn the bloodshed much less impose sanctions. Russia, cynically protecting longstanding ties with Damascus, is blocking meaningful action and China has fallen in lockstep. India is also reluctant to act — a shameful stance for a democracy that has been bidding for a permanent seat on the Council. If Russia and China, which have veto power, can't be won over, the United States and Europe must push a robust sanctions resolution and dare Moscow and the others to side with Mr. Assad over the Syrian people.

We do not know how this will turn out. But arguments that Mr. Assad is the best guarantor of stability and the best way to avoid extremism have lost all credibility.

Article 2.

The Washington Post

Egypt's revolutionary justice

Editorial

June 4 -- LET'S STIPULATE: There are very likely good grounds to prosecute deposed Egyptian ruler Hosni Mubarak. In nearly 30 years in power, the strongman appears to have amassed a considerable fortune, including the luxurious beach estate to which he retreated after his overthrow. More than 800 people were killed during the 18-day revolution, and prosectors allege that Mr. Mubarak approved plans to use force against peaceful demonstrators.

The decision by Egypt's ruling military council and state prosecutors to begin a trial of the former strongman on Aug. 3 — before the country holds its first democratic elections — is nevertheless a mistake, one that could push Egypt off the path to establishing a stable democracy and reviving its economy. Mr. Mubarak, who is 83 and in failing health, is not entitled to impunity; nor are his family and former ministers. But the approach of the interim regime, which has jailed dozens of former officials and two of Mr. Mubarak's sons, is deeply flawed. The trouble starts with the speed and timing of the prosecutions. Anxious to prevent further mass protests, the interim military council has appeared to time steps against the former regime just ahead of threatened demonstrations. The announcement that Mr. Mubarak would be put on trial came May 24, three days ahead of a planned opposition gathering in Cairo's Tahrir Square. Three of Mr. Mubarak's former ministers have already been convicted of crimes, and other trials are moving forward quickly. There are serious questions about the evidence in at least one — a case brought against the energy minister and five associates over alleged fraud in gas sales to Israel. The legal system handling these cases, oddly, is that of Mr.

Mubarak — and was justly renowned under his tenure for its lack of independence and its politicized rulings. There's good reason for concern that former members of the regime are now victims of that politicization. The judge hearing a murder case against former interior minister Habib el-Adly, for example, was involved in one-sided rulings against political dissidents during Mr. Mubarak's reign. That's particularly worrisome because Mr. Adly has become the focus of populist calls for retribution, with some opposition sloganeers demanding that he be hanged.

Egypt cannot bury a half century of authoritarianism; there must be a reckoning. But the right authority to oversee it is not a temporary military authority attempting to keep crowds out of the streets, but a democratically elected government. Investigations and trials must be conducted by prosecutors and judges who are neutral, professional and untainted by the previous regime. One leading Egyptian human rights activist, Hossam Bahgat, has suggested that Egypt follow the example of other countries emerging from dictatorship and establish a formal process of investigation and exposure of past crimes — a process that could include reparations for victims and prosecution of the most significant cases. Such an initiative could help to bolster a new democratic order in Egypt, but the rush to judgment now underway could seriously undermine it.

Article 3.

Al-Ahram Weekly

Egypt: In search of a foreign policy

Mohamed Anis Salem

2 - 8 June 2011 -- Sooner or later, the question of reviewing Egypt's foreign policy was going to crop up. In the early days of Tahrir, observers noted that the uprising did not occupy itself with international affairs. When Israel voiced concerns about the future of its relations with Cairo, Egypt's Higher Council of the Armed Forces (HCAF) reaffirmed the country's commitment to all international agreements, inter alia the Egyptian- Israeli Peace Treaty. Later, criticism of the two Egyptian governments formed after the revolution (one led by Ahmed Shafik, the next by Essam Sharaf) focussed, amongst other things, on retaining a number of the ancien regime ministers in office, including foreign minister Ahmed Abul-Gheit. Abul-Gheit had irritated his critics -- some would say the general public as well -- by his statements on the Egyptian uprising, as well as his earlier positions on Palestinians crossing over from Gaza into Egypt, Hamas and Iran. His replacement, Nabil El-Arabi, a seasoned diplomat with legal expertise, positioned himself as part of Egypt's new outlook to the world. He signalled that relations with Iran would be upgraded, Gaza's Rafah Crossings would be opened, and relations with Israel would be managed on a tit-for-tat basis. If the peace treaty with Israel required revision, there were clauses that allowed for that. Egypt would join the Rome Statute (the legal basis of the International Criminal Court) and other human rights instruments. The Iranian aspect did not rest there. While Tehran responded positively, several Arab countries in the Gulf, already in bitter confrontation with Iran over Bahrain, felt that the new minister's timing was off. In Cairo, experts supported an opening with

Iran, as it would allow Egyptian diplomacy to exercise more influence over issues like the Arab-Israeli conflict, Lebanon, Gulf security and establishing a regional nuclear free zone. But, at the same time, several voices expressed concern at the style of handling this issue. It seemed that no prior coordination or consultation was undertaken with Gulf countries. Why now? Was this a response to discreet Gulf suggestions that ex-president Hosni Mubarak should be treated more leniently? In a hastily arranged Gulf trip, Prime Minister Sharaf reassured his hosts that "Gulf security was a red line for Egypt" and that the opening with Tehran would not be at the expense of relations with Gulf Arabs. But these reassurances seemed to have limited effect as the Gulf Cooperation Council moved to expand its membership to include Jordan and Morocco. The new regional order aligned Arab royal regimes in a cluster that left out countries experiencing uprisings (Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia and Yemen) or facing instability (Iraq, Somalia and Sudan) or extreme poverty (Djibouti and Mauritania) -- hardly a winning hand.

Enter the Palestinian issue. The previous year had not ended well for the Palestinians. While Israel continued with its settlement policy, the mediation efforts of the US administration were going nowhere. The bid to reconcile Fatah and Hamas had failed and tensions were high between Hamas and Cairo. Then, suddenly, Egypt closed a reconciliation agreement between the Palestinians. The Israeli prime minister reacted negatively. The US was worried, insisting that Hamas needed to recognise Israel before being admitted as a partner. But Europe, more wisely, saw the agreement as a positive development. Then Egypt announced it was opening the Rafah Crossing; it would have nothing to do anymore with the siege of Gaza. Taken together, these signals were received enthusiastically by Egypt's revolutionary youth, intellectuals, media and political movements (mostly, perhaps, by the Muslim Brothers) as a sign of a

more independent foreign policy. But life is complicated. Arab League Secretary- General Amr Moussa was leaving his post to contest the Egyptian presidency. After some hesitation, Egypt withdrew its initial candidate for the Arab League position and forwarded the name of a prominent politician, Mustafa El-Feki. When this nomination stumbled in the face of Qatari competition, it was replaced with Egypt's newly appointed foreign minister who was given the job by consensus. Which brings us full circle to the foreign policy questions presently being debated: What are the tenets of Egypt's new foreign policy? What should the objectives be? What strategies should be deployed? What is the job description for the new foreign minister?

THE NEW FRAME OF REFERENCE: For some 60 years, Egypt presented its foreign policy with reference to three circles: Arab, African and Islamic. The prolonged focus on the confrontation with Israel, and the bipolar international order helped set priorities and select strategies. In reality, Egyptian policy functioned with flexibility, embracing neutrality from the 1940s onwards while, at the same time, moving from quasi alliance with the USSR in the 1960s to a very close relationship with the US since the 1980s. The three circles were always anachronistic and limited intellectually; they did not elaborate on Egypt's priorities, nor did they explain how they would be pursued in a complex world. Moreover, the goalposts were moved with the collapse of the USSR, the Arab-Israeli peace agreements, and the withering of the Non-Aligned Movement. On top of that, over the last few months, the regional landscape has been changed dramatically -- particularly in the way it informs foreign policy. The multiple Arab uprisings emphasised democracy, human rights and participation. Egypt, now a model for change, felt the need to formulate a policy towards the tsunami wave of change hitting the region. So far, its foreign minister has considered popular uprisings in

the region to be an internal matter for concerned countries. Indeed, he told the BBC that the "official position on this question was: no comment!" In the case of Libya, Egypt's position was explained in terms of ensuring the safety and livelihood of the large number of its citizens working there. But some analysts, like Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, were critical of the licence the Arab League gave NATO to intervene in Libya. Could not the Arabs have issued a stern warning to Gaddafi to abdicate? Shouldn't Egypt have played a more assertive role in directing events in this next-door neighbour? Why has the Arab League fallen silent since the Western intervention in Libya? How shrewd was it to send an Egyptian delegation to Muammar Gaddafi as late as May, without visiting the rebels?

To the south, another set of forces demand Egypt's attention: ensuring the continued flow of the Nile waters, responding to Sudan's fragmentation, and reducing the fallout from the chaos at the southern entrance of the Red Sea. While Egypt's newly energised political and civil society leaders launched "popular diplomacy" visits to Ethiopia and Uganda, it is clear that resolving contested issues will need more than such ice-breakers. Also on the southern front, the Egyptian navy has remained aloof from the 25-nation Combined Maritime Forces focussed on Somali pirates, themselves an offshoot of a neglected 20-year conflict. Egypt's foreign minister announced that his country wanted to achieve a full-fledged Arab-Israeli peace, not perpetuate the peace process. While the inter- Palestinian reconciliation was a first step in this direction, and a movement is underway to gain UN recognition for a Palestinian state, the reality is that stagnation looms ahead, at least for the next 18 months when the US presidential elections are behind us. What are the options during this period? In the Egyptian-Israeli context, it might be possible to open negotiations on improving access to Gaza, strengthening security arrangements in Sinai, and updating the price of Egyptian gas exports. If the Syria

situation calms down (a big "if"), then Damascus may be interested in energising its own peace negotiations, as suggested recently by former US government adviser Bill Quant. Indeed, this possibility partially explains the gentler US treatment of Bashar Al-Assad in the face of a popular uprising. But there remains obscurity over how to deal with Binyamin Netanyahu's obstructionism, recently described by Thomas Friedman as the "Mubarak of the peace process". Meanwhile, non-Arab states of the Middle East have created a brand of diplomacy where ideas are energetically pursued with a variety of hard and soft power strategies. Both Turkey and Iran, in different ways, have increased the level of their interaction and influence in the region. The former established visa free travel zones with several Arab countries, expanded its Middle East trade relations and interceded on issues ranging from Syrian-Israeli peace negotiations, to mediating on Iran's nuclear programme and the Libyan situation. The stars of Turkish soap operas are household names in the region. Iran, albeit under a cloud due to internal repression and the refusal of Arab uprisings of Tehran's patronage, still has huge influence in Iraq, an alliance with Syria, Hizbullah and Hamas, and a nuclear programme that attracts popular admiration to the extent it appears to respond to Israel's atomic monopoly. A more dynamic Egyptian diplomacy will be measured against these standards. IT'S THE ECONOMY: Beyond this challenging landscape, Egypt's reaction to the new regional dynamics will be heavily conditioned by two critical factors: the economy and internal politics. Facing a serious downturn of revenues from tourism, a slackening of investment inflows and disrupted industrial production, IMF experts estimate that Egypt will need up to $12 billion over the next financial year in external assistance. The critical partners that have the capacity to respond to this requirement are the US, the EU and Gulf countries. At their recent summit at Deauville, the G8 pledged a combination of debt

relief, aid and assistance to Egypt and Tunisia to help build their democracies. Earlier, speaking at Oxford, Qatari Prime Minister Hamad bin Jassem revived the idea of establishing a Middle East Development Bank to address "the lack of economic diversity, added to the high rate of unemployment among the youth sector". Cairo will need to ensure close, productive relations with this group of countries. The second factor will be the growing influence of internal politics on the foreign policy production process. For the past six decades, Egypt's foreign policy was designed and implemented through a closed system largely controlled by the president of the day and the elitist foreign affairs machinery. Gradually, after 25 January, a wider foreign policy debate has unfolded with inputs from political parties, independent experts, research centres and media, as demonstrated at the recent National Dialogue Conference in Cairo. In the near future, many predict that bodies like the proposed National Security Council, parliamentary foreign relations committees, and the Council of Ministers will institutionalise this role. Politically, the two currents of Islam and liberal democracy will come to bear on this debate. The danger here is that the growth of populist postures will impinge on a policy guided by principles and national interest.

In recent policy debates in Cairo, innovative ideas were in short supply as nostalgia prevailed. There was talk about the villa on Hishmet Street in Zamalek from where Nasser's Egypt supported African liberation movements and leaders. Some participants proposed reverting to older policies and instruments: refusing foreign economic assistance, activating Egypt's Nasr Export and Import Company in Africa and moving Egyptian farmers to Sudan. And yet, what is most needed at the moment is a new reading of tectonic changes in the region and internationally. For example, in the African context, Egypt needs to consider the new players on the field and the scale of their operations. Here, there has been a rapid growth

of interaction with Asian powers. Currently, the volume of China's trade with Africa is over $125 billion annually, while trade between India and Africa has jumped from $1 billion in 2001 to almost $50 billion last year. India is the largest foreign investor in Ethiopia (with $4.78 billion invested last year) and its annual volume of trade with Addis Ababa is $272 million. At the recent India-Africa summit, India's prime minister pledged $5 billion over the next three years to support African countries in reaching the Millennium Development Goals, in addition to $700 million for developing institutions and another $300 million to building a Djibouti- Ethiopian railway. India also offered 22,000 higher education scholarships and funding for the African Union mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Meanwhile, South Africa has joined the BRIC grouping of Brazil, Russia, India and China. Such developments have changed the terrain and the possibilities for Egypt's movement in Africa, demanding closer engagement, innovation, and sustained effort.

The job description, and the ongoing head hunting, for Egypt's next minister of foreign affairs will need to take these factors into consideration, with emphasis on the ability to develop a new vision for the country's foreign policy. As French novelist Marcel Proust once said, "The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new lands, but in seeing with new eyes." Perhaps this, more than anything else, is what Egyptian diplomacy needs at the moment.

The writer is director of Development Works (www.dev-works.org) and coordinator of the UN Working Group in the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs.

Article 4.

Foreign Policy

Do the American people support the 'special relationship?'

Stephen M. Walt

June 3, 2011 -- A couple of weeks ago, Americans were treated to a remarkably clear demonstration of the power of the Israel lobby in the United States. First, Barack Obama gave a speech on Middle East policy at the State Department, which tried to position America as a supporter of the Arab spring and reiterated his belief that a two-state solution is the best way to resolve the Israel-Palestinian conflict. The next day, he met with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, who rejected several of Obama's assertions and lectured him about what "Israel expects" from its great power patron. Then Obama felt it was smart politics to go to AIPAC and clarify his remarks. It was a pretty good speech, but Obama didn't offer any ideas for how his vision of Middle East peace might be realized and he certainly never suggested that -- horrors! -- the United States might use its considerable leverage to push both sides to an agreement. And then Netanyahu received a hero's welcome up on Capitol Hill, getting twenty-nine standing ovations for a defiant speech that made it clear that the only "two-state" solution he's willing to contemplate is one where the Palestinians live in disconnected Bantustans under near-total Israeli control.

Not surprisingly, this display of the lobby's influence made plenty of people uncomfortable, and some of them -- such as M.J. Rosenberg at Media Matters offered up some personal tales of their own run-ins with Israel's hardline backers. In response to Rosenberg's sally (and the hoopla surrounding the Netanyahu visit), Jonathan Chait of The

New Republic has fallen back on a familiar line of defense. After conceding that there is a lobby and that it does have a lot of influence, he argued that "the most important basis of American support for Israel is not the lobby but the public's overwhelming sympathy for Israel." In other words, AIPAC et al don't really matter that much, and all those standing ovations on Capitol Hill were really just a genuine reflection of public opinion. He also said that John Mearsheimer and I believe the lobby exerts "total control" over U.S. foreign policy, and that we claim groups in the lobby were solely responsible for the invasion of Iraq.

To deal with the last claim first, this straw-man depiction of our argument merely confirms once again that Chait has not in fact read our book. I don't find that surprising, because a careful reading of the book would reveal to him that we weren't anti-Israel or anti-Semitic, had made none of the claims he accuses us of, and had in fact amassed considerable evidence to support the far more nuanced arguments that we did advance. And then he'd have to ponder the fact that virtually everything The New Republic has ever published about us was bogus. So I can easily see why he prefers to repeat the same falsehoods and leave it at that.

But what of his more basic claim that the "special relationship" between the United States and Israel is really a reflection of "the public's overwhelming sympathy?" There are at least three big problems with this assertion.

First, even if it were true that the public had "overwhelming sympathy" for Israel, it does not immediately follow that United States policy would necessarily follow suit. U.S. officials frequently do things that a majority of Americans oppose, if they believe that doing so is in the U.S. interest. A majority of Americans oppose fighting on in Afghanistan, for example, yet the Obama administration chose to escalate that war instead. Similarly, numerous

polls show that the American people favor the "public option" in health care, but that's not exactly the policy that health care reform produced. Public opinion is an important factor, of course, but what public officials decide to do almost always reflects a more complex weighting of political factors (including the intensity of public preferences, broader strategic considerations, the weight of organized interests, etc.)

Second, to the extent that the American public does have a favorable image of Israel -- and there's no question that it does -- that is at least partly due to the lobby's own efforts to shape public discourse and stifle negative commentary. The lobby doesn't "control the media," but "pro-Israel" groups like the ADL and CAMERA work actively to influence how Israel is portrayed in the United States, aided by reliably supportive publications like The New Republic. (As its former editor-in-chief Marty Peretz once admitted, "there's a sort of party line on Israel" at the journal). That's their privilege, of course, but groups and individuals in the lobby have also tried to silence or smear virtually any one who criticizes the "special relationship," and all-too-often those efforts succeed (if perhaps less frequently than they used to). If Americans were exposed to a more open discourse -- such as the discourse that prevails in Europe or in Israel itself -- Israel's favorable image would almost certainly decrease (though by no means disappear).

Third, and most important, the evidence suggests that the American people are not in favor of a one-sided "special relationship" where Israel gets unconditional American backing no matter what it does. Although there is no question that Americans have a generally favorable image of Israel and want the United States to help it survive and prosper, they are not demanding that U.S. politicians back it to the hilt or show the kind of craven adulation that Congress displayed last week.

For starters, many Americans recognize that one-sided support for Israel is a problem for the United States, and that figure is even higher among "opinion leaders." A Pew survey in November 2005 found that 39 percent of Americans saw the special relationship as a "major source of global discontent," and 78 percent of the news media, 72 percent of military leaders and 69 percent of foreign affairs specialists believed that backing Israel seriously damages America's image around the world. A 2003 survey by the University of Maryland reported that over 60 percent of Americans would be willing to withhold aid to Israel if it resisted pressure to settle the conflict with the Palestinians, and 73 percent said the United States should not favor either side. In fact, a survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League in 2005 found that 78 percent of Americans believed that Washington should favor neither Israel nor the Palestinians. A 2010 survey by the Brookings Institution found similar results: although 25 percent of Americans thought the United States should "lean toward Israel" in its efforts to resolve the conflict, a healthy 67 percent believed the United States should "lean toward neither side."

Needless to say, such figures are hard to square with the robotic enthusiasm displayed by Congress, or with the Obama administration's timid approach to entire problem. But the behavior of both the executive and legislative branches are entirely consistent with the normal workings of interest group politics in the United States. In a democracy where freedom of association and speech are guaranteed, and where elections are expensive to run and where campaign contributions are weakly regulated, even relatively small groups can exercise considerable influence if they are strongly committed to a particular issue and the rest of the population does not care that much.

Whether the issue is farm subsidies or foreign policy, in short, special interest groups often wield disproportionate political power. Because countervailing forces are much weaker (as is the case when it comes to Middle East policy), groups like AIPAC and others have the field to themselves. Consider that in the 2010 election, "pro-Israel" PACs gave about $3 million to candidates from both parties. By comparison, Arab-American PACs gave less than $50,000. You can buy a lot of applause when the balance is stacked that way.

When you combine these facts with the sometimes thuggish tactics used against people who don't subscribe to the party line on this issue, you have a situation where politicians and appointed officials will bend over backwards to support the special relationship (or just remain silent), even when they know it's not good for the United States or Israel and when most Americans (including plenty of American Jews) would support a more normal relationship. In short, a relationship that would be healthier for the United States and Israel alike.

And the saddest part, as I've noted repeatedly, is that some people who care deeply about Israel and who see themselves as loyal defenders are the ones who are enabling its own self-defeating intransigence and threatening its future. Chait is a smart and well-informed guy, and his views on many subjects are thoughtful and nuanced. Which makes his failure to face the facts on this issue all the more surprising ... and regrettable.

Stephen M. Walt is the Robert and Renée Belfer professor of international relations at Harvard University.

Article 5.

Yale Center for the Study of Globalization

The Battle for Pakistan

Bruce Riedel

June 3, 2011 -- The struggle for control of Pakistan - soon to be the fifth most populous country in the world with the fifth largest nuclear arsenal - intensifies every day. The outcome is far from certain. The key player, Pakistan's army, seems dangerously ambivalent about which side should prevail: the jihadist Frankenstein it created or the democratically elected civilian government it despises.

The American commando raid that killed Osama bin Laden on May 2nd accelerated the struggle underway inside Pakistan to determine the country's future. Contrary to some assessments, Pakistan is neither a failed state nor a failing state. It functions as effectively today as in decades past. Rather it is a state under siege from a radical syndicate of terror groups loosely aligned together with the goal of creating an extremist jihadist state in south Asia. They want to hijack Pakistan and its weapons. Less than a hundred hours after the Abbottabad raid, Al Qaeda's shura council, its command centre, announced the group was declaring war on Pakistan and the "traitors and thieves" in the government who had betrayed the "martyr shaykh" bin Laden to the Americans. It was ironic since many Americans suspect the Pakistani army was actually complicit in abetting bin Laden's successful evasion of the largest manhunt in human history for 10 years. That both Al Qaeda and America distrust the Pakistani army speaks volumes. Since then Al Qaeda and its allies in Pakistan have carried out their threat with a vengeance. Suicide bombings and other terror attacks have occurred across the country. The worst was an attack on a major Pakistani navy base in Karachi, a heavily guarded facility where both US and Chinese experts assist the

navy. Two US-made P3 surveillance aircraft were destroyed in the attack. The assailants had insider knowledge of the base, and Pakistani security has arrested former naval personnel accused of helping the attackers. The Karachi attack illustrates the essence of the battle for Pakistan today. The militants support Al Qaeda, but were members of its ally the Pakistani Taliban. Their goal was to humiliate the navy. The navy fought back, but is riddled with jihadist sympathizers who help the militants. A Pakistani journalist, Syed Salman Shahzad, wrote an expose after the attack of the jihadist penetration of the military, especially the navy. He received threatening calls from the military's intelligence service, the notorious Inter Services Intelligence directorate, telling him to stop reporting on the issue, and was murdered shortly afterward. The Pakistani army is genuinely at war with parts of the syndicate of jihadi terror in Pakistan like Al Qaeda and the Taliban. It has more than 140,000 troops engaged in operations against the militants along the Afghan border. Some 35,000 Pakistanis including several thousand soldiers have died in the fighting since 2001, the equivalent of a dozen 911s. Dozens of ISI men have died. But the ISI is also still in bed with other parts of the syndicate like Lashkar e Tayyiba, the group that attacked Mumbai in 2008, and the Afghan Taliban that fights NATO. Despite years of American complaints, those partnerships are still intact. But the terrorists don't stay in the lanes the ISI wants them to stay in. For example, both LeT and the Taliban eulogized bin Laden after his death and mourned the departure of a great "hero" of their movements. The army's ambivalence about the jihad flows from its deep obsession with India. Pakistan - with American help - created the jihad in the 1980s to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. But from the start the ISI, commanded by then dictator Zia ul Huq and his brilliant ISI director general Akhtar Rahman, planed to use jihadi groups against India as well and build an international cadre of

mujahedin to help fight India. Over the decades the "S" Department of ISI established close connections with scores of jihadi groups, becoming a state within ISI, which in turn is a state within the army. The army decides national-security policy with little or no input from the political establishment. General Nadeem Taj exemplifies the story. Taj was former dictator Pervez Musharraf's right-hand man. They were together in 1999 when Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif fired Musharraf as chief of army staff while he was returning by plane from a visit to Sri Lanka. Taj orchestrated the coup that put Musharraf in power from the plane and was rewarded with several key jobs including in 2006 command of the Kakul Military Academy in Abbottabad, Pakistan's West Point or Sandhurst.It was on his watch as commandant of the academy that bin Laden moved into his hideout less than a mile away. Was Taj clueless or complicit?
In September 2007 Taj became DG/ISI replacing General Ashfaq Kayani who was promoted chief of army staff (COAS). Taj lasted less than a year before he was removed under intense pressure from Washington. The Bush administration had concluded that Taj's ISI was directly involved in the bombing of the Indian embassy in Kabul in 2008 and was undermining the new drone program to attack Al Qaeda targets inside Pakistan by warning the terrorists before attacks. Taj was regarded as either unable to rein in the S Department or complicit in its duplicity. Nonetheless, Taj was promoted to command a key corps in the army, the highest command level short of COAS. Now he has been accused of complicity in the planning of the Mumbai attack by several family members of the American victims of the terror rampage in a New York court case. It was on Taj's watch as DG/ISI that the attack was carefully planned by the LeT and the targets, including the Chabad house where most of the Americans died, were selected. David Headley, an American of Pakistani origin, has testified that the ISI was directly involved in the

plot, and the US Department of Justice has assembled an impressive body of emails and other evidence that backs up his claims.

The jihadist penetrations of the army raise persistent questions about the security of Pakistan's nukes. According to a WikiLeaked State Department cable, from September 2009, France's national security adviser Jean-David Levitte told the American Embassy in Paris that France believes it is not secure. Levitte is one of the most astute diplomats in the world today, and he is almost certainly right.

The policies that would help wean the Pakistani army off its obsession with India and jihad are well known. A concerted effort to end the Indo-Pakistani conflict is essential. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, despite Mumbai, is trying to do just that. But it is a hard challenge. Talks to resolve the relatively simple issue of the disputed Siachen Glacier, the world's highest war zone at the roof of the Himalayas, failed again in May. The harder issue, Kashmir, will probably take years to resolve at best.

But we don't have years. Only a fortnight before the Abbottabad raid, General Kayani gave a speech at the military academy in the city, almost within earshot of bin Laden. In his remarks Kayani claimed the back of the militant syndicate in Pakistan had been broken and the army had triumphed. It is now clear he was badly mistaken.

Bruce Riedel is a senior fellow at the Saban Center in the Brookings Institution and adjunct professor at the School for Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. His most recent book, Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America and the Future of the Global Jihad, came out in March.

Article 6.

The New Republic

We shouldn't remove all U.S. troops from Iraq

Fouad Ajami

June 3, 2011 -- The U.S. war in Iraq has just been given an unexpected seal of approval. Defense Secretary Robert Gates, in what he billed as his "last major policy speech in Washington," has owned up to the gains in Iraq, to the surprise that Iraq has emerged as "the most advanced Arab democracy in the region." It was messy, this Iraqi democratic experience, but Iraqis "weren't in the streets shooting each other, the government wasn't in the streets shooting its people," Gates observed. The Americans and the Iraqis had not labored in vain; the upheaval of the Arab Spring has only underlined that a decent polity had emerged in the heart of the Arab world. Robert Gates has not always been a friend of the Iraq war. He was a member in good standing, it should be recalled, of the Iraq Study Group, a panel of sages and foreign policy luminaries, co-chaired by James Baker and Lee Hamilton, who had taken a jaundiced view of the entire undertaking in Iraq. Their report endorsed a staged retreat from the Iraq war and an accommodation with Syria and Iran. When Gates later joined the cabinet of George W. Bush, after the "thumping" meted out to the Republicans in the congressional elections of 2006, his appointment was taken as a sharp break with the legacy of his predecessor, Donald Rumsfeld. It was an open secret that the outlook of the new taciturn man at the Department of Defense had no place in it for the spread of democracy in Arab lands. Over a long career, Secretary Gates had shared the philosophical approach of Zbigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scowcroft, peers of his

and foreign policy "realists" who took the world as it is. They had styled themselves as unillusioned men who had thought that the Iraq war, and George W. Bush's entire diplomacy of freedom, were projects of folly—romantic, self deluding undertakings in the Arab world.

To the extent that these men thought of the Greater Middle East, they entered it through the gateway of the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. The key to the American security dilemma in the region, they maintained, was an Arab-Israeli settlement that would drain the swamps of anti-Americanism and reconcile the Arab "moderates" to the Pax Americana. This was a central plank of the Iraq Study Group—the centrality of the Israeli-Palestinian issue to the peace of the region, and to the American position in the lands of Islam.

Nor had Robert Gates made much of a secret of his reading of Iran. He and Zbigniew Brzezinski had been advocates of "engaging" the regime in Tehran—this was part of the creed of the "realists." It was thus remarkable that, in his last policy speech, Gates acknowledged a potentially big payoff of the American labor in Iraq: a residual U.S. military presence in that country as a way of monitoring the Iranian regime next door.

Is Gates right about both the progress in Iraq and the U.S. future in the country? In short, yes. The Iraqis needn't trumpet the obvious fact in broad daylight, but the balance of power in the Persian Gulf would be altered for the better by a security arrangement between the United States and the government in Baghdad. The Sadrists have already labeled a potential accord with the Americans as a deal with the devil, but the Sadrists have no veto over the big national decisions in Baghdad. If the past is any guide, Prime Minister Nuri Al Maliki has fought and won a major battle with the Sadrists; he crushed them on the battlefield but made room for them in his coalition government, giving them access to spoils and patronage, but on his terms.

Democracy, it turns out, has its saving graces: Nuri Al Maliki need not shoulder alone the burden of sustaining a security accord with the Americans. He has already made it known that the decision to keep American forces in Iraq would depend on the approval of the major political blocs in the country, and that the Sadrists would have no choice but to accept the majority's decision. The Sadrists would be left with the dubious honor of "resistance" to the Americans—but they would hold onto the privileges granted them by their access to state treasury and resources. Muqtada Al Sadr and the political functionaries around him know that life bereft of government patronage and the oil income of a centralized state is a journey into the wilderness.

There remains, of course, the pledge given by presidential candidate Barack Obama that a President Obama would liquidate the American military role in Iraq by the end of 2011. That pledge was one of the defining themes of his bid for the presidency, and it endeared him to the "progressives" within his own party, who had been so agitated and mobilized against the Iraq war. But Barack Obama is now the standard-bearer of America's power. He has broken with the "progressives" over Afghanistan, the use of drones in Pakistan, Guantánamo, military tribunals, and a whole host of national security policies that have (nearly) blurred the line between his policies and those of his predecessor. The left has grumbled, but, in the main, it has bowed to political necessity. At any rate, the fury on the left that once surrounded the Iraq war has been spent; a residual American presence in Iraq would fly under the radar of the purists within the ranks of the Democratic Party. They will be under no obligation to give it their blessing. That burden would instead be left to the centrists—and to the Republicans.

It is perhaps safe to assume that Robert Gates is carrying water for the Obama administration—an outgoing official putting out some

necessary if slightly unpalatable political truths. Gates is an intensely disciplined man; he has not been a free-lancer, but instead has forged a tight personal and political relationship with President Obama. His swan song in Washington is most likely his gift to those left with maintaining and defending the American position in Iraq and in the Persian Gulf.

It is a peculiarity of the American-Iraq relationship that it could yet be nurtured and upheld without fanfare or poetry. The Iraqis could make room for that residual American presence while still maintaining the fiction of their political purity and sovereignty. For their part, American officials could be discreet and measured; they needn't heap praise on Iraq nor take back what they had once said about the war—and its costs and follies. Iraq's neighbors would of course know what would come to pass. In Tehran, and in Arab capitals that once worried about an American security relationship with a Shia-led government in Baghdad, powers would have to make room for this American-Iraqi relationship. The Iranians in particular will know that their long border with Iraq is, for all practical purposes, a military frontier with American forces. It will be no consolation for them that this new reality so close to them is the work of their Shia kinsmen, who come to unexpected power in Baghdad.

The enemy will have a say on how things will play out for American forces in Iraq. Iran and its Iraqi proxies can be expected to do all they can to make the American presence as bloody and costly as possible. A long, leaky border separates Iran from Iraq; movement across it is quite easy for Iranian agents and saboteurs. They can come in as "pilgrims," and there might be shades of Lebanon in the 1980s, big deeds of terror that target the American forces. The Iraqi government will be called upon to do a decent job of tracking and hunting down saboteurs and terrorists, as this kind of intelligence is not a task for American soldiers. This will take will and political courage on the

part of Iraq's rulers. They will have to speak well of the Americans and own up to the role that American forces are playing in the protection and defense of Iraq. They can't wink at anti-Americanism or give it succor.

Even in the best of worlds, an American residual presence in Iraq will have its costs and heartbreak. But the United States will have to be prepared for and accept the losses and adversity that are an integral part of staying on, rightly, in so tangled and difficult a setting.

Fouad Ajami teaches at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He is also a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Article 7.

Asharq Alawsat

Iran: The fight at the top heats up

Amir Taheri

03 June 2011 -- To jump or not to jump? For Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, that has become the question.

Not long ago, Ahmadinejad was regarded as the most powerful of the five presidents the Islamic Republic in its three decades of existence. With the opposition "green" movement almost silenced, his administration faced no serious challenge within the Khomeinist movement establishment. Ahmadinejad also marked some success selling his doctrine of "Iranian Islam" as a substitute for the hotchpotch concocted by Ayatollah Khomeini. Translated into 30 languages, his authorised biography, "Ahmadinejad: The Miracle of the Century", was supposed to have sold a million copies.

His entourage boasted that, in the 2009 presidential election he would have won 35 million, rather than 25 million accorded him. The entourage claimed that, Ahmadinejad lost 10 million votes because of his association with "Supreme Guide" Ali Khamenei.

The entourage also claimed that Ahmadinejad supporters are poised to win a two-thirds majority in next year's parliamentary election.

Today, things look different.

Tehran is full of rumors that, deeply depressed, Ahmadinejad may be thinking of stepping down.

The media controlled by Khamenei maintain a daily barrage of attacks against the president.

The other day, the newspaper Kayhan ran this headline: "Ahmadinejad on Way to Anathema (Takfir)".

Media attacks may not be the main source of Ahmadinejad's reported depression. Hardly a day passes without Khamenei vetoing a decision

of the president.
Ahmadinejad wanted to sack Heydar Moslehi, the Minister of Intelligence and Security. Khamenei intervened to reinstate the minister whose incompetence had become proverbial.
Ahmadinejad sulked for 11 days before swallowing "the biter pill" and re-admitting the mullah Moslehi to the Cabinet.
Ahmadinejad wanted to merge four ministries to cut bureaucratic costs. Khamenei intervened to refer the matter to the Islamic Majis, Iran's fake parliament.
The "Supreme Guide" also ordered that new ministers submit to a vote of confidence in the Majlis.
The message that Ahmadinejad is in office at Khamenei's pleasure is circulated by the latter's entourage. The other day, Muhammad-Reza Bahonar, a Khamenei mouthpiece in the Majlis, told the press that the "Supreme Guide" wanted " to retain the president until the natural end of his administration" in 2013.
The media controlled by Khamenei miss no opportunity to brand Ahmadinejad's closest associate, Esfandiar Masha'i, as "an enemy of Islam", a " Persian nationalist", and even "an agent of Imperialism." In a statement circulated in Tehran last week, Hezbollah, a group controlled by security services, threatened to kill Masha'i.
At the same time, Khamenei has ordered the Larijani brothers to prepare the "after Ahmadinejad". The eldest brother, Ali-Ardeshir, the Speaker of the Majlis, is already casting himself as the next president of the republic. The second brother, Sadeq, who wears the clothes of a mullah, is using his position as Chief Justice to threaten Ahmadinejad with "legal consequences" of the government's unspecified decisions. A third Larijani brother, Muhammad-Jawad, has informed British contacts that with "Ahmadinejad's imminent end", there would be " a new beginning in Iranian foreign policy."
In a bid to repair relations with Riyadh, Ahmadinejad wanted to

dispatch Foreign Minister Ali-Akbar Salehi to Saudi Arabia for a "working visit". Khamenei signaled his opposition through newspapers controlled by his office.
For weeks, Ahmadinejad tired to appoint a Governor for the Fars province. His choice was chased away by Khamenei henchmen laying siege to the governor's office in Shiraz.
Hardly a day passes without a mullah, including some on his payroll until recently, attacking Ahmadinejad. Often, it is clear that Khamenei offered a fatter envelope to the mullah concerned.
The military are also ranged against Ahmadinejad. Once regarded as Ahmadinejad's principal supporters, Revolutionary Guard generals are appearing on TV to denounce the president's "deviant tendency."
Even on minor issues, Khamenei is advertising his authority.
Last week, Ahmadinejad's office approved a decision by the Iranian Academy to replace the French word "police", in use in Iran since the 19th century, with the Persian word "passvar."
This was part of Ahmadinejad's decision to "purify" the Persian vocabulary by getting rid of Arabic and other foreign words.
Khamenei vetoed the decision as" another sign of Iranian nationalism" which he regards as a threat to Islam.
Few in Tehran missed the irony of a mullah defending a French word against a Persian equivalent.
Pro-Khamenei newspapers drop hints about "secret contacts" between Ahmadinejad and the "green" opposition to form a front against Khamenei. There is talk of former President Hashemi Rafsanjani setting aside his old hatred of Ahmadinejad in a bid to isolate the "Supreme Guide".
Finally, security forces have arrested over 50 members of Ahmadinejad's entourage, including some close friends, on charges of "spreading unauthorized beliefs".
What does all this mean?

There is no doubt that Ahmadinejad and Khamenei are at loggerheads. This is no surprise. As explained in a previous column all presidents have had trouble with the "Supreme Guide" of the time. Sharing power at the summit is always problematic. Unable to fly, a double-headed eagle often tears itself apart. Initially, Ahmadinejad angered Khamenei by scripting his group out of numerous juicy contracts and business deals. However, for the first time, the fight may also be about something more than personal power. Ahmadinejad has realised the bankruptcy of the Khomeinist discourse and is trying to replace it with a pseudo-nationalistic, and perhaps more dangerous, narrative in which the mullahs have no place. Khamenei may be trying to push Ahmadinejad to the brink in the hope that the president would lose his nerve and throw in the towel. However, Ahmadinejad might prove a tougher cookie than Khamenei apparently hopes. My guess is that Ahmadinejad will not jump and, if pushed, would not flee into exile as did the first President of the Islamic Republic Abol-Hassan Banisadr. Nor would Ahmadinejad kowtow to the "Supreme Guide" as did Rafsanjani and Muhammad Khatami. What about assassination? That is what happened to Muhammad-Ali Raja'i, the second President of the Islamic Republic. That Khamenei is attacking Ahmadinejad every day is a sign that the "Supreme Guide" is scared. According to a Persian proverb, like a snake, a mullah is most dangerous when frightened.

Amir Taheri was born in Ahvaz, southwest Iran, and educated in Tehran, London and Paris. Taheri's latest book "The Persian Night" is published by Encounter Books in London and New York.

From: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/28/2011 4:32:02 PM
To: Katherine Keating [redacted]
Subject: Re: Keating Interview

Importance: High

Are you here

Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 28, 2011, at 12:36 AM, Katherine Keating <[redacted]> wrote:

Paul Keating explains as never before

- BY:PAUL KELLY, EDITOR-AT-LARGE
- From:The Australian
- October 22, 2011 12:00AM

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/paul-keating-explains-as-never-before/story-e6frg6z6-1226173493029&ct=ga&cad=CAcQAhgAIAAoATAAOABAkPKI9QRIAVAAWABiBWVuLVVT&cd=JW8oAOivUQM&usg=AFQjCNHd0mUbAjc-2liiig3_exEbZmRt2w

WITH his panoramic view of world affairs sharper than ever, Paul Keating blames the current global crisis on blunders by European and US leaders and warns that Australia must rediscover the keys to national success.

Interviewed in his Sydney office, furnished in a style he calls "the last gasp of revolutionary classicism", Keating's new 600-plus page book sits atop his desk, an insight into his intellectual, aesthetic and political obsessions.

What has Keating been doing since he left office in 1996? He has been travelling, speaking and analysing the world and Australia with undiminished intensity suggesting a man operating as prime minister-in-exile.

His idea of leadership is more philosophical than ever, more distant from Bob Hawke or John Howard. His focus is the synthesis between beauty and reason and his book encompasses China's currency, the world malaise, Mahler's Symphony No2 and breaking the republic with the Queen.

DURING THE INTERVIEW KEATING TALKS, AS NEVER BEFORE, ABOUT HIS LEADERSHIP CONCEPT. BUT HE IS DOING SOMETHING ELSE: EXPLAINING HIMSELF TO A STILL PUZZLED NATION.

RECOMMENDED COVERAGE

Creativity is central to our endeavours

"The great changes in civilisation and society have been wrought by deeply held beliefs and passion rather than by a process of rational deduction," Keating tells me. In retirement, his political inspiration comes from music and beauty, not opinion polls.

There are signs he has mellowed. While ruthless with his judgments Keating is keen to support a struggling Labor Party while addressing the source of its strategic demise.

"The failure of the Rudd and Gillard administrations is the lack of an over-arching story, the lack of a compelling story," he says when interviewed last week.

"I'm happy that Labor took us through this dreadful financial crisis so competently. But they are not in the business of teaching. And governments, to succeed with change, must be in the business of educating the community.

"Our Labor governments have failed to conceptualise the changes. We need a framework.

"What is the framework? It is 'Australia in Transition' strategically and economically. That's the story we have to present.

"I think the Australian people are very conscientious. During the 1980s and 1990s we proved they will respond conscientiously to necessary reforms. They mightn't like them but they'll accept them. But reforms have to be presented in a digestible format.

"I know that in the age of the internet, opinion and perpetual static it is difficult to get the message over. I accept that. But the big messages have their own momentum. If we get the story of transition right then other things will find their place.

"Our problem is what I call shooting-star policies. We have a policy on carbon pricing, on minerals, on boatpeople, but they are not connected up to the big picture about Australia's direction and its transition."

Pressed on whether he thinks the Australian Labor Party is in permanent decline, Keating defends Labor, insists it doesn't have to decline but highlights the problem. "Labor must recognise what it has created," he says, invoking the Hawke-Keating era. "It has a created a new society and it has to be the party of the new society.

"It can't be the party of part of the old society. Labor must be the party of those people who gained from the pro-market growth economy that we created. Labor must be open to the influences of this middle class, to people on higher incomes. And I don't think it is."

It is, perhaps, the clearest statement of Labor's problem. The party, in an act of strategic folly, abandoned the path of its previous success. It turned inwards on itself, away from the community.

"At the operating level it's become the party of insiders," Keating says. "The problem is that members get too caught up in the gift of faction managers and they get caught up in the false construct of popularity, the false god."

Fixated by the nature of political leadership, Keating's book After Words shouts out: "The great curse of modern political life is incrementalism."

Leaning across the table he says to me that briefing notes and economic texts aren't enough: the leader must locate his own source of higher command and inner belief. He laments the efforts of US President Barak Obama and German Chancellor Angela Merkel in the teeth of contemporary challenges.

"There is nothing preordained about American decline any more than the European project is destined to fail," he writes.

"But the portents are not good. Despite the rhetoric, President Obama conducts himself as an arbitrator or mediator between the competing strands of American economic and political ideology. He repeatedly eschews striking out,

snatching the naked flame and hanging on. But the cost of this strategy is not simply a cost to him; it is a cost to the whole world.

"On the other hand, Chancellor Merkel is the archetypal worry-wart. She does not lead; she assesses.

"You really wonder why leaders want these jobs when they really do not want to lead. And what is their risk? That Barack Obama will not get a second term? Or that Angela Merkel's coalition might finally end up on the rocks? If they actually made the leap they might astound themselves. Because, in the end, everyone in political life gets carried out - the only relevant question is whether the pallbearers will be crying."

For Keating, the 20th-century leader exerting most influence on the coming century is China's Deng Xiaoping.

"If you look at the other figures of the century, Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Mao, none will leave the legacy in terms of the 21st century that Deng leaves," he says. "He walked away from the ideology of the Communist Party just as effectively as Mikhail Gorbachev walked away from the essence of the Soviet Union."

By 2050 Keating sees a world order with nations in terms of gross domestic product in this hierarchy: (1) China, (2) US, (3) India, (4) Japan, (5) Brazil, (6) Russia, (7) Britain, (8) Germany, (9) France and (10) Italy.

The key, however, is that Japan lags a distant fourth behind the top three.

On America, Keating is dismayed by the pivotal change in its outlook after the end of the Cold War. "When the Berlin Wall came down the Americans cried victory and walked off the field," he says.

"Yet the end of the Cold War offered the chance for America to develop a new world order. It didn't know what to do with its victory. This at the moment the US should have begun exploiting the opportunity of establishing a new world order to embrace open regionalism and the inclusion of great states like China, India and the then loitering Russia.

"Well, frankly, the US didn't have the wisdom. It just wanted to celebrate its peace dividend. The two Clinton terms and the two George W. Bush terms, that's four presidential terms, have cost US mightily."

For Keating, the malaise in US politics is the problem. He says: "The most compelling thing I've seen in years is that in the great burst of American productivity between 1990 and 2008, of that massive increment to national income, none of it went to wages. By contrast, in Australia real wages over the same period had risen by 30 per cent." Keating sees this "as the breakdown of America's national compact", the shattering of its prosperity deal. He says American conservatives abandoned the middle ground represented by Republican presidents such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Bush Sr and became radicals. The derailment, he argues, began under Ronald Reagan and reached its zenith under George W. Bush.

With the goodwill gone the US "is not able to produce a medium-term credible fiscal trajectory or get agreement on rebuilding its infrastructure". This paralysis "is significant not just for the US but for the world."

Keating links the collapse of this "prosperity compact" to the financial crisis. Too many Americans were unable to sustain themselves from wages and salaries.

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Keating's book has an abiding message for Australia: in the transformed world we "will find ourselves increasingly on our own" having to master our own destiny.

The job is to rediscover the productivity and savings agenda of the 1990s. Why did Australia survive the 2008 financial crisis? "Because of the flexibility of the economy," Keating says. "Flexibility which came from the reform of Australia's financial, product and labour markets that began 25 years ago. This has given us one of the most flexible economies in the world - arguably the most flexible. But further structural changes are ahead of us."

He lists them. It is a mix of the new and old Keating agenda: a shift in resources to the extractive industries; a lift in capital inflow driving a high current account deficit putting a premium on savings; recognition that competitiveness will lie "in the creativity of our people as much as it does in our oil and gas"; a renewed emphasis on the value of hi-tech and education; and above all, a cultural change that integrates Australia more into East Asia. "Cultural transformation is the key for us," Keating says. He rates it as more important than economic reform.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/31/2011 10:50:46 AM
To: Katherine Keating [redacted]
Subject: Re: After Words

where are you?

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I trust this email finds you well.

Kindest regards

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Creativity is central to our endeavours

- BY:PAUL KEATING
- From:

The Australian

- October 22, 2011 12:00AM

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FRIEDRICH Schiller, the German philosopher, said: "If man is ever to solve the problems of politics in practice he will have to approach it through the problem of the aesthetic, because it is only through beauty that man makes his way to freedom."

Romantic and idealistic as that view may seem to some, the thought is revelatory of the fact that the greater part of human aspiration has been informed by individual intuition and privately generated passions, more than it has through logic or scientific revelation. The moral basis of our public life, our social organisation, has come from within us - by aspiration and by light, not by some process of logical deduction.

Immanuel Kant referred to our inner impulses as "the higher self", an unconscious search for truth, going deeply into ourselves to establish who we are and what we should be.

Beauty is about the quest for perfection or an ideal, and that quest has to begin with aesthetic imagination - something informed by conscience, carved by duty. Kant called it "the inner command", the ethical construct one creates to guide one from within.

But we need tools to mine good intentions: inspirations, ones which await the creative spark, the source of all enlargement. Creativity is central to our progress and to all human endeavour.

Music provides the clue: unlike other forms of art, music is not representational. Unlike the outcome of the sciences, it was never discoverable or awaiting discovery. A Mahler symphony did not exist before Mahler created it.

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There are signs he has mellowed. While ruthless with his judgments Keating is keen to support a struggling Labor Party while addressing the source of its strategic demise.

"The failure of the Rudd and Gillard administrations is the lack of an over-arching story, the lack of a compelling story," he says when interviewed last week.

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For Keating, the 20th-century leader exerting most influence on the coming century is China's Deng Xiaoping.

"If you look at the other figures of the century, Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Mao, none will leave the legacy in terms of the 21st century that Deng leaves," he says. "He walked away from the ideology of the Communist Party just as effectively as Mikhail Gorbachev walked away from the essence of the Soviet Union."

By 2050 Keating sees a world order with nations in terms of gross domestic product in this hierarchy: (1) China, (2) US, (3) India, (4) Japan, (5) Brazil, (6) Russia, (7) Britain, (8) Germany, (9) France and (10) Italy.

The key, however, is that Japan lags a distant fourth behind the top three.

On America, Keating is dismayed by the pivotal change in its outlook after the end of the Cold War. "When the Berlin Wall came down the Americans cried victory and walked off the field," he says.

"Yet the end of the Cold War offered the chance for America to develop a new world order. It didn't know what to do with its victory. This at the moment the US should have begun exploiting the opportunity of establishing a new world order to embrace open regionalism and the inclusion of great states like China, India and the then loitering Russia.

"Well, frankly, the US didn't have the wisdom. It just wanted to celebrate its peace dividend. The two Clinton terms and the two George W. Bush terms, that's four presidential terms, have cost US mightily."

For Keating, the malaise in US politics is the problem. He says: "The most compelling thing I've seen in years is that in the great burst of American productivity between 1990 and 2008, of that massive increment to national income, none of it went to wages. By contrast, in Australia real wages over the same period had risen by 30 per cent." Keating sees this "as the breakdown of America's national compact", the shattering of its prosperity deal. He says American conservatives abandoned the middle ground represented by Republican presidents such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Bush Sr and became radicals. The derailment, he argues, began under Ronald Reagan and reached its zenith under George W. Bush.

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return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/31/2011 3:08:38 PM
To: Katherine Keating [redacted]
Subject: Re: After Words

Importance: High

Send me your phone number

Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone

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For Keating, the 20th-century leader exerting most influence on the coming century is China's Deng Xiaoping.

"If you look at the other figures of the century, Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Mao, none will leave the legacy in terms of the 21st century that Deng leaves," he says. "He walked away from the ideology of the Communist Party just as effectively as Mikhail Gorbachev walked away from the essence of the Soviet Union."

By 2050 Keating sees a world order with nations in terms of gross domestic product in this hierarchy: (1) China, (2) US, (3) India, (4) Japan, (5) Brazil, (6) Russia, (7) Britain, (8) Germany, (9) France and (10) Italy.

The key, however, is that Japan lags a distant fourth behind the top three.

On America, Keating is dismayed by the pivotal change in its outlook after the end of the Cold War. "When the Berlin Wall came down the Americans cried victory and walked off the field," he says.

"Yet the end of the Cold War offered the chance for America to develop a new world order. It didn't know what to do with its victory. This at the moment the US should have begun exploiting the opportunity of establishing a new world order to embrace open regionalism and the inclusion of great states like China, India and the then loitering Russia.

"Well, frankly, the US didn't have the wisdom. It just wanted to celebrate its peace dividend. The two Clinton terms and the two George W. Bush terms, that's four presidential terms, have cost US mightily."

For Keating, the malaise in US politics is the problem. He says: "The most compelling thing I've seen in years is that in the great burst of American productivity between 1990 and 2008, of that massive increment to national income, none of it went to wages. By contrast, in Australia real wages over the same period had risen by 30 per cent." Keating sees this "as the breakdown of America's national compact", the shattering of its

prosperity deal. He says American conservatives abandoned the middle ground represented by Republican presidents such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Bush Sr and became radicals. The derailment, he argues, began under Ronald Reagan and reached its zenith under George W. Bush.

With the goodwill gone the US "is not able to produce a medium-term credible fiscal trajectory or get agreement on rebuilding its infrastructure". This paralysis "is significant not just for the US but for the world."

Keating links the collapse of this "prosperity compact" to the financial crisis. Too many Americans were unable to sustain themselves from wages and salaries.

How did they get by? They used the easy credit of the banking system, thereby feeding the frenzy that ended in bad loans and meltdown.

Keating's book has an abiding message for Australia: in the transformed world we "will find ourselves increasingly on our own" having to master our own destiny.

The job is to rediscover the productivity and savings agenda of the 1990s. Why did Australia survive the 2008 financial crisis? "Because of the flexibility of the economy," Keating says. "Flexibility which came from the reform of Australia's financial, product and labour markets that began 25 years ago. This has given us one of the most flexible economies in the world - arguably the most flexible. But further structural changes are ahead of us."

He lists them. It is a mix of the new and old Keating agenda: a shift in resources to the extractive industries; a lift in capital inflow driving a high current account deficit putting a premium on savings; recognition that competitiveness will lie "in the creativity of our people as much as it does in our oil and gas"; a renewed emphasis on the value of hi-tech and education; and above all, a cultural change that integrates Australia more into East Asia. "Cultural transformation is the key for us," Keating says. He rates it as more important than economic reform.

"There is less interest now in being part of East Asia than there was in the 1990s," he laments.

Keating wants this idea revived. And he ties it to the republic arguing that to succeed in Asia we must become a republic, a proposition Howard always dismissed.

On China, Keating is an optimist yet alive to the daunting economic challenge China now confronts. "What is happening in China knows no precedence in world economic history," he says. "Never before have 1.25 billion people dragged themselves from poverty at such a pace. China is now half the GDP of the US and incomes have risen by a factor of 10." He argues, however, that the origin of the 2008 financial crisis lies in the global imbalances - China has built huge foreign exchange reserves by exporting too much and America, in turn, is saving too little.

Keating says: "China must shift the basis of growth from net exports and investment to domestic consumption. Will they achieve this? Probably. Will there be strains along the way? There have to be."

Unlike many Australian leaders, Keating is a Europhile. "I think the European project is the most significant project since the second world war," he says. But he sees two huge blunders made in Europe.

From the euro's inception, Keating said it should constitute only Germany, France and the Benelux nations, not the peripheral countries around the Mediterranean, and "Greece should never have been allowed in".

Why were the weaker economies given entry?

Keating says: "It's because president Mitterrand and the French wanted it. They weren't ready to sit beside the German unified state without some friends."

So the eurozone was flawed from the outset, a structure awaiting internal assault: "The problem is we have a single currency without a political union and without a fiscal union."

The second blunder was the 1990s expansion of NATO to the Russian border. For Keating, this was recklessness for which the world may yet pay.

"Sensible policy would have included a place for Russia in the new world order," he says. "But that didn't happen. So Russian liberals were pushed to one side by Russian nationalists. In a sense the US has created Vladimir Putin."

Who is responsible? He points the finger at Bill Clinton.

On the 2008 financial crisis, he says former US Federal Reserve chief Alan Greenspan must bear "a fair amount of responsibility".

"Greenspan is someone I know and like," Keating says. "But if you are so naive to believe that institutions with a balance sheet with assets geared at 45 to one is not an accident waiting to happen then you don't deserve to be chairman of the Federal Reserve."

He praises Obama for seeking a return to the "liberal internationalism" that, in Keating's view, made the US great in the post-World War II age. This is the US he loves but it is still in retreat.

Asked about the nature of leadership, Keating reveals what lies within his heart: "I believe there is a poetic strand to life that doesn't exist in an economics textbook.

"This is not to say that rationalism isn't important and good. It is. But left to itself without the guidance of higher meaning and a higher concept, rationalism can be mean and incomplete. I say if you simply live on rational policy and briefing notes you are not sufficiently informed.

"You need a higher calling or some inner system of belief - here I mention Kant and the inner command that tells you what is true, what is right, what is good. The inner command must be the divining construct in what you do.

"Music has always been a large part of what makes me tick. You listen to a great work . . . you hear the majesty of these works and your head and soul gets caught up in them. When that happens you are in for bigger things and you will strike out to be better.

"When I was listening to music I would always have the pad out to write the ideas down."

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/opinion/paul-keating-explains-as-never-before/story-e6frg74x-1226173493029

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/24/2012 4:58:47 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]]

have one of your cronys ask to see the mortgage to mara lago cash from electricinas union,, (his driver MAtt was the bag man , later made an exec at the public co.) and the 30 milllion dollar loan from the casino to donald trump. backdated,

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/27/2013 4:15:30 AM
To: Mohamed Waheed Hassan[redacted]
Subject: Re:

it is a scam.. what they willl tell you is the only thing they want is a vehicle and a bank acct and that you have no risk in setting it up. if the money doesn't come in , you lose nothing,, afterwards howver they use all the info you provide to try to defraud other people , saying , see , the govt of the maldives is our client and for only 250 k , we can get you a piece of the action. there is a treasury fraud site , at the us treasury web page, . very similar deals.

On Sat, Jan 26, 2013 at 10:49 PM, Mohamed Waheed Hassan <[redacted]> wrote:

Jeffrey,
Need your advice.
My finance minister is telling me that he has an anonymous funds manager who is willing to deposit 4 billion dollars in Maldives and that they are willing to lend a percentage of that in exchange for government promissory notes. The 4 billion would be deposited in the Central Bank. But they want us to set up a special purpose vehicle, a construction company fully owned by the government to receive the loan. Such a company can only be set up under a presidential decree.

I am also told that the funds manager would be charging Maldives upfront a certain percentage of the amount lent.

I don't feel I have enough information on this. I don't know who is this funds manager. They always want the finance minister to meet them in Bangkok or some place outside. Why would anyone want to deposit such a large amount here when we don't have a credit rating and public debt is so high. I feel very uncomfortable about this.

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Best regards
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Sent from President's iPad

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On Fri, Jan 18, 2013 at 5:27 AM,[redacted] <[redacted]> wrote:

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Sent from Windows Mail

From: Jeffrey Epstein
Sent: 18 January, 2013 2:40 AM

To: Mohamed Waheed Hassan
Subject: Re:

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Warm regards,
Waheed

On Jan 9, 2013, at 6:03 PM, Jeffrey Epstein wrote:

how is it shaping up? what are the biggest hurdles.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/29/2013 12:06:15 PM
To: Mohamed Waheed [[redacted]]
Subject: Re:

can we speak today, ?

On Sun, Jan 27, 2013 at 12:33 AM, Mohamed Waheed <[redacted]> wrote:
Thank you. You are my savior. I will do exactly what you said.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 27, 2013, at 9:29 AM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

this from a fraud web site, your mimister will get upset that you dont want to at least try, what do we have to lose , always the pitch. THe following from the fraud site. --The essential fact in all advance-fee fraud operations is that the promised money transfer never happens—because the money does not exist. The perpetrators rely on the fact that, by the time the victim realizes this (often only after being confronted by a third party who has noticed the transactions or conversation and recognized the scam), the victim may have sent thousands of dollars of their own money, and sometimes thousands or millions more that has been borrowed or stolen, to the scammer via an untraceable and/or irreversible means such as wire transfer.[13] Stay away, however if you want to embarass your possible opponent , you might set it up so that he looks like a fool, ask for amemo of why he thinks you should agree , have it include as many detials as possible, so that when you prove its a fraud,, you will make him look very silly as opposed to his saying , you missed an opportunity, anyway,, glad you are well

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/14/2013 8:45:53 PM
To: Larry Summers [redacted]

Tunisia: Tunisia's transition suffered a terrible blow on February 6th when leftist opposition alliance founder and head of the Democratic Patriots party Chokri Belaid was shot dead outside his home in Tunis. The event drew thousands of protestors to the streets, clamoring against the leading Islamist Ennahda party. The events heighten the Islamist-secular divide that has featured in the Tunisian transition and the Arab Spring at large. Tunisian Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali described the event as the "assassination of the Tunisian revolution" and promised to dissolve the Islamist-led government and form a technocrat government aimed at promoting national unity at this divisive time.

Egypt: The second anniversary of the Egyptian revolution on January 25th was marked less by celebration than it was by violence, culminating in a week of unrest that took the lives of more than 50 people. The week was also marked by the imposition of a curfew, state of emergency, and large military deployment in the cities of Suez, Ismailliya, and Port Said. The events reflect the disillusionment of Egyptians, given the lack of progress on both political and economic fronts, while also revealing the state's limitations in restoring order and the rule of law to the streets. That the army—the country's most powerful institution—warned of the "collapse of the state" is a telling and serious message, conveying the institution's growing frustration with the political impasse.

The recent violence has also generated serious economic losses and fuel shortages, and caused yet another delay with the much-needed IMF loan. It will be interesting to see how the recent violence—as well as the general malaise caused by economic woes—affects the Muslim Brotherhood's performance in the upcoming parliamentary election (which is yet to be scheduled). A recent report issued by the Brotherhood's political bureau hinted that the party's popularity has been in decline.

Against this backdrop of political and economic turmoil, the 12th summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) convened in Cairo on February 5th with a number of key players in the region in attendance—among them President Gül of Turkey, Emir Hamad al-Thani of Qatar, and Saudi Crown Prince Salman. The summit aimed to discuss Syria, Mali, and the Palestinian issue. The spotlight, however, was on Mahmoud Ahmadinejad: the first Iranian president to visit Egypt since the 1979 Islamic revolution.

Libya: On January 31st, European Union foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton announced the launch of a two-year civil mission to help secure Libya's 4,000-kilometer border. The announcement was complemented by a surprise visit to Tripoli by David Cameron, who also announced his government's commitment to helping the Libyan military and police with training and support. Furthermore, a meeting in Paris the week of February 11th will bring together a number of countries to discuss security cooperation and the future of the Libyan legal system. These initiatives are a telling manifestation of the urgent need to address security in Libya—especially border security—given the Mali crisis, the recent terrorist incident in Algeria, and concerns about security and stability across North Africa.

Jordan: The results of the Jordanian parliamentary election came as no surprise: pro-government candidates strengthened their hold, though state television reported that the majority of the 150 seats had been won by independents (an indicator that tribal allegiance is becoming a more important factor than party politics). According to official figures, 56 percent of the country's 2.3 million registered voters turned out for the ballot,

with the most obvious absence being that of the Muslim Brotherhood, which protested what it considered to be a biased ballot. It remains unclear who will succeed Prime Minister Abdullah Ensur (who submitted his resignation to King Abdullah on January 29th), although analysts and commentators consider it likely that a number of unexpected appointments will be made in an effort to address the growing malaise. Media reports speculate that there are also plans to set up an official channel for communication with the Muslim Brotherhood. Meanwhile, it appears that King Abdullah is seeking to bolster ties with regional allies, perhaps for both political and economic reasons: the King made visits to Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait from January 29th to February 4th.

Syria: Israeli warplanes are generally believed to have struck a convoy en route to Lebanon on January 30th, although this has not been confirmed by the government of Israel. The convoy was reported to have been carrying sophisticated antiaircraft weaponry to Hezbollah. The attack—carried out on the outskirts of Damascus—was met by a sharp threat of retaliation from both the Syrian and Iranian governments: a significant indicator of the regional reverberations of the Syrian civil war and the general volatility permeating the region.

Despite the lack of progress of an international peace initiative spearheaded by Special Envoy Lakhdar Brahimi, a new plan by Syrian opposition leader Moaz al-Khatib—comprising a dialogue with President al-Assad based on the principle of the regime's departure—offers a glimmer of hope. Upon meeting with al-Khatib on February 3rd, the foreign ministers of Iran and Russia (the closest allies of the al-Assad regime) seem to have agreed to help facilitate this process—an interesting turn of events. The new plan comes as the humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate, although some help is foreseen from the $1.5 billion in pledges made at a donors' conference on January 30th in Kuwait.

Israel: While recent elections kept Netanyahu's Likud party in the lead by winning 31 of 120 seats in the Knesset, the new centrist party Yesh Atid's ability to win 19 seats under the leadership of Yair Lapid garnered all the attention. The results generated media debate about the possibility of a shift in Israeli policy vis-à-vis the Palestinians. In fact, the election campaign and its results were centered on domestic and socioeconomic issues, and internal reform. Furthermore, Yesh Atid is known to maintain an ambiguous stance on the peace process.

On January 29th, Israel became the first country to boycott a United Nations review of its human rights practices, despite the United States' and other political players' advice to participate. This is a breach of an established practice of cooperation and thus represents precedence for noncooperation by other states. It also leaves the question of human rights in occupied Palestinian territories outside the jurisdiction of the international community. It remains unclear, however, whether the newly elected government will make a pragmatic effort to reengage with the UN review effort.

Bahrain: On January 21st King Hamad al-Khalifa issued a decree endorsing a renewed national dialogue. Subsequently, on February 4th, Minister of Justice Khalid bin Ali al-Khalifa announced that the national dialogue would resume on February 10th. Press reports indicate willingness by the opposition's to participate in the dialogue.

Iran: President Ahmadinejad was warmly welcomed by President Morsi upon arrival in Cairo on February 5th and, interestingly, by the Sunni leadership of Al-Azhar. The Iranian leader reciprocated by offering to provide Egypt with a "big credit line" to help its lagging economy, a telling indication of Tehran's desire for a rapprochement. The reaction on the Egyptian street, however, was generally negative, revealing thedisconnect between a dominant Muslim Brotherhood political elite reaching out to an Islamist power and a critical faction of Egyptian society hostile to this shift. The meeting is not necessarily an indicator that bilateral ties will improve,

given Egypt's much-savored relationship with other Gulf countries (not to mention the United States). It does represent a re-balancing of relationships in a changing Middle East nonetheless.

A new round of talks between Iran and the P5+1 (five permanent members of the Security Council plus Germany) has now been scheduled to take place on February 26th following weeks of conflicting reports and what seemed to be a diplomatic stalemate. This represents the first effort at talks at the political directors' level since the Moscow meeting in June of 2012. While the talks are restarting just over a month after the start of US President Obama's second term, Iran appears to have moved into its political season: tensions between President Ahmadinejad and the speaker of the Majlis, Larjani, have gone public with mutual recriminations about corrupt family members and associates.

Saudi Arabia: Former intelligence chief Prince Muqrin bin Abdulaziz was appointed second deputy prime minister of Saudi Arabia on February 2nd, a role traditionally associated with the incumbent being second in line to become king. Prince Muqrin is the youngest son of the kingdom's founder.

Yemen: A UN Security Council delegation visited Yemen on January 27th in a show of support to President Hadi and Yemen's political transition. The visit reflects the Security Council's interest in seeing Yemen move forward with the National Dialogue Conference. During the visit there were large demonstrations, as thousands demanded a fair and just approach in dealing with former president Ali Abdullah Saleh, who has received immunity under the Gulf Cooperation Council initiative.

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Article 1.

Washington Post

Obama to make first trip to Israel, part of a potential 'new beginning' with region

Scott Wilson

President Obama will travel to Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories next month to make an early second-term push for peace negotiations between two divided governments and to assess the broader political developments remaking the Middle East.

It will be Obama's first trip as president to Israel, where suspicions run high in the aftermath of his unsuccessful early efforts at Middle East peacemaking.

The choice of destination — one that Obama avoided in his first term — suggests a revival of his ambitions abroad after a year of virtual dormancy on foreign affairs. The timing also points to a willingness on his part to quickly reengage a politically volatile foreign-

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policy issue just months after winning his second term.

But the visit will highlight how much the region has changed since he last visited the Middle East in his first year in office, with the rise of Islamist governments and the widening repercussions of civil revolt.

After Obama helped topple Moammar Gaddafi in Libya in 2011, many in the region wondered when he would emerge again to help shape the course of the tumultuous Arab Spring, which has replaced a pair of U.S.-allied dictatorships with elected Islamist governments.

Within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, much has changed since the direct peace talks Obama inaugurated in September 2010 collapsed within weeks. Israel's recent battle with the armed Hamas movement in the Gaza Strip left many predicting a wider fight in the future, as divisions deepened within the Palestinian and Israeli electorates over whether talks or war would resolve the conflict.

"To make it a substantive trip that is more than a positive photo-op would require setting up a specific framework for an agreement and setting a tight deadline to achieve it," said Jeremy Ben-Ami, the executive director of J Street, a nonprofit group that advocates the

creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

White House officials would not provide a date for Obama's trip, which he will squeeze into the tight schedule he is building around a busy domestic agenda that includes immigration, guns and the economy.

But Israeli media reported that Obama is scheduled to arrive March 20 as part of a trip that will include a stop in Jordan, where the civil war in next-door Syria and its growing refugee crisis is presenting a major challenge to King Abdullah II, a U.S. ally .

Obama began his first term by making a strong push for peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians, believing the conflict fueled radicalism in the region in general and toward the United States in particular, given its historical support for the Jewish state.

In contrast to predecessor George W. Bush, Obama wanted to demonstrate to Arab governments that the United States would make demands of Israel in pursuit of a regional peace agreement.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu made little secret of his preference for Republican Mitt Romney in last year's U.S. presidential campaign. Netanyahu and Obama have at times disagreed bitterly over issues relating to

the Palestinians, including Israel's continued settlement construction in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Israel's military occupied those territories, along with Gaza, in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Palestinians view them as the key territorial elements of their future state.

In a June 2009 address in Cairo, a speech that asked for a "new beginning" with the Islamic world, Obama said: "The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements." He also did not stop in Israel on that trip, instead visiting Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Germany, where he emphasized the horror of the Holocaust and the moral imperative of defending Israel. Romney, among others, made the omission a campaign issue.

But on regional security issues, Obama and Netanyahu have deepened cooperation amid rising U.S. military aid to Israel. Obama has agreed with Netanyahu that Iran must not be allowed to use its uranium-enrichment program to develop a nuclear weapon, an issue that the two will discuss during Obama's visit.

Netanyahu's Likud party emerged from elections last month as the largest bloc in Israel's parliament, meaning that he will serve another term as prime minister. But

a surprisingly strong showing by a new centrist party is likely to put more pressure on him to pursue talks.

"It was a mistake for Obama not to go in the first term at a time when it could have affected Israeli public opinion of him, and now, it has hardened against him to a point that I don't believe it can," said Elliott Abrams, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations who served as a senior Middle East adviser to Bush.

Obama's visit will coincide with growing concern in the region that the two-state solution favored by him is in peril, as Israeli settlement construction continues and as the Islamist Hamas gains clout within the once-secular Palestinian nationalist movement. Hamas emerged stronger politically from the recent clash with Israel and continues to reject the Jewish state's right to exist.

Hamas and its secular rival Fatah are due to meet Saturday as part of a reconciliation process. If an agreement is reached and Hamas joins the Palestinian Authority, Obama will be faced with an awkward decision on whether to meet with a government that includes members of a U.S.-designated terrorist movement.

As he begins again in the region, Obama will be advised by new Secretary of State John F. Kerry. He has also named former

senator Chuck Hagel as defense secretary, a nomination still in question after an unsteady performance by the candidate before the Senate Armed Services Committee last week that focused in part on his past criticism of Israel.

"This trip is a signal that the president has an interest, not just in the peace issue, but also in the broader concerns that Israel is facing," said Dennis Ross, a senior Middle East adviser to Obama during his first term who is at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "In some ways, it will be the president traveling to Israel to ask for a new beginning."

Article 2.

Foreign Policy

Saeb Erekat - The Peace Processor

An interview by Aaron David Miller

February 5, 2013 -- Other than Mahmoud Abbas, Saeb Erekat could be the most recognizable Palestinian on the planet. The chief Palestinian negotiator is certainly among the most passionate in promoting the cause. And nobody on the

Palestinian side knows the substance of the issues or the negotiating history better.

I first met Erekat in the late 1980s, while working on the Palestinian issue for then Secretary of State George Shultz. Back then, the U.S.-educated diplomat was already showing the brashness and outspokenness that would make him one of the most memorable -- if exasperating -- of the Palestinians with whom we dealt.

He annoyed then Secretary of State James Baker by wearing his kaffiyeh around his shoulders at the opening of the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991. And over the years, he continued to annoy the Israelis too with his fiery performances on CNN -- though to this day, key Israeli negotiators, such as Isaac Molho, continue to praise his pragmatism at the bargaining table.

It was Erekat's academic bent, analytical chops, and capacity to write in English that would make him so indispensable to the only Palestinian who really counted in those days -- Yasir Arafat. Erekat was a unique figure -- neither a fighter (no nom de guerre for him), nor a PLO insider, nor an organization man from Tunis. Rather, he was a West Banker from Jericho, and he succeeded in maintaining his relevance in a Palestinian

political scene dominated not by fellow academics, but by hard men defined by struggle and intrigue. During the heady days of the peace process, he became a key point of contact for the Americans, the Israelis, the Arabs, and much of the rest of the international community.

I came to know Erekat not only as a negotiator, but as a person. He sent his kids to Seeds of Peace, a conflict resolution and coexistence organization that I ran briefly after leaving the State Department, and my daughter befriended his and stayed with the Erekats in Jericho. Saeb and I have yelled at each other, defended our respective positions, laughed, and mourned opportunities that were never adequately explored. But through it all, what he said about himself was true: He wasn't as pro-Palestinian or pro-Israeli as much as he was pro-peace.

That peace has proven elusive to this day. But with all our differences -- and there are many -- I believe Erekat believes in its possibility. Who else would list as an "objective" on his resume: "Solve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict based on a two state negotiated solution through diplomatic offices"?

If, or perhaps when, another effort to negotiate a deal is made, one thing is clear -- Erekat will be in the middle of it. Last week, he agreed to answer my

questions on the past and future of the Israeli-Palestinian problem.

FP: What were your best and worst moments in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, and what was the greatest missed opportunity?

Saeb Erekat: Though I was not the chief negotiator at that moment, the connection between [then Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin and President Arafat made everyone around them, including myself, feel that peace was possible. There was significant progress in all tracks until Rabin's assassination by an Israeli terrorist -- after he was killed, no Israeli leader had the vision to understand that the window of opportunity for a two-state solution would close as fast as they continued their colonization policies.

The missed opportunity has definitely been Israel throwing away the Arab Peace Initiative, which offers normalization of relations of 57 countries with Israel in exchange for Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 border. They threw it away by bombing Gaza, by intensifying collective punishments, and by increasing settlement construction all over the occupied West Bank, particularly in and around Occupied East Jerusalem.

FP: 2013 is the 20th anniversary of the Oslo negotiations. What was Oslo's greatest success, and its greatest failure?

SE: The fact that, two decades after Oslo, we are still a nation under occupation shows that Israeli governments did derail it. The interim accords were not supposed to last for 20 years but only five. After that, we were going to enjoy freedom and sovereignty.

But Israel increased its settlement expansion. In fact, within 20 years, the number of settlers almost tripled. The institution-building efforts led by the Palestinian government have been completely undermined by the lack of freedom. This situation cannot continue. Oslo succeeded in bringing back 250,000 Palestinians from the diaspora and building the capacity for our state. The international community failed though, by granting Israel an unprecedented culture of impunity that allowed them to use negotiations as a means to continue rather than stop colonization.

FP: What is the most important thing Israelis don't understand about Palestinians?

SE: That we are not going anywhere. As simple as that. We are not going to disappear just because their government builds an annexation wall around us.

They should close their eyes and imagine their state within 10 years time. What do they see? If they continue their policies, they are going to officially adopt the form of an apartheid regime, which I think is not what many Israelis want.

FP: What is the most important thing Palestinians have learned about Israelis?

SE: That Israelis will not take back the ships that brought them here to leave somewhere else. We got to understand that we have to live side by side. The rules of engagement, though, cannot be those of apartheid, but those of freedom.

FP: What do you expect from the next Israeli government on the peace process?

SE: I don't think there is room for optimism, but our position hasn't changed. We don't see any other solution than a two-state solution. Any Israeli government that recognizes this fact and respects what previous governments have agreed upon should become a partner for peace.

FP: Is Hamas-Fatah unity possible, and what would the impact be on the future of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations?

SE: We expect to have progress in the near future, with Hamas allowing the Central Elections Commission to register new voters in Gaza. I believe there is political agreement -- in fact, there is a signed agreement. We expect to have

elections as soon as possible, which is the right way to solve our differences: Let our people decide, those in Palestine as well as our people in the Diaspora.

Having said so, Hamas has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, including its mandate to negotiate a final status agreement with Israel. Once that is achieved, we expect to hold a national referendum.

FP: How would you describe Egypt's role in the peace process now? What do you expect from President Barack Obama's administration with regards to the peace process?

SE: Egypt has played a central role, and continues to do so. We trust that Egypt, under President Mohamed Morsy's leadership, will continue to play a strong role because Palestine and Egypt have a common interest in achieving peace.

President Obama had stated that he has a personal commitment to bring peace to the Middle East. We, the Egyptians, and the rest of the Arab world tell him that we are ready for peace. We have the Arab Peace Initiative. This goes in line with the stated U.S. national interest. Washington's failure to explicitly say that Israel is to blame for choosing

settlements over peace has contributed to Israel's culture of impunity.

FP: Can America be an effective broker in negotiations?

SE: If the U.S. decides to be an honest broker, it could not only be effective but in fact could bring real peace to the region, a just and lasting one. The U.S. has a moral obligation toward the Palestinian people, who have been under occupation and living in exile for decades.

FP: Is a two state solution still possible?

SE: Yes, but only if there is a political will. So far, Israel's will is about colonization, and the international community has failed to put an end to decades of double standards by treating Israel as a state above the law. We don't see any other solution than a two-state solution, though Israel is taking us to a one-state reality.

Aaron David Miller is a distinguished scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Article 3.

The Daily Beast

The Mixed Legacy Of Shimon Peres

Daniel Gavron

Feb 4, 2013 -- Now that he has finished his consultations with the country's political parties and charged Benjamin Netanyahu with forming a new coalition, Israel's respected President, Shimon Peres, is once again very much in the news. In his speech inviting Netanyahu to form the next government, the President spoke forcefully about peace and even seemed to influence Bibi to mention peace, a word he never used in his election campaign. Peres has rightly earned respect for this from many quarters, but now, as the coalition is being formed, it might be a good time to examine one aspect of Israel's political culture: the lack of respect for the task of a parliamentary opposition. Peres is at least partly to blame for this, as he almost always preferred to join various administrations—even as a junior partner—rather than lead the opposition, ofen citing "our grave situation" and "national responsibility." Now is surely a better time to criticize Peres than in June, when the world (maybe even including President Barack Obama) will be coming here to celebrate his 90th birthday. Then, surely, everyone will be paying deserved tribute to the wisdom of this elder statesman and prophet of peace, and it would be a shame to spoil the

party. So let's clear the air right now, well before the festivities. Before we get to the matter of coalition politics, which is very much on our minds right now as Netanyahu struggles to put together a government, let us consider the other negative part of the Peres legacy: his stint as Defense Minister under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin from 1974 to 1977. Today Peres is widely respected as the architect of the Oslo Accord of 1993, achieved while he was Foreign Minister. It was the first political move toward a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, and Peres deserves huge credit for securing the agreement. However, two decades earlier, as Defense Minister, he supported the Jewish settlement project in the newly-conquered Palestinian territories, both overtly and covertly. Not for nothing did Rabin label Peres in his memoirs as "an indefatigable intriguer." In 1975, while Rabin was doing his utmost to prevent the settlement of Elon Moreh, near Nablus, Peres continuously sabotaged his efforts. After no less than eight settlement attempts, which were ruled illegal by Israel's Supreme Court, a "compromise" was reached, and Elon Moreh was established five kilometers to the east of the original site. Moreover, during the furor over Elon Moreh, Defense Minister Peres quietly facilitated the creation of Ofra, near Ramallah.

These two settlements, which have become flagships of the settlement movement, were the start of Jewish colonization in Samaria, the northern part of the West Bank. The previous year, as a young reporter, I interviewed Peres, after he and his political ally Moshe Dayan had refused "on principle" to join the government of Golda Meir. "If a single child can learn that politics is not just intrigues," Peres told me, "I will be satisfied that we have done our bit." Just one week later, when he and Dayan had reversed their position for no discernable reason, and were seated snugly around the cabinet table, I asked Peres what he had to say to the "single child." His aides sniggered, but Peres didn't bat an eyelid: "Just what my mentor, David Ben-Gurion (Israel's first Prime Minister) told me: when the security of Israel is laid on one side of the scales, and everything else on the other side, security tips the balance." Peres subsequently used that self-same argument to join every government that would have him. The late Menachem Begin lost nine elections before finally becoming Israel's Prime Minister in 1977. He served as a pugnacious and dedicated leader of the opposition. Peres almost never headed the opposition, always preferring a ministerial appointment, once even designing a grotesque system of

"rotation" with Yitzhak Shamir, so that he could be in the government. He proposed the ideal of "national unity," and greatly devalued the democratic concept of parliamentary opposition. Former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni ruined her reputation when she refused to join Netanyahu in his last government. While it is quite true that Livni was an ineffective opposition leader, it is the very fact of her refusal to join the administration and "influence it from within" that has provoked most of the criticism by Israeli political commentators. Similar criticism is currently being leveled at Labor Party leader Shelly Yachimovich for stating clearly that she would not join Netanyahu's next government, but would serve as leader of the opposition. There are certainly many reasons to criticize Yachimovich, but not her eminently democratic decision to lead the parliamentary opposition. Very few of our political commentators have ever expressed respect or even understanding for the concept of opposition. The most popular political idea in Israel today is national unity—better still, a National Unity Government: "We should all rally round the flag and support our government in these critical times." This position, widely espoused, echoes what Peres has said repeatedly over the years.

So, although the Peres vision of peace is a positive legacy, he has also taught us less helpful lessons. The settlements are a supremely negative inheritance, but I would argue that the anti-democratic rejection of the concept of a parliamentary opposition is an even more harmful bequest handed down to us by President Shimon Peres.

Daniel Gavron, who lives in Israel, is a former journalist and the author of nine books, the most recent of which is Holy Land Mosaic, stories of cooperation and coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).

Article 4.

NYT

India vs. China vs. Egypt

Thomas L. Friedman

February 5, 2013 -- New Delhi -- It's hard to escape a visit to India without someone asking you to compare it to China. This visit was no exception, but I think it's more revealing to widen the aperture and compare India, China and Egypt. India has a weak central government but a really strong civil society, bubbling with elections and

associations at every level. China has a muscular central government but a weak civil society, yet one that is clearly straining to express itself more. Egypt, alas, has a weak government and a very weak civil society, one that was suppressed for 50 years, denied real elections and, therefore, is easy prey to have its revolution diverted by the one group that could organize, the Muslim Brotherhood, in the one free space, the mosque. But there is one thing all three have in common: gigantic youth bulges under the age of 30, increasingly connected by technology but very unevenly educated.

My view: Of these three, the one that will thrive the most in the 21st century will be the one that is most successful at converting its youth bulge into a "demographic dividend" that keeps paying off every decade, as opposed to a "demographic bomb" that keeps going off every decade. That will be the society that provides more of its youth with the education, jobs and voice they seek to realize their full potential.

This race is about "who can enable and inspire more of its youth to help build broad societal prosperity," argues Dov Seidman, the author of "How" and C.E.O. of LRN, which has an operating center in India. "And that's all about leaders, parents and teachers creating

environments where young people can be on a quest, not just for a job, but for a career — for a better life that doesn't just surpass but far surpasses their parents." Countries that fail to do that will have a youth bulge that is not only unemployed, but unemployable, he argued. "They will be disconnected in a connected world, despairing as they watch others build and realize their potential and curiosity."

If your country has either a strong government or a strong civil society, it has the ability to rise to this challenge. If it has neither, it will have real problems, which is why Egypt is struggling. China leads in providing its youth bulge with education, infrastructure and jobs, but lags in unleashing freedom and curiosity. India is the most intriguing case — if it can get its governance and corruption under control. The quest for upward mobility here, especially among women and girls, is palpable. I took part in the graduation ceremony for The Energy and Resources Institute last week. Of 12 awards for the top students, 11 went to women.

"India today has 560 million young people under the age of 25 and 225 million between the ages of 10 and 19," explained Shashi Tharoor, India's minister of state for human resource development. "So for the next 40 years we should have a youthful working-age

population" at a time when China and the broad industrialized world is aging. According to Tharoor, the average age in China today is around 38, whereas in India it's around 28. In 20 years, that gap will be much larger. So this could be a huge demographic dividend — "provided that we can educate our youth — offering vocational training to some and university to others to equip them to take advantage of what the 21st-century global economy offers," said Tharoor. "If we get it right, India becomes the workhorse of the world. If we get it wrong, there is nothing worse than unemployable, frustrated" youth.

Indeed, some of India's disaffected youth are turning to Maoism in rural areas. "We have Maoists among our tribal populations, who have not benefited from the opportunities of modern India," Tharoor said. There have been violent Maoist incidents in 165 of India's 625 districts in recent years, as Maoists tap into all those left out of the "Indian dream." So there is now a huge push here to lure poor kids into school. India runs the world's biggest midday lunch program, serving 250 million free school lunches each day. It's also doubled its number of Indian Institutes of Technology, from eight to 16, and is planning 14 new universities for innovation and research.

But this will all be for naught without better governance, argues Gurcharan Das, the former C.E.O. of Procter & Gamble India, whose latest book is "India Grows at Night: A Liberal Case for a Strong State." "The aspirational India has no one to vote for, because no one is talking the language of public goods. Why should it take us 15 years to get justice in the courts or 12 years to build a road? The gap between [youth] aspirations and government performance is huge. My thesis is that India has risen despite the state. It is a story of public failure and private success."

That is what Das means by India grows at night, when government sleeps. "But India must learn to grow during the day," he said. "If India fixes its governance before China fixes its politics that is who will win. ... You need a strong state and a strong society, so the society can hold the state accountable. India will only get a strong state when the best of society join the government, and China will only get a strong society when the best Mandarins go into the private sector."

Article 5.

Foreign Policy

Don't be too sure there won't be another U.S. war in the Middle East

Richard L. Russell

February 5, 2013 -- Shortly before he left office in Feb. 2011, Defense Secretary Robert Gates told West Point cadets that "in my opinion, any future defense secretary who advised the president to again send a big American land army into Asia or into the Middle East or Africa should ‘have his head examined,' as General MacArthur so delicately put it." The remark no doubt reflected Sec. Gates's fatigue and frustration from the enormous intellectual and emotional burdens associated with overseeing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

One suspects, however, that in a more reflective moment, Gates would have acknowledged that "never say never" is a wise rule of thumb in planning for military contingencies, especially in the region that makes up Central Command's area-of-responsibility. Few, for example, predicted the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Gates himself -- who was a senior CIA official during the covert war supporting the Afghan resistance -- surely did not anticipate then that the United

States would have to return to Afghanistan two decades later to oust a Taliban regime that was harboring terrorists. Before 1990, moreover, no one predicted that Iraq, having just ended a bitter eight-year war with Iran, would swing its battered forces south to invade Kuwait.

So if it's conventional wisdom that the United States will not, or should not, intervene militarily in the Middle East or South Asia after it draws down forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, it's also likely dead wrong. What is true, however, is that political and military trajectories in the Middle East and South Asia are likely to increasingly challenge U.S. contingency access in the coming decade. The ability for the United States to surge large-scale forces into the region, as it did in the 1990 and 2003 wars against Iraq, will grow increasingly circumscribed. The United States will have to adapt to this new strategic landscape by developing more nimble, highly-mobile, stealthy, and networked forces, and by abandoning the traditional practice of slowly and steadily building up conventional forces at regional logistic hubs prior to launching war.

* * *

Perhaps the most significant factor that portends against further intervention in

the Middle East and South Asia is increased political resistance -- and outright opposition -- from the countries in the region. That resistance is likely to come from the new regimes emerging from the Arab uprisings, as well as a number of Gulf monarchies.

Indeed, the political trends in the region are unlikely to conform to the rosy predictions of democratic peace theorists, whose musings have implicitly informed the security policies of both Republican and Democratic administrations for decades. Old authoritarian regimes seem to be passing the way of the dodo bird, but the new regimes taking shape are heavily influenced by militant Islamic ideology that will make them less likely to engage in security or military cooperation with the United States.

Democracy optimists argue that these ideological regimes, once entrenched in power, will have to moderate their zeal in order to govern. Pragmatism will ultimately trump ideology. That line of reasoning, however, is based on the assumption that the policy decisions of such regimes can be explained by rational choice economic theory. In other words, if they want to attract international capital and participate in the world economy, they are going to have to break with their ideological affinities. But that reasoning ignores a hard fact of international

politics: that time and again, political and ideological prerogatives trump economic rationality. It made little economic sense, for example, for Pakistan to pursue a nuclear weapons program in the 1970s, just as it makes little economic sense for Iran to do so today. Clearly, both Pakistan and Iran made major policy decisions based on political-military priorities rather than economic calculations.

As for the surviving monarchies in the Middle East, they too will likely be less accommodating to American military forces than they have been in the past. To be sure, much of the Arab support for past American military operations -- like both Iraq wars -- was hidden from the public eye. Arab states often loudly and publicly denounced "unilateral American" military action in the region at the same time as they supported it in backroom dealings, quietly authorizing facilities support and air, land, and sea access.

But if Arab Gulf states were quietly supportive in the past, their opposition to American military force is likely to grow in the future. They read the aftermath of the Arab uprisings much differently than did American and European policymakers. The Gulf monarchies were shocked that the United States "abandoned" Egyptian President Hosni

Mubarak in his time of need in early 2011. Their leaders expected the United States to push for Mubarak and the Egyptian military to crack down on public protests in Cairo. After all, American policymakers during the Carter administration had at least given this policy option consideration during the Iranian revolution in 1979.

Already, several Gulf states have begun to translate their displeasure into policy independence from Washington. In 2011, for example, a coalition of Gulf states led by Saudi Arabia intervened in Bahrain to quell domestic unrest in the island country. They did so under the banner of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), which for years had been a feckless military force. Largely unnoticed in Western commentary was that the GCC, for the first time in its history, mounted a relatively effective military intervention.

Bahrain today is for all intents and purposes a province of Saudi Arabia, even if it is not polite to say so in diplomatic circles. Since the Iranian revolution, Bahrain -- like the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, and Qatar -- has pursued close ties with the United States, in significant measure to counterbalance Iran and Saudi Arabia. With Washington at their back, they were able to stake out security policies that were at least nominally independent from

Saudi Arabia. When Saudi Arabia wanted American forces removed from the kingdom, for example, Qatar was eager to compensate by hosting a more robust American command presence in the region.

The Arab uprisings and subsequent GCC intervention in Bahrain have turned the tables, making Saudi security backing a necessity for the smaller Gulf monarchies. From their perspective, American forces are clearly more capable than Saudi forces, but given the alignment of their interests, Riyadh is a more reliable security partner. Gulf leaders and military commanders in the coming decade will be focused on how to avoid following in Mubarak's footsteps. Part of minimizing that risk will involve decreasing security dependency on the United States. Gulf leaders have to worry that if push comes to shove, the Americans will throw them under a bus just like they did to Mubarak.

* * *

If the political dynamics in the Middle East and South Asia do not favor further American military intervention in the future, neither do the emerging military trends. The proliferation of supersonic cruise missiles and mines in the region will make for nasty forced entries into

narrow maritime confines like the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf.

But the likely proliferation of nuclear weapons -- and ballistic missile delivery systems -- will pose even more formidable challenges to conventional military surges in the region. In the future, the United States will not be able to take for granted unchallenged surges of naval, air, and ground forces into regional theaters via logistics hubs. These hubs -- like the American naval presence in Bahrain -- are large, readily identifiable, and will be increasingly vulnerable to future targeting by nuclear weaponry.

Iran's nuclear weapons, assuming it gets them, will pose a direct threat to American military surge capabilities. Although American policymakers and military commanders might feel confident that they could surge forces into the Gulf despite Iranian nuclear threats because of the American nuclear deterrent, Gulf security partners might be more nervous and less willing to cooperate. As a result, they might not grant access to U.S. air, naval, and ground forces out of fear of angering Iran.

American observers who doubt that Gulf states would make such calculations should recall how Kuwait responded in

the lead-up to Iraq's invasion in 1990. When faced with a build-up of Iraqi forces along its border, Kuwait decided not to mobilize its military out of fear that the move would provoke Saddam Hussein. The incentives for Gulf states to make similar strategic calculations in the future will be greater when Iran has an inventory of nuclear weapons to match its growing ballistic missile capabilities.

The Gulf states, moreover, will likely reason that the U.S. capability to threaten or use force against a nuclear Iran will be significantly diminished. Even without nuclear weapons, Gulf states have seen, in their view, a long history of American reluctance to threaten or use force against Iran. For example, the United States took no direct military action against Iran after it aided and abetted Hezbollah bombings against Americans in Lebanon in the 1980s, after Iran supported the bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia in 1996, or even after Iran supported the deadly campaign of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) against U.S. troops in Iraq. Gulf states will no doubt judge that if the United States was unable and unwilling to attack Tehran under these circumstances, then it is certainly not going to attack Iran in the future, when it will be able to retaliate with nuclear weapons.

American policymakers may counter that Iran would never be foolish enough to threaten or use nuclear weapons against the United States, given its robust nuclear deterrence posture. But the threat or use of nuclear weapons might not look so foolish from Iran's perspective. One of the great strategic lessons drawn from the long history of conflict in the Middle East is this: Do not go to war without nuclear weapons, as Saddam Hussein did when he invaded Kuwait. The corollary is: Do not allow the United States to methodically build-up forces in the Gulf prior to invading, as Saddam did both in the run-up to the 1991 re-conquest of Kuwait and in 2003, before the drive to topple the regime in Baghdad.

Drawing upon these lessons, Iran will likely do everything in its power to deny the United States the ability to surge conventional forces into the region -- and that might include threatening to target U.S. forces with nuclear weapons. Iran might accept the risk that preemptive use of nuclear weapons could bring on American nuclear retaliation, because failure to do so would mean certain destruction for the regime. The United States would be able to build-up conventional forces in the region and oust Iran's leaders just as it did in Baghdad.

This line of strategic reasoning runs counter to conventional wisdom in the

West, but we actually know little or nothing about what Iranian decision-makers think about nuclear weapons or deterrence theory. Since the Iranian revolution in 1979, opportunities for the exchange of professional views between Western and Iranian scholars, policymakers, and military leaders on these critically important issues have been extremely limited. Therefore, it's not unreasonable to assume that the Iranians, like American policymakers in the early stages of developing their nuclear triad doctrine, will think of nuclear weapons as merely "big artillery." Unfortunately, the United States and its security partners lack formal and informal exchanges with the Iranians akin to the Cold War discussions and arms control negotiations between the Americans and Soviets, which allowed both parties to develop mutual understandings of the other's perception of nuclear weapons. These understandings were essential for crisis management in the Cold War strategic relationship after the Cuban missile crisis.

Meanwhile, the Gulf states, led by Saudi Arabia, are likely to look for their own nuclear deterrents. Much like France wanted its own nuclear force de frappe during the Cold War, the Gulf states will want their own nuclear weapons to deter Iran. Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf

states will worry that the United States would be deterred from coming to their defense in future regional crises by Iran's nuclear weapons.

Saudi Arabia and other Arab states are likely to see nuclear weapons as a quick fix for all of their security woes. Although they have been on a shopping spree in the past decade, buying expensive and sophisticated Western military technology, they have had a tough time absorbing the new technology and fully utilizing and integrating weapons systems. To be sure, in a rough net assessment, Saudi Arabia and its allies in the Gulf have significantly greater conventional capabilities than Iran. But if Iran goes nuclear, they will want to follow suit.

* * *

Americans may be weary of conflict in the Middle East and South Asia, but strategic prudence demands that we contemplate future military interventions in the Central Command theater. A scan of the horizon reveals that both political and military trends in the region pose formidable obstacles to conventional force surges into the region.

But there is another wrinkle in this story that U.S. policymakers must contend with as they plan for the future. As Gulf monarchies seek to reduce their

dependence on American military power, they will increasingly look to China for security assurances. China does not have a political agenda devoted to promoting democratization, and it maintains political and diplomatic ties with both Arab states and Iran. China's military activity in the region is modest but increasing, as evidenced by its recent peacekeeping dispatches to the region and naval port visits in the Gulf. Beijing is likely to send more naval forces to the Gulf to increase its presence there and enhance its ability to protect the sea lanes which bring oil to China's thirsty economy. China is keenly aware that the United States has naval supremacy in the Gulf, but will be working to erode that strategic edge in the future.

Faced with these realities, there is a need for new thinking and innovative conceptualizations of surges into Centcom's area of responsibility. Theater campaign planners will have to think about contingencies in which the United States cannot slowly and methodically build up forces in the region and then kick off campaigns after most troops, arms, and equipment are in place. Future U.S. force build-ups in the region will be far too vulnerable to preemptive nuclear strikes. As a result, planners will have to devise campaign plans in which the insertion of U.S. military forces begins

with an immediate rolling and flowing start. The United States will have to work from smaller troop footprints and be prepared to start fighting even as follow-on-forces are on the way. Ideally, these forces would flow from multiple staging positions to reduce vulnerability to nuclear attack. The politics of the region, however, will work against securing a multitude of staging areas from which to deploy.

The region under the purview of Centcom has always been riddled with political violence that has posed formidable challenges to military operations. But in plotting a course over the horizon, the political and military obstacles for American military surges into the region are poised to grow even larger. As a result, theater contingency planners will have fewer good options for projecting American military power into the region -- and they'll have to do more with the bad and the ugly.

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Article 6.

The Diplomat

Getting to the Endgame With Iran

Robert Dreyfuss

February 6, 2013 -- Why did it take so long to secure a date for talks between Iran and the P5+1?

After all, in the weeks before the presidential election in November, it was reported that the United States and Iran had already tactically agreed to convene private, one-on-one talks. And since then the United States, the European powers, Russia, and China, all sought to arrange another round of negotiations, first in December and then in January. It now appears that Iran, which is about to enter its presidential election season, has finally agreed to what will be the first round of negotiations with the P5+1 since the last round in Moscow seven months ago. On Tuesday, Tehran announced that it will join talks on February 26 in Kazakhstan.

The negotiations will be a serious test for the Obama administration and for John Kerry, the new secretary of state. Previous rounds have all faltered because neither side was willing to make

concessions to the other, and so far there is little sign that the United States and the P5+1 have improved their offer to Iran very much. As the talks were announced, the Washington Post reported: "The P5+1 powers have made only mild revisions to a proposal that Iran flatly rejected last June." Until now, the United States has been unwilling to acknowledge Iran's right to enrich uranium on its own soil and to suggest that some economic sanctions might be lifted as part of a deal, and Iran has refused to agree even to a limited deal called "stop, ship, and shut" – involving the suspension of its enrichment to 20 percent purity, shipping its existing stockpiles of 20% uranium to a third country for processing, and shutting down its underground facility at Fordo, near Qom – without an agreement to lift sanctions.

After the reelection of Barack Obama in November, there were great hopes that the president would have greater political freedom of offer concessions to Iran. Yet, publicly at least, the White House isn't signaling that it is ready to make a more generous offer to Iran, and in fact Obama in January signed into law yet another round of draconian economic sanctions.

Perhaps as a result, Iran allegedly dragged its feet on setting a date for talks. Despite prodding from the P5+1 – including urgent efforts by Russia — in

January Iran reportedly went silent about talks. Russia, increasingly frustrated by the inability of Tehran and the West to negotiate seriously, vented its frustration. “Some of our partners in the six powers and the Iranian side cannot come to an agreement about where to meet," Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov told a news conference. "We are ready to meet at any location as soon as possible. We believe the essence of our talks is far more important (than the site), and we hope that common sense will prevail and we will stop behaving like little children.”

According to analysts in Washington, reinforced by comments from Iran itself, a big reason for Tehran’s recalcitrance is that Iran wants to prove to the United States that its vaunted sanctions regime will not force Iran to make unilateral concessions at the bargaining table. In addition, Iran is concerned that it won’t get much in return in talks with the West, and that it will be asked to make unilateral concessions on uranium enrichment without getting sanctions relief in return. Combined with Iranian internal divisions, as its own presidential election season gets underway, that could mean that for the next six months or so Ayatollah Ali Khamenei simply won’t be ready to talk seriously, despite scheduling the Kazakhstan round.

Others suspect that Iran is waiting to see how President Obama's new national security team – with Kerry as secretary of state, Chuck Hagel as secretary of defense, and John Brennan at the Central Intelligence Agency – will shape Obama's stance at any talks.

In Washington, some would argue there's a growing consensus, at the level of think tanks, Iran experts, and other analysts, that a preliminary, first-round deal, including "shop, ship, and shut," might work, if in response the P5+1 could lift some of the economic sanctions on Iran and agree to limited Iranian enrichment.

Perhaps the best-case scenario is the possibility that there are ongoing, secret and back-channel talks between Washington and Tehran. Nothing along those lines has leaked and there is no indication of this, yet. But in advance of the first round of Iran-P5+1 talks in Vienna in 2009, the United States and Iran did indeed engage in quiet, behind-the-scenes diplomacy.

In fact, of course, any sanctions relief for Iran will occur slowly and step-by-step, not all at once, in parallel with steps taken by Iran and openness to more intrusive inspections and oversight by the IAEA.

But it's certainly not helpful that in early January yet another round of unilateral

sanctions was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Obama. The complex set of new measures targets key industrial sectors, including shipping and imports of products such as aluminum, steel and coal, and seeks to block Iran from using barter commodities such as oil and gold to pay for imports. The Washington Post paraphrased U.S. officials as saying that, "the new policies are closer to a true trade embargo, designed to systematically attack and undercut Iran's major financial pillars and threaten the country with economic collapse." Obama signed the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) that contained the sanctions provisions despite having hinted earlier that he might veto the NDAA over a host of measures contained in the bill.

If the Obama administration believes that ever-tougher sanctions will cause Iran to cave in at the talks, it's likely that they are badly misreading Iranian politics.

For many observers, however, and for Iran, too, the nomination of Hagel for secretary of defense may be a sign that the White House is beginning to realize that sanctions, and threats of military action, won't force Iran's hand.

As has been widely reported, hawks, neoconservatives, and members of the pro-Israel lobby in Washington have

slammed Hagel for his past comments and positions on Iran. In conjunction with Israel-friendly members of Congress, they've warned Obama to rein Hagel in so as not to send a dovish signal to Tehran. Robert Satloff, executive direction of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP), a pro-Israel think tank, warned bluntly that the White House should act quickly to make sure that Hagel backs away from his previous views on Iran and at least toes the administration's tougher line. "If the White House does not take steps soon to correct that impression, the chances for a negotiated resolution of the Iran nuclear crisis will fall nearly to zero and the likelihood of Israeli military action will rise dramatically," he wrote.

Indeed, within days of his nomination as secretary of defense, Hagel was already backing away from his earlier views, meeting with senior Pentagon officials and influential senators who'll vote on his confirmation to clarify his views on Iran, asserting that he supports broad international sanctions against Iran and that he believes that the military option ought to be "on the table." Several Democratic senators who met with Hagel announced with satisfaction that the former senator from Nebraska had sufficiently backtracked or "clarified" his views on Iran. Consequently, they

announced that he had earned their support – and their vote.

Then, during his confirmation hearings on January 31, Hagel – under hostile questioning from several Republican senators – backed away from earlier-held positions on Iran, including the role of sanctions. And, though he previously been a sharp critic of a military attack on Iran, in his opening statement Hagel said: "I am fully committed to the President's goal of preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, and—as I've said in the past—all options must be on the table to achieve that goal. My policy is one of prevention, and not one of containment—and the President has made clear that is the policy of our government. As Secretary of Defense, I will make sure the Department is prepared for any contingency."

Satloff's views were echoed by another tough-talking official at WINEP, former Ambassador Dennis Ross, a pro-Israel hawk who served as Obama's top adviser on Iran during much of the president's first term. "I think 2013 is going to be decisive," Ross told the Los Angeles Times, expressing concern about Hagel's previous comments. "Time really is running out. For diplomacy to have a chance of success, the Iranians need to understand that if diplomacy fails, force is going to be the result. We still have a

challenge to convince the Iranians that we're quite serious about the use of force," he said. "In the first term, the administration didn't always speak with one voice on this issue. So what Hagel says can make a difference."

Despite his poorly receieved performance at his confirmation hearings, it's widely believed in Washington that Hagel will be confirmed as secretary of defense and that his private advice to Obama will more closely hew to his long-held beliefs about the futility of sanctions and the grave downside to a military strike. Partly for that reason, it remains very unlikely that the Obama administration will resort to force to resolve the dispute with Iran. In fact, in remarks that Iranian officials cited as promising, Vice President Joe Biden expressed the administration's willingness to hold bilateral talks with the Iranians. In response to a question at the Munich Security Conference Biden said, "We have made it clear at the outset that…we would be prepared to meet bilaterally with the Iranian leadership" when Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei is serious about negotiations. Iran's Foreign Minister, Ali Akbar Salehi responded favorably and said, "I am optimistic, I feel this new administration is really seeking this time to at least divert from its previous

traditional approach vis-a-vis my country."

But if Washington remains committed to ever-tougher sanctions – and without promising Iran that sanctions will be lifted as part of a deal – then negotiations are unlikely to succeed. Vali Nasr, another former Obama administration official with expertise on Iran, suggested recently that there's not much more the world can do to sanction Iran, and that such penalties could drive Tehran to take radical action. The regime of sanctions against Iran over its nuclear activity "really has reached its end," Nasr, dean of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, said during the World Economic Forum in Davos. And he warned that unless there is a diplomatic breakthrough — or, alternatively, an attack on Iran — "you really are looking at a scenario where Iran is going to rush very quickly towards nuclear power, because they also think, like North Korea, that (then) you have much more leverage to get rid of these sanctions."

Robert Dreyfuss is an independent, investigative journalist in the Washington, D.C, area, who writes frequently for The Nation, Rolling Stone, and other publications. His blog, The

Dreyfuss Report, appears at TheNation.com. He is the author of 'Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam'.

Article 7.

The Wall Street Journal

A New U.S. International Economic Strategy

Robert B. Zoellick

February 5, 2013 -- Five years into the global economic storm, America's traditional allies, theEuropean Union and Japan, are struggling. Developing economies are reshaping the global dynamic but also face big challenges. The United States is the one country that could lead the modernization of the international system so as to supply security, economic opportunity, and prospects for liberty. America's own strategy for economic revival cannot be limited to the nation's borders. And its future foreign policy—its projection of power and principle—must be grounded in the emerging economic order.

President Obama has said he admires Ronald Reagan's transformative thinking. If so, he should ask for an assessment of

Reagan's second-term innovations on currency and monetary affairs, trade, debt and development. Reagan advanced a new international system to match the revival of capitalism after the oil shocks and stagflation of the 1970s. America's success in the 1980s contributed both to the end of the Cold War, by persuading the Soviet Union it could not keep up, and to two decades of exceptional global growth.

The new U.S. international economic strategy should have five parts. First, this country should strengthen its continental base by building on the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico. Together, the three partners could boost energy security, improve productivity, and give North Americans an edge in manufacturing and other industries that are already experiencing rising wages in East Asia. A politically acceptable immigration policy, and a push for educational innovation using new technologies and competition, could lead to a more prosperous, populous, integrated and democratic future for the hemisphere.

Second, the extraordinary monetary policies of late, led by the Federal Reserve's continued near-zero interest-rate policy, are taking us into uncharted territory. Central banks have tried most every tool to stimulate growth; if Japan is

any warning, the next tactic is competitive devaluation, which risks a new protectionism. "Currency manipulation" could become a danger that reaches far beyond the debate about Chinese policies. The world economy will need at some point to withdraw the drug of cheap money and negative real interest rates. The U.S. should anticipate these dangers.

The International Monetary Fund also could help set standards about exchange-rate policies and serve as a referee that blows a whistle, even if it cannot penalize. The IMF and the World Trade Organization should anticipate this risk and give effect to the existing WTO agreement that economies must "avoid manipulating exchange rates . . . to gain an unfair competitive advantage."

Third, the U.S. needs to break the logjam on opening markets. As the leading world economy, America should initially try to strengthen and increase international trade through the WTO. As my colleagues at the Peterson Institute have pointed out, there are gains from the stymied Doha Round of trade negotiations that should be harvested now: ending agricultural export subsidies; limiting food export controls; eliminating tariffs and quotas for almost all exports of the poorest countries; facilitating customs and clearance

procedures; and improving the transparency and speed of the system for settling disputes.

Next, the U.S. needs to keep the WTO current with a vastly changed world economy. The past WTO agreements are valuable for all 158 WTO members. But some economies want to go further by reducing barriers in important sectors such as the services trade, environmental goods and services, government procurement, and the digital economy.

The services trade, for example, is vital for boosting innovation, productivity and jobs in developing and developed countries alike—but regulatory, licensing, zoning and other barriers to services are often equivalent to a 30% tariff or higher. Because liberalization in the WTO has been stuck, countries have turned increasingly to bilateral and multilateral free-trade agreements, some of which have addressed these newer topics. The U.S. should foster the WTO principle of world-wide liberalization by adopting standards in various industries and sectors that would be open to all economies that reciprocate. The WTO also needs new rules for fair trading by state-owned enterprises.

Yet the U.S. also should use free-trade agreements to open markets. Trade competition advances structural reforms

and growth without bigger government and more spending. The Obama administration has talked about trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic accords. Yet it has failed to close even one new free-trade agreement. Ron Kirk, the president's trade representative, said in 2009 that the administration did not have "deal fever." In fact, it has been "deal delinquent."

Fourth, gender equality is not only fair and right—it is smart economics. No economy can reach its potential if it overlooks the talents of half its people. The U.S. should lead in identifying structural barriers in countries that hold back girls' and women's health, education, credit, jobs and entrepreneurship.

Finally, the U.S. needs to match growth priorities of developing economies. President Obama should expand the global food-security initiative he announced in 2009 to boost agricultural productivity and production across the value chain, including through the private sector, in sub-Saharan Africa and other poor regions. Infrastructure investment could increase global demand today while building productivity for tomorrow.

The U.S. can lead a push with middle-income economies to develop public-private infrastructure models that move

from "one-offs" to a deal flow. The zero returns for savers from U.S. monetary policy can make infrastructure investments attractive.

In addition to offering financing, the private sector can improve the design, operation and maintenance of infrastructure. As the state of Indiana has shown, the federal government could profitably use public-private partnerships for its infrastructure, too.

The administration has talked about some of these topics. But it is oddly passive, as if it were hesitant to lead. State Department speeches are not enough. To carve out an international economic strategy, the new secretary of the Treasury needs to choreograph policies across all U.S. departments and with multilateral economic institutions. The U.S. had better wake up: International economic strategy is the new foreign policy.

Mr. Zoellick has served as president of the World Bank Group, U.S. trade representative and deputy secretary of state. He is now a fellow at the Belfer Center at Harvard and the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

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Service: iMessage
Start Time: 12/05/18 04:09:01 AM (565704541)
End Time: 12/05/18 06:00:09 AM (565711209)
Last Message ID: 24330
Chat Room:
Participants: jee, □□-[redacted]□
Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com,[redacted]
Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:09:01 AM (565704541)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BA52AB7C-85A9-495C-A7D5-28C6083AC964
Message: so many guys caught in the me too . reaching out to me. asking when does the madness stop. funny

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:25:01 AM (565705501)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3DA4691D-A78B-49C8-B0EA-21EE513F9353
Message: uk you should kick boris johnson in the butt , he can do it

Sender[redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 04:35:43 AM (565706143)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 806C80E0-4F08-421A-B621-CAFB4C75FB06
Message: Madness just starting because now it has political power

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:36:26 AM (565706186)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 03D9626E-4C60-47F3-AC32-8B7796328275
Message: yup

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:38:08 AM (565706288)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4153A74D-0854-4629-A52A-DBFDFCB11198
Message: it is very biological. first a cell splits left-right. then divides further. gender etc. , breaks into

smaller groups forming multi cells. . ripe for a central nervous system. authority , direction strength winning

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:38:52 AM (565706332)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DC1DA180-3F11-4731-A5D9-B84F58CADC4C
Message: it is culture exhibiting biological processes , it is simple.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:40:53 AM (565706453)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A65EF366-8A8E-4ED3-B3C7-737BE196E7A1
Message: in cells there is a message to kill oneself if not part of the group. it is called apothosis. a protection against cancer. I have asked to start a new game theory course at harvard called the gangster game. it describes. trump. putin assad xi, duerte erdogan. gambino

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:50:25 AM (565707025)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BEE80441-11E0-4559-98B7-D38397215852
Message: if me too is political shouldn't you expect a counter party?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 04:55:08 AM (565707308)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C0710CB6-37A0-494D-A3C0-17D8FCAA6C76
Message: That's the populist nationalist party-- haven't u been taking notes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:55:46 AM (565707346)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6735EB8E-457C-4D36-B9CE-65FB81CB9F65
Message: I've missed the we've had enough slogan. and hat

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:55:55 AM (565707355)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 92B59042-E9DC-4473-9AC1-C3FFB0C63702

Message: imagine pink dick hats

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:57:36 AM (565707456)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1719AB87-2BF6-4A75-B175-5CAE8807DB34
Message: a million man march on wash. all wearing the hat

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 04:58:47 AM (565707527)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6E7F5EA9-3C97-473C-A51B-10A18AC9DCEC
Message: or a multi message lesbian deplorable march as, both groups can champion the idea of not doing dick!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:31:56 AM (565709516)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CFC0CCB2-47C0-4834-B940-8B711668B847
Message: hey, kwok steve wynn. careful

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:32:27 AM (565709547)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5F00BACA-86B1-4340-8FD2-68E6C3968921
Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:33:27 AM (565709607)
Flags: 1150981
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3228CE55-F2DD-4464-B6E4-54AC58306CEB
Message: [redacted]

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:39:26 AM (565709966)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DABF8710-90AC-4D20-B8A8-D0FF52BD2949
Message: as a reminder chinatown. you would nt look very good with that bandage under your nose. no rush but not for text

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:41:48 AM (565710108)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: EFF6E78D-7493-4A28-842E-142FFDB32970
Message: It's what I tell folks about kwok- last line in the film "geez boss , this is chinatown"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:44:19 AM (565710259)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 25B1CE28-046B-4274-AA23-F0812EA4F168
Message: my very close friends as a favor , also would like you safe

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:45:51 AM (565710351)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8549900B-24F5-4D71-BFF1-A2E196A85CA8
Message: if either one of us , in different investigations will need to testify publicly, it would be preferred to do it with two nostrils instead of one

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:47:19 AM (565710439)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D13180E6-CBE4-413C-A73F-42F1696E4581
Message: You don't have to worry personally because I'm sending u somewhere beyond extradition

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:47:58 AM (565710478)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8274CFFD-2B07-4D9C-88D9-F22FE41593E0
Message: faust

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:48:20 AM (565710500)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F29B834C-1EE6-41F3-A69F-16323143B3F1
Message: as i didn’t think you meant paradise

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:48:49 AM (565710529)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 82EC560D-E396-4AB0-941C-7116A56EA750
Message: Faust exactly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:49:17 AM (565710557)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 92F98EAD-37D6-48A1-9D5F-05CE0C565DE7
Message: surprise surprise surprise gomer

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:49:28 AM (565710568)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 67B0D4E2-7296-4A4E-9F97-AA826379B7DB
Message: How's our curing breast cancer coming

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:49:44 AM (565710584)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C4AD2AB1-AD42-45C3-B69D-1F92819EC3FE
Message: im doing hands on research

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:50:27 AM (565710627)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CFFB25B5-D749-4A04-B456-D4AB026CED27
Message: breast cancer easier to cure than the me too movment

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:50:28 AM (565710628)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 81065F84-DDFF-417A-98DC-94CAD2B280A2
Message: You are a brilliant guy--- go all in and organize a real effort to leave a mark

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:50:52 AM (565710652)

Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 153F5422-E295-467B-8951-BD23D2E99390
Message: I started

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:51:16 AM (565710676)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8EF0153A-0A7F-45D2-BAD2-5E659AD8B579
Message: Not 'me too'-- Times Up-- not about the act of sex-- about power dynamics

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:51:17 AM (565710677)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BF242E81-5F78-479D-9AC6-8FF46BE1873A
Message: dubin breast center mount sinai I m all over it

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:51:37 AM (565710697)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8F2F6F2D-A8B3-48D9-9D53-46F59BD04A2A
Message: Is that the best in the world ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:51:48 AM (565710708)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A76D126E-3F7B-4121-BA01-3098B65002A6
Message: of course,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:51:59 AM (565710719)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B18DDE7F-7D6A-4CD3-AB71-7154A28B5006
Message: jews

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:52:32 AM (565710752)
Flags: 1150981
Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8B86DCD5-E5D4-4E79-9294-7224150C804D
Message: just hired ssomoen this morning. I follow directions well

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:52:32 AM (565710752)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3385F342-3A1C-4652-9BCC-8E1CE66CB608
Message: Love being a junior partner to chosen people of Yawweh

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:52:45 AM (565710765)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 06C4CA60-E226-44A6-AE16-9A66C6E7A1F8
Message: Smart :: let's get rolling

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:53:13 AM (565710793)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6D222FA8-E9A2-4773-9252-49876CF8DFE1
Message: yah weh. like mish a gas. got to get the spelling right

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:54:10 AM (565710850)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 49E87523-4186-48A9-A1CC-227E313755B1
Message: not sure beezelbub is considered a junior partner . more like outside counsel

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:55:38 AM (565710938)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 08E7ECE9-4322-4C2E-9ABB-CD49E69581CD
Message: re kwok , honybear ok. icarus not

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:58:17 AM (565711097)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4C459D1D-FF22-47B6-AEB5-40081EEC9FDE

Message: I was referring to ALL Christians!

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 12/05/18 05:58:45 AM (565711125)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 08C43ED0-EC54-4487-9429-B2997F349C31
Message: Will explain kwok later-- like trump an instrument

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:59:01 AM (565711141)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 02E64D7E-7D06-4614-B949-C7DFA9E6EA04
Message: I am very well informed there. , didn't know it was him

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 05:59:26 AM (565711166)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8EDB7230-6C32-43F5-B6BC-1A9627095B5F
Message: as they use his chinese name

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 12/05/18 06:00:09 AM (565711209)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FB8AAAD7-92CC-4EDD-81DB-B13037850FDB
Message: no pun intended but yellow flag

From: jokeland@aol.com [jokeland@aol.com]
Sent: 5/9/2015 7:17:32 PM
To: jokeland@aol.com
Subject: a JokeLand E-Mail

A guy's walking down the boardwalk in Atlantic City and he runs into a hooker.
He says, "How much?"
She says "A hundred bucks."
He says, "All right."
They climb down under the boardwalk and he bangs her. The next night, he runs into the same hooker, they go under the boardwalk, only this time while he's banging her, she blasts two incredible farts. When they get done, he hands her a hundred and twenty dollars.
She says, "What's the extra twenty?"
He says, "That's for blowing the sand off my balls."

****

Why don't sumo wrestlers shave their legs?
So they won't be mistaken for lesbians.

****

hiya ...
it's beautiful and I already jumped into Long Island Sound!
all's right with the world.
... *well* ...

if you enjoy classic comedy stories ... *please try this!*
me & Bill Maher, Eddie Murphy & *The Jade Fountain* in Paramus, New Jersey!
The Hal Ennis Comedy Caravan, 1979

huge thanks to John Fugelsang & Penn Jillette & Jim Kerr & Mark Simone & Phoenix's *Wild Jokers* for helping me get the word out about my shtuff. love you all much ...
please spread the word about The JokeLand E-Mail List ...
... and enjoy.
Jackie

****

What'd the duck say to the prostitute?
"Put it on my bill."

****

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New York New York
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****

Two drunks are on the subway.
The first drunk says, "Wh-what time is it?"
The second drunk pulls out his cigarette lighter, looks at it, and says, "I-it's April 9th."
The first drunk says, "W-we should've got off at the last stop."

****

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get a new (?) joke every day at 4:20 pm EST ...
@JackieMartling

****

Mrs. Hartke comes home after visiting her relatives for two weeks and finds that her husband, who was too lazy to go to the supermarket, has eaten all the dog food in the house.
She calls the doctor and says, "Doc, you have to do something. My husband ate a half a case of dog food."
The doctor says, "Relax, Mrs. Hartke, it can't hurt him. There's nothing to worry about."
The next day, the doctor answers his phone, and it's Mrs. Hartke.
She says, *"Nothing to worry about,* huh, doc? Well, I hope you're satisfied. My husband's *dead."*
The doctor says, *"Dead?* From eating *dog food?* I can't understand it. What happened?"
She says, "He was lying in the driveway licking his balls and I backed the car over him."

****

8pm this Saturday, May 9th
The RRazz Room New Hope

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tickets (888) 596-1027
www.therrazzroom.com

****

9pm Saturday, May 16th
Miami Mike's @ Fairbridge Hotel
130 Route 10
East Hanover, New Jersey
1-877-Uncle-Vin ... 1-877-862-5384
unclevinniescomedyclub.com

****

A WalMart greeter's standing near the entrance with her clipboard when a really, really ugly woman comes in with two kids.

The greeter says, "Are they twins, ma'am?"

She says, "Of *course* not, they're *five years apart.* Why in the world would you think they was *twins?"*

The greeter says, "I couldn't believe anybody fucked you twice."

****

What do you do when a midget's missing?
Put his face on a carton of Half & Half.

****

it's The JokeLand E-Mail List! free yuks!
please tell everybody you know! *free jokes!* free jokes! ...
***by just e-mailing me,* jokeland@aol.com**

****

What's a gay guy's favorite time of day?
Ate a cock.

****

Why'd the Siamese Twins move to England?
So the other guy'd get a chance to drive.

****

Friedman calls the doctor and says, "Doc, you gotta help me. A mouse ran up inside my wife."

The doctor says, "I'll be right there. In the meantime, wave a piece of cheese between her legs."

The doctor races over, and when he comes in the door, Friedman's waving a herring between his wife's legs.

The doctor says, "What're you *doing?* I said to use a piece of cheese."

Friedman says, "I know you did. But we have to get the cat out first."

****

Why'd the guy marry a Siamese twin?
So he could hang his wife and a girl on the side.

****

A pickle walks into a bar.

The bartender says, "What're you doing in here?"

The pickle says, "Well, for starters, I'm celebrating the fact that I can walk."

****

Why's "bra" singular and "panties" plural?
For the same reason that when you take a shit you actually leave one.

****

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The Joke Man, **Sgt. Pecker**, **Hot Dogs & Donuts**,
Come Again?, **F. jackie & snart** ...
are available on *Amazon*, *iTunes*,
and at **Oglio.com**

****

A dentist walks in with a needle to give Kasten a shot of Novocain.
Kasten says, "No way! *No needles!* I *hate* needles!"
The dentist starts hooking up the nitrous oxide and Kasten says, "No! *No!* I can't do the gas thing, either!"
The dentist says, "Can you take a pill?"
Kasten says, "Fine."
The dentist reaches into a drawer, takes out a pill and says, "Here's a Viagra."
Kasten says, "Wow. I didn't know Viagra worked as a pain killer."
The dentist says, "It doesn't. But it'll going to give you something to hold on to while I'm yanking out your tooth."

****

Why don't Arabs circumcise their camels?
So they'll have a place to put their gum during a sandstorm.

****

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@JackieMartling

****

How can a husband get his wife to stick her fingers in his asshole more often?
By pretending he doesn't enjoy it.

****

A big fat Polish lady pushes her car into a gas station.
The mechanic says, "What's the matter?
She says, "It conked out."
In a few minutes, it's purring like a kitten.
She says, "What's the story?"
He says, "Crap in the carburetor."
She says, "How often do I have to do *that?*"

****

What'd the blonde say when she saw a guy walking two dogs?
"He must be really blind."

****

A frog goes into a bank and sits down in a chair next a desk that has a placard on it that says "Seymour Paddywhack, Bank Officer."

He says, "I need to borrow some money."

Mr. Paddywhack says, "To do that, you'll need some collateral. What have you got?"

The frog reaches into his bag, takes out a small plaster statue of Elvis and puts it on the desk.

Mr. Paddywhack says, "Is that all you have?"

The frog says, "Yeah."

Mr. Paddywhack says, "Well, that won't do."

The frog says, "I want to see the president."

Mr. Paddywhack leads the frog into the bank president's office, puts the little Elvis on his desk and says, "This frog wants to borrow some money, the only collateral he has is this statue and I don't even know what it is."

The bank president says, "It's a knick-knack, Paddywhack, give the frog a loan."

****

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Come Again?, **F. jackie & snart** ...
are available on *Amazon*, *iTunes*,
and at **Oglio.com**

****

A British guy comes home from work early and there's his wife on the living room floor with two guys. She's blowing one guy and the other guy is fucking her.

He says, "`Ello, `ello!"

She says, "So you're not speakin' to me, then?"

****

Where would you find a turtle with no legs?
Right where you left him.

****

What's fifteen inches long and hangs in front of an asshole?

Donald Trump's tie.

****

I call in regularly to the great podcast "**Keith & The Girl**" ...
... give them a listen!

... and huge thanks to **Phil Iazetta** &
iHeart Radio Comedy 24/7 ...
click to listen!
he plays me a-plenty ...

****

The Mother Superior's riding with a few nuns and they're all giggling.
She says, "Calm down, girls, or I'll put the seats back on those bikes."

****

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@JackieMartling

****

Why'd the shit cross the road?
The chicken forgot to wipe his ass.

****

to hear endless jokes from all of my CDs,
get the Pandora or the Spotify app and type in "Jackie Martling" ...

****

What do you say to a blonde with a plaid dildo?
"Give me back my thermos."

****

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****

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****

Every night for twenty years, Irving Schwartz gets down on his knees and says, "Lord, it's me, Irving Schwartz. I'm a good Jewish boy. One time, couldn't you let me win the lottery? *One time?* I'm good to my parents, I'm good to my children, I go to temple. Please, Lord, please, one time, let me win the lottery."

He's on his knees every night for twenty years.

"Lord, it's me, Irving Schwartz. Would you *please* let me, sometime, win the lottery?"

Finally one night after twenty years, the heavens open up, and God says, "Irv, if you want to win the lottery, *you've got to buy a fucking ticket.*"

****

this is **The JokeLand E-Mail List**.
if you're not supposed to be on this train, please disembark & get off now.
... and please tell anybody who wants to get on to e-mail me, **jokeland@aol.**com ...

****

What's hairy and bites necks?
Cunt Dracula.

****

An old guy with Parkinson's goes into an ice-cream parlor and says, "I-I'd like an ice cream, p-please ..."

The girl behind the counter says, "What flavor would you like?"

The guy says, "I-it don't matter, I-I'm gonna drop it anyway."

****

Schneider walks into a shoe store and asks for a pair of size 8 tie shoes.

The salesman says, "But, sir, I can see from up here you're at least a size 11."

Schneider says, "Just bring me a size 8 tie shoe."

The salesman brings them, Schneider stuffs his feet into them, ties them tight, stands up and winces.

When he sees how confused the salesman is, he says, "Listen, I lost my business and my house, I live with my mother-in-law, my wife is fucking my best friend, my daughter is pregnant and my son deals crystal meth. The only pleasure I have in life is taking off these fucking shoes."

****

A midget's marooned on a desert island for fourteen years and finally one day he's rescued. When they get him to shore, they ask him what he'd like.

He says, "You know damn well what I'd like."

They take him to a brothel, he goes upstairs with a girl, they go in a room and they both get undressed. Then he puts on a condom, puts some cotton in each ear and puts a clothespin on his nose.

The girl says, "What the hell are you doing?"

The midget says, "If there's two things in this world that I hate, it's the sound of a woman screaming and the smell of burning rubber."

****

Fugelsang says to the doctor, "I'm thinking about having a vasectomy."

The doctor says, "That's a pretty big decision. Have you talked it over with your family?"

Fugelsang says, "Yeah. They're in favor of it, fourteen to three."

****

Two Spanish guys show up at The Gates of Heaven and the first one says, "We want in."

St. Peter says, "Let me go ask God."

He walks over to God and says, "God, there are two Spanish guys at The Gates who want in."

God says, "If they are good people, let them in."

St. Peter goes back to The Gates, and then comes back to God and says, "They're gone."

God says, "The Spanish guys?"

St. Peter says, "No. The Gates."

****

A waiter brings a lady her clam chowder and she sees his thumb is hooked over the cup.

She says, "Waiter, you've got your thumb in my soup."

He says, "Yeah. I got the arthritis, and the warm makes it feel much better."

She says, "Well, why don't you just stick your thumb up your ass?"
He says, "That's what I do in the kitchen."

****

Two little old ladies are sitting at the slot machines in Atlantic City.
The first one says, "D-did you come on the bus?"
The second one says, "Yeah, b-but I made it look like an asthma attack."

****

My ex-girlfriend ... what an asshole ...
... and her tits weren't bad, either.

****

Cristiano says, "Doc, I think I've got a sex problem. I can't get it up for my wife anymore."
The doctor says, "Come back tomorrow and bring her with you."
The next day, Cristiano shows up with his wife.
The doctor says to the wife, "Take off your clothes and lie on the table."
She does it, and the doctor walks around the table a few times looking her up and down.
He pulls Cristiano to the side and says, "You're fine. She doesn't give me a hard-on, either."

****

Did you hear about those new super-sensitive condoms?
After you *fuck her*, they *stay and talk to her.*

****

What would you call a Chinese hooker with a huge vagina?
Gae Ping.

****

for the kids:

What would you call an elephant who never washes?
A smellyphant.

Why don't lobsters share?
Because they're shellfish.

Where do cows learn how to sing?
In moooosic class.

Knock, knock...
Who's there?
Cook ...
Cook who?
Cuckoo? What are you, a *clock?*

Why didn't the skeleton cross the road?
He didn't have any guts.

Why'd Melvin cut a hole in his brand new umbrella?
So he could see when it stopped raining.

Harry's mother says, "Why are you crying, Harry?"
He says, "Because my new sneakers hurt."
She looks down and says, "That's because you put them on the wrong feet."
Harry says, "But these are the only feet I have."

What should you do if your clothes are on fire?
Don't put them on.

END of KIDS' SECTION !

****

There was a Chinee in China,
We thought was a very good climber ...
He slipped on a rock,
Fell and knocked off his cock,
Now that Chinaman's got a vagina.

****

Did you hear about the woman who died from eating too much peanut butter?
She stuck to the roof of her coffin.

****

A midget goes into a bar, and he's too short to see over, so he starts jumping up and down saying, "A whiskey, please," "A whiskey, please."

Nobody's taking care of him, so he keeps jumping up and down saying, "A whiskey, please," "A whiskey, please."

Finally he gets up on a chair, looks over and sees a midget bartender jumping up and down saying, "With ice?" "With ice?"

****

How many vaginas does it take to change a light bulb?
Just one, but is has to be very sticky.

******

classic Rodney Dangerfield:
"Last night my wife met me at the door in sexy lingerie ...
... trouble is, she was coming home. ..."

****

What's the difference between a white cow and a black cow?
A white cow goes, "Moo," and a black cow goes, "Moo out d' way."

****

Schmidlap's been away on business and decides it'd be nice to bring his wife a gift.

He goes into a store and the girl says, "How about some perfume? This bottle is one hundred and fifty dollars."

He says, "That's too much."

She says, "This one's sixty dollars."

He says, "Still too much. I'd like to see something really cheap."

So she hands him a mirror.

****

What's a cowboy call a cowgirl prostitute who won't go all the way?
A hired hand

****

Leeds is parking with a girl in the rain. It's very hot and stuffy and the windows are getting all steamed up, so he cracks open the passenger's side window.

He moves over and starts fiddling with her, and she says, "I'm getting wet," so he keeps fiddling, and she says, "I'm getting wet," and he keeps fiddling.

Finally she says, "Will you *close the fucking window?* I'm getting wet."

****

thanks for enjoying the jokes ...
... if you didn't enjoy them,
I hope you find a used condom at the bottom of your mayonnaise jar ...

****

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****

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****

You've received this e-mail either because you've signed up at the **JokeLand** website to be kept informed about what Jackie "The Joke Man" Martling is up to, or because you are currently having an online dialog with Jackie. If this is not the case OR to be forever removed from this list, please reply to this e-mail with the word "unlist" in the subject line.

thanks,

a JokeLand E-Mail
JokeLand Inc.
Box 58
Bayville, NY 11709
USA

Date: Sunday, April 3 2011 02:08 PM
Subject: Fwd: raw text
From: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>; Darren Indyke [redacted];

Scott was able to send me the attachments below but there are no highlights. Darren, if you want to call me and read me the highlights, I can type them on a Word Doc as you dictate...(?) (Even when Scott opened them on his end he had no highlights)

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Scott Denett** [redacted]
Date: Sun, Apr 3, 2011 at 10:04 AM
Subject: raw text
To: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>

According to Friday's *NY Post* Jeffrey Epstein returned to New York City "making wisecracks about his just-ended jail stint for having sex with an underage girl". "I'm not a sexual predator, I'm an 'offender,' " the Wall Street hedge fund manager told *The Post*. "It's the difference between a murderer and a person who steals a bagel," said Epstein.
Well that's not exactly the correct analogy...
Not only are Epstein's comments brazen, they are arrogant and self-implicating. By telling a reporter "I'm an offender", he seems to be admitting guilt.
Which brings me to the big question of the day. Why did Cyrus R. Vance Jr., the Manhattan D.A., allow a Level 3 sex offender (the most dangerous kind) to reside -- even for ten minutes -- in a house that is right next to Central Park and a school? Isn't that unlawful given the housing guidelines for sex offenders?
According to the *NYPost*, Epstein's Level 3 designation means that he is at "high risk" to repeat his offense and poses "a threat to public safety."
When I rang Vance (twice) to discuss Epstein's residential guidelines he did not take my calls.
According to a few of the attorneys who represented Epstein's victims in the civil cases, the financier never agreed to a psychological evaluation prior to or during his sentence, a requirement of all sexual predators.
While Epstein's self-incriminating statements are published (this week he told the *Post* "the crime that was supposedly committed in Florida is not a crime in New York" -- an interesting choice of words -- he continues to mock the law that applies to all other sex offenders who are found guilty of the same crime.
Epstein served 13 months in the West Palm Beach Stockade and 18 months under community control (a rather permissive version of house arrest), for 2 Counts of Solicitation of Prostitution with a Minor.
In August of 2010, immediately following his release from "community control", Epstein returned to his $50 million East 71st Street town house given to him by his former client and long time friend Leslie Wexner.
Just in the last few weeks he held a house warming dinner to celebrate his release from jail and reportedly invited television reporters Katie Couric, Charlie Rose, George Stephanopoulus and his close friend, HRH Prince Andrew, according to the *NY Post*.
You would think these professional television reporters would have done their homework prior to accepting his invitation no matter how desperate they were to rub elbows with Prince Andrew.
According to a 53-page sealed indictment Epstein was facing 10 years to life on multiple counts of statutory rape, and child sex trafficking.
Court documents in that case claimed he routinely sought out girls as young as 14 and paid them $200 to $1,000 for sexually explicit massages in his homes in Palm Beach, Fla., and Manhattan.
In the New York sex-offender database, Epstein isn't registered under a zip code rather a "name search" option that does not list his New York address.
The reason for this is because Epstein's Upper East Side home is considered "temporary" and by NY state law,

he is required to provide only his permanent address to the database.
Epstein is currently listed under his Florida home even though he is no longer a Florida resident either (after his arrest he immediately became a US VI resident), but then again who's keeping count?
Once again these are mere technicalities when it comes to Epstein's sexual predator case. The two most disturbing parts of this story are that this could easily happen again and that once again there will be no justice. Had Epstein been a caring benefactor contributing to society and these young girl's education and well being then the world would have judged him differently.
What he has done instead is the exact opposite -- causing enormous damage to hundreds of underage girls who could have been sponsored towards a better education.
With respect to Manhattan DA Cyrus Vance, I'm confused by his decision to allow this sexual predator to live at his Fifth Avenue house all this time (since August 2010), given his rather tough stance on gun control as witnessed by his testimony in Friday's *NYPost* when asked about a Florida driver cleared in a Manhattan weapon's charge, "guns brought illegally into New York City" he said, " for any reason violate well established state laws and are a threat to our public safety".
Then wouldn't a registered sex offender living 500 feet from a park (Central Park where young girls congregate), and with resources to spare be an even more dangerous threat to society?

The Billionaire Pedophile's Sex Den
by Conchita Sarnoff javascript:void(0)

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Newscom **Hedge fund mogul and sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, who went free this week, lived in a depraved world of thrice-daily massages, pornographic artwork, and hush money—that's only now being revealed. Conchita Sarnoff reports on the sordid details in part two of her exclusive exposé. Also:**
• Nude images of young girls were scattered around the house and the bathroom soap was shaped like sex organs
• Staff trolled for fresh recruits to make sure Epstein had two or three massage appointments each day
• The house manager has been sentenced to a longer prison term than Epstein—for trying to sell notes regarding massage appointments
• Epstein gave $1 million to his friend Jean Luc Brunel when he was starting the modeling agency MC2
• According to a former bookkeeper, young girls were brought to the U.S. by MC2—often from Eastern Europe—then traveled on Epstein's private jets
Jeffrey Epstein's loyal friends say that his prosecution was unduly harsh, rather than outrageously lenient. They insist that his sexual habits, although obsessive and unusual, were mostly legal and essentially harmless. As the police records attest, the girls brought to El Brillo Way were routinely told they could "say no" at any time during a massage as Epstein escalated contact in a step-by-step assault that was remarkably similar in every victim's statement: First she would be asked to remove her shirt, then her pants. He would attempt to fondle her buttocks and breasts as he masturbated, then bring out a large vibrator. There was sometimes digital penetration, and the more willing girls were lured into full-blown sexual relations with both Epstein and Nadia Marcinkova, who was referred to in press accounts and police reports as Epstein's live-in "sex slave."
A former bookkeeper in the Miami office, who also arranged visas for girls traveling to the U.S., confirmed that MC2 girls became frequent guests on Epstein's private jets.
It's true that some underage girls may have lied about their age, and some came to the house voluntarily several times—although, according to Florida statutes, none of that has any bearing on the criminality of the contact,

particularly if the girl was 16 or younger. But what is particularly disturbing about this case—judging by arrangements at the Palm Beach house—is that Epstein, a billionaire hedge-fund manager, organized his life around this sexual compulsion in an open and methodical way that suggests he felt he was beyond the law.

• Conchita Sarnoff: Epstein Faces Sex Traffic Probe

• Billionaire Pedophile Goes Free

According to police who executed a search warrant, the house was decorated with large, framed photos of nude young girls, and similar images were found stashed in an armoire and on the computers seized at the house (although police found only bare cables where other computers had been). Some bathrooms were stocked with soap in the shape of sex organs, and various sex toys, such as a "twin torpedo" vibrator and creams and lubricants available at erotic specialty shops, were stowed near the massage tables set up in several rooms upstairs.

Epstein also enlisted his staff in the predatory activity, and four—Sarah Kellen, Adriana Ross, Lesley Groff, and Marcinkova—figured in the FBI investigation. The Non Prosecution Agreement stipulated that they would not be charged. According to police reports and sworn statements in the civil suits, all four women, among their other duties, worked to ensure that an appointment book for twice- or thrice-daily "massages" was stocked with fresh recruits. Ghislaine Maxwell, daughter of the late Czechoslovakian-born press baron Robert Maxwell, who was for many years Epstein's live-in partner, also recruited young girls.

Since his 13-month sentence for soliciting prostitution with a minor, Epstein has settled more than a dozen lawsuits brought by underage girls. Seven victims reached a last-minute deal last week, days before a scheduled trial; each received well over $1 million—an amount that will hardly dent Epstein's $2 billion net worth.

The victims told police they waited in the kitchen to be called upstairs for a massage, and the house chef often gave them a bite to eat. House manager Alfredo Rodriguez said in his sworn statement that a maid named Lupita, who was a devout Catholic, wept when she complained to him about cleaning up after the massage sessions, picking up soiled towels and putting away the sex toys. And she was upset that a photo of Epstein with the pope hung next to one of him with a young girl.

Ironically, Rodriguez, who ran the house on El Brillo Way in 2004 and 2005, ended up being sentenced to more jail time than his boss as a result of the complex investigation into Epstein's activities. He was fired, he says, for inadvertently drawing police attention to one of the girls when she arrived at the house unannounced to collect money. He saw an unfamiliar "beater" in the driveway one evening and called 911. When he left Epstein's employ, Rodriguez took away some notes and emails about massage appointments as "protection" against his own prosecution, and failed to produce them during the Palm Beach Police Department's initial investigation.

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Unable to get work as a house manager elsewhere in South Florida, he says, Rodriguez later tried to sell this "golden nugget"—his term—for $50,000, to be used in the victims' civil suits. Unfortunately, he made the offer to an undercover cop, and was subsequently charged with "obstruction of official proceedings" for withholding information that could have advanced the criminal investigation of Epstein—which by that point had been settled in a plea deal. Rodriguez was sentenced to 18 months in federal prison (Epstein was allowed to serve 13 months in the Palm Beach county jail), and now awaits an additional sentence on Aug. 24 in federal court in Miami for transporting firearms, another deal he says he made to pay the bills after he lost his job.

In a deposition given for the civil suits, Rodriguez testified that he was instructed to always have $2,000 in cash on hand, so that he could pay both the girls who gave massages and recruiters such as Haley Robson who brought them to the house. He also testified that Epstein made large contributions to the Palm Beach Police

Department, and in return was given PBPD baseball hats to put on the dashboard of his various cars to avoid being stopped or ticketed by local police. Retired Police Chief Michael Reiter, in his own deposition, acknowledged that, in addition to earlier donations to the police department (which are fairly common in well-heeled Palm Beach), Epstein had recently given the department $100,000 for some sophisticated equipment. The police were still researching the purchase when Epstein came under suspicion, and Reiter ordered the money returned. (Guy Frostin, one of Epstein's local attorneys, told police that Epstein also gave $100,000 to the Florida Ballet for massages, because he was "very passionate" about massages being "therapeutically and spiritually" beneficial. Yet victims told police they had no massage training.)

Perhaps most disturbing, in terms of possible sex trafficking, was Epstein's relationship with Jean Luc Brunel, owner of the MC2 modeling agency. According to a complaint filed in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida, an alleged victim said that Epstein, Maxwell, Brunel, Rodriguez, and Marcinkova "deliberately engaged in a pattern of racketeering that involved luring minor children through MC2, mostly girls under the age of 17, to engage in sexual play for money." (Which would amount to trafficking.)

Brunel is a 50-plus French playboy who was formerly part owner of Karin, a Paris-based modeling agency. He lives in New York and South Beach, Florida, and owns 85 percent of MC2, which has offices in New York, Miami, and Tel Aviv. (The remaining 15 percent is owned by his partner, Jeff Fuller.) Brunel has been observed as a house guest at Epstein's Palm Beach home and may well have had contact with him also in New York, where Epstein owns a lavish home, and in Paris, where Epstein keeps an apartment on elegant Ave. Foch.

CBS reporter Craig Pyes, who investigated Brunel for a *60 Minutes* broadcast many years ago, is quoted in Michael Gross' book about the modeling industry, *Model: The Ugly Business of Beautiful Women*. Pyes told the author that Brunel "ranks among the sleaziest people in the fashion industry. We're talking about a conveyor belt, not a casting couch. Hundreds of girls were not only harassed but molested." Now The Daily Beast has learned that Epstein had made a $1 million wire transfer to Brunel's offshore bank account in September 2004, just as he was setting up MC2. Whether this was a gift or a loan or a backdoor investment in the new venture is unknown. A French citizen who managed to avoid giving evidence in the Epstein investigation, Brunel declined to comment on any of this, as does Fuller. Asked in April of Brunel's activities, Epstein said "I'm 100 percent convinced that he doesn't traffic children." (Brunel has never been charged.)

An American fashion designer who booked her girls through MC2 says they were very young and very beautiful; many were from Eastern Europe and spoke little English. A former bookkeeper in the agency's Miami office, who also arranged visas for girls traveling to the U.S., confirmed that MC2 girls became frequent guests on Epstein's private jets.

Pilot logs obtained in the civil suits show that some of the named plaintiffs were on the flight manifests. Other times, the pilot would just list the other passengers plus "female."

Posted 02 August 2010 - 12:47 AM

Jeffrey Epstein, Jew Billionaire Pedophile, Child Trafficker Goes Free..WoW! 20 year old Hearsay is enough to destroy catholic priest. What happened here to the justice system?

Conchita Sarnoff

http://www.thedailyb...hile- goes-free/

Conchita Sarnoff has developed multimedia communication programs for Fortune 500 companies and has produced three current events debate television programs, The Americas Forum, From Beirut to Kabul, and a segment for The Oppenheimer Report. She is writing a book about child trafficking in America.

Hedge fund mogul and sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, who went free this week, lived in a depraved world of thrice-daily massages, pornographic artwork, and hush money—that's only now being revealed. Conchita Sarnoff follows up on her investigation of the legal wrangling that saved him from a long prison term and reports on the sordid details in part two of her exclusive exposé. Also:

• Palm Beach's police chief objected to Epstein's "special treatment" and gave The Daily Beast an exclusive

look at his nine-hour deposition about the investigation.

• Earlier versions of the U.S attorney's charges, including a sealed 53-page indictment, could have landed Epstein in prison for 20 years.

• Victims alleged that Epstein molested underage girls from South America, Europe, and the former Soviet republics, including three 12-year-old girls brought over from France as a birthday gift.

• The victims also alleged trips out of state and abroad on Epstein's private jets, which would be evidence of sex trafficking—a much more serious federal crime than the state charges Epstein was convicted of.

• Epstein's attorneys investigated members of the Palm Beach Police Department, while others ordered private investigators to follow and intimidate the victims' families; one even posed as a police officer.

• Then-Attorney General Alberto Gonzales told The Daily Beast that he "would have instructed the Justice Department to pursue justice without making a political mess."

Film director Roman Polanski is not the only convicted pedophile to walk free this month and return to a life of privilege. On Wednesday, hedge fund manager Jeffrey Epstein completes his one-year house arrest in Palm Beach, which has been even less arduous than Polanski's time at a Swiss ski chalet.

Watch Jeffrey Epstein Storm Out of a Deposition When Asked About His Penis

During Epstein's term of "house arrest," he made several trips each month to his New York home and his private Caribbean island. In the earlier stage of his sentence for soliciting prostitution with a minor—13 months in the Palm Beach Stockade—he was allowed out to his office each day. Meanwhile, Epstein has settled more than a dozen lawsuits brought by the underage girls who were recruited to perform "massages" at his Palm Beach mansion. Seven victims reached a last-minute deal last week, days before a scheduled trial; each received well over $1 million—an amount that will hardly dent Epstein's $2 billion net worth.

• Conchita Sarnoff: Epstein Faces Sex Traffic Probe
• The Billionaire Pedphile's Sex Den
With that, the known victims of Epstein's sexual compulsion have been officially silenced, and the case against him is closed unless new ones come forward. According to banking sources, he has been moving assets out of the U.S. and may well follow Polanski into a luxurious exile.

But the question remains: Did Epstein's wealth and social connections—former President Bill Clinton; Prince Andrew; former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak; New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson; and former Treasury Secretary Larry Summers were just a few of the prominent passengers on his private jets—allow him to receive only a slap on the wrist for crimes that carry a mandatory 20-year sentence? Was he able, with his limitless assets and heavy-hitting lawyers—Alan Dershowitz, Gerald Lefcourt, Roy Black, Kenneth Starr, Guy Lewis, and Martin Weinberger among them—to escape equal justice?

Epstein Faces Sex-Traffic Probe
http://www.thedailyb...obref=obnetwork

The Justice Department is investigating Jeffrey Epstein for child trafficking, The Daily Beast has learned—and has widened the scope of its probe to include a famous modeling agency.

Hedge-fund manager Jeffrey Epstein completed his sentence for soliciting prostitution with a minor last week.

But it appears his problems may not be over. Now The Daily Beast has learned that:

• Federal investigators continue to investigate Epstein's activities, to see whether there is evidence of child trafficking—a far more serious charge than the two in his non-prosecution agreement, the arrangement between Epstein and the Department of Justice allowing him to plead guilty to lower-level state crimes. Trafficking can carry a 20-year sentence.

• The FBI is also investigating Epstein's friend Jean Luc Brunel, whose MC2 modeling agency appears to have been a source of girls from overseas who ended up on Epstein's private jets.

Because Epstein's predatory habits stretch back many years and involved dozens of young-looking girls, there may well be more evidence to uncover.

Under the concept of double jeopardy, Epstein can no longer be prosecuted for any of the charges covered by his non-prosecution agreement, in which he agreed to serve a short term of incarceration, fund the civil suits of named victims, and register as a sex offender. The victims who accepted cash settlements in these civil suits agreed not to testify against him or speak publicly about the case. However, new evidence developed by the Department of Justice on other offenses not covered by the agreement, including allegations by additional victims who come forward, could lead to new charges. There is no statute of limitations in the federal sex-trafficking law, which was also enacted by the state of Florida in 2002. Because his predatory habits stretch back many years and involved dozens of young-looking girls, there may well be more evidence to uncover. (Several young women who claim to be Epstein victims have recently contacted a Ft. Lauderdale lawyer, but to date no new civil complaints have been filed.)

• Conchita Sarnoff: The Billionaire Pedphile's Sex Den
• Billionaire Pedophile Goes Free
These new developments come one week after the publication of two articles in The Daily Beast about Epstein's pattern of sexual contact with underage girls, which Palm Beach police began investigating in 2005 and the U.S. Attorney's office then settled in a 2007 plea deal. The first article quoted a deposition by then-Palm Beach Chief of Police Michael Reiter, in which he stated that Epstein, a billionaire with many powerful friends, had received special treatment in both his plea deal and the terms of his incarceration. Although federal investigators at one point produced a draft 53-page indictment against Epstein, he was eventually allowed to plead guilty to only two relatively minor state charges and receive a short term of incarceration: 13 months in the county jail, during which he went to the office every day, and one year of community control, during which he traveled frequently to New York and his private island in the Virgin Islands.

The Daily Beast has now discovered another instance in which Epstein apparently received special consideration: As a convicted sex offender, he is required by law to undergo an impartial psychological evaluation prior to sentencing and to receive psychiatric treatment during and after incarceration. This is because child molesters tend to be repeat offenders with high rates of recidivism. According to a source in law enforcement, however, Epstein was allowed to submit a report by his private psychologist, Dr. Stephen Alexander of Palm Beach, Florida, whose phone has since been disconnected with no forwarding information.

The Daily Beast's second article provided details about Epstein's systematic abuse of underage girls at his Palm Beach mansion, where members of his staff allegedly recruited and paid a parade of teenagers, most of them 16 or younger, to perform daily massages that devolved into masturbation, groping, and sometimes full-blown sexual contact. It also revealed a monetary relationship between Epstein and Jean Luc Brunel, a frequent visitor to whom he gave $1 million around the same time that Brunel was starting his MC2 modeling agency. Some of the young girls MC2 recruited from overseas—often from Eastern Europe and South America—are known to have been passengers on Epstein's private jets.

The U.S. Attorney General's Office in Florida says that it is against policy to confirm or deny the existence of an investigation. Jeffrey Epstein's lawyer, Jack Goldberger, says he has no knowledge of an ongoing probe,

and he told The Daily Beast, "Jeffrey Epstein has fully complied with all state and federal requirements that arise from the prior proceedings in Palm Beach. There are no pending civil lawsuits. There are not and should not be any pending criminal investigations, given Mr. Epstein's complete fulfillment of all the terms of his non-prosecution agreement with the federal government."

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#2 bruce

- Registered User
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- Group: Members
- Posts: 11113
- Joined: 12-August 08

Posted 02 August 2010 - 12:59 AM
These slugs leave slime wherever they go.america is owned by these pigs.filthy pigs.
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From: Stephanie [redacted]
Sent: 3/4/2011 11:15:40 PM
To: Peggy Siegal [redacted]; jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: RE: Oscar diary
Attachments: Oscar story.doc

Jeffrey,

Peggy's story is attached to the e-mail. I have included the story in the body of the e-mail as well.

Thanks,

Stephanie

Omar Quadhafi is hunkering down in Tripoli giving press interviews denying that rebels are taking over Eastern Libya. Oil prices are shooting over one hundred dollars a barrel. The US government is on the verge of a shut down. These are not the top secret opening lines to Aaron Sorkin's new script, but the global headlines of a world spinning out of control. I head to Los Angeles like an overdressed lemming to attend the 83rd Academy Awards and attempt to make sense of artists thrust into combat.

For the second year nearly 6,000 Academy members have nominated 10 films and the battle is down to two. The beloved timeless classic, "The King's Speech" marches into the arena as the front runner, but passionate supporters of the brilliant edgier (and critics darling) "The Social Network" have not conceded. The ballots are counted, the party invites are out and still the feelings are raw. Filmmakers are exhausted from campaigning.

At Bryan Lourd's famous star studded party Sony Classics' Co-President Michael Barker announces to me he has taken a random sampling of voters in the room. He says, "There will be a 'Social Network' upset at the Kodak Theater." Shear panic radiates from my every pore as he says, "I am joking." It's like color war at summer camp.

Woody Allen and George Lucas tell me they are no longer members of the Academy because pitting artists against each other to determine the quality of their work is insane. They are right.

My event and publicity company is considered "Switzerland" by the studios, as we help every filmmaker to present and position his work. This year I am somewhat emotionally sucked in.

In 2005 I meet the unknown 32-year-old English director Tom Hooper on his first film for HBO,"Elizabeth I". The Emmy award winning movie stars Helen Mirren, who takes credit for discovering him directing English television. Helen later wins her Oscar for portraying Queen Elizabeth in "The Queen". Queen Elizabeth is the daughter of King George VI portrayed by Oscar winner Colin Firth in "The King's Speech".

I also become Hooper's champion encouraging many to see his early work including his herculean 10 hour HBO mini-series "John Adams" produced by Tom Hanks.

Six years later at the Telluride Film Festival Tom Hooper is bathing in the glory of a hysterical standing ovation with Colin Firth and Geoffrey Rush at the very first screening of "The King's Speech." Surprisingly, this drama's subtle humor gets big laughs leading up to its emotional ending.

Within two weeks, at The Toronto Film Festival, Harvey Weinstein is now standing with his filmmakers witnessing the same reaction. The film wins The Audience Prize. Their strategy is to say nothing. Do nothing. They have a possible Oscar winner. Four out of five past Best Pictures have premiered in Toronto.

Cut to New York City at the end of September. It's the opening night at The Film Society of Lincoln Center. One of America's most important and prolific producers Scott Rudin, along with Jesse Eisenberg, Andrew Garfield and Aaron Sorkin are in a brightly lit box waving down to their equally hysterical audience who have just seen "The Social Network".

The film opens the next day to rave reviews and endless publicity. David Fincher is off making "The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo". Aaron Sorkin becomes the face of the film and an immediate shoo-in for an Oscar.

The Hamptons International Film Festival in October suddenly becomes a launching pad for "127 Hours", where cool Yale/NYU student James Franco appears and receives a heroic standing ovation. More Oscar buzz.

"Black Swan" also unspools there in a tiny theater as Madonna, Alec Baldwin and even Harvey Weinstein slip in the back. Darren Aronofsky, sporting the ever present cool wool scarf around his neck is hailed a genius. Natalie Portman is instantly the hot nominee for Best Actress.

Both films are sensational and movie goers go nuts, but it is "The King's Speech" that edges out the competition for The Audience Prize.

Mid-November David O. Russell and Mark Wahlberg, working together for the third time, sneak "The Fighter" in Manhattan. As their audience erupts in cheers, I tell producer/actor Wahlberg, "Clint Eastwood is going to kill himself for not directing this." Wahlberg says, "You are wrong. He turned it down because he's done it. He has seen it and he loves it." I instantly lavish my affection and praise on David O. Russell, who becomes my new Clint Eastwood. Christian Bale and Melissa Leo are hailed the supporting actors to beat.

"True Grit" directed by the Coen Brothers and also produced by Scott Rudin doesn't premiere till mid-December at the Ziegfeld as the last serious Oscar contender for Best Picture. It gallops off to box office gold.

This is the year many of the 78 million Baby Boomers go back to the theaters. Five small budget independent films become surprise hits as each exceeds $100 million.

"The Social Network" now cements its battle cry with one word; "relevance". Mark Zuckerberg lands on the cover of Time Magazine as The Person of the Year. A smart and extensive ad campaign positions the film in the lead. Critics and pundits proclaim the race is over. "The Social Network" is the clear winner. Everyone goes on holiday.

This is probably the only time in Harvey Weinstein's life that he is caught off guard. He quickly mobilizes an inner team of 15 and conducts strategy meetings 7 days a week, including Christmas. They become like a Chinese Restaurant...always open. A generational war is in full swing. Harvey screens his film for the older voters. Everything is done by the books. Budgets are limited. He sends screenwriter David Seidler and Tom Hoooper to every corner of the country doing q+a's till they are blue in the face from "finding their voice." SAG voters begin seeing the film 2 and 3 times.

In January the Golden Globes voted on by about 88 foreign journalists gives Best Drama to "The Social Network", Best Director to David Fincher and Best Screenplay to Aaron Sorkin. Their film is still perceived as the Oscar winner.

Team Weinstein underestimates their hard work and is in shock when "The King's Speech" wins the PGA in L.A. Harvey doesn't even attend and is working in Sundance. They are equally surprised when Tom Hooper wins the DGA and the actors win the SAG Ensemble. The BAFTAs reinforced the lead. They are now the front runner. It takes the media a few weeks to catch on.

The Daily Mail announces Her Royal Highness, Queen Elizabeth has enjoyed a private screening of "The King's Speech" and is "moved" by the film. With no proof the Queen has actually seen the film, the Weinstein Company sends out a global press release thanking her Majesty for the endorsement. They also acknowledge Prime Minister David Cameron's private Christmas screening.

On Oscar night, it isn't until Hilary Swank surprisingly yells out Hooper's name for Best Director that Harvey's gang finally realizes they are getting the Oscar for Best Picture. The King has spoken.

Friday, February 24th
Mid-day, I arrive at The Beverly Hills Hotel, where I have stayed for thirty years. As the housekeepers unpack my bags upstairs I peek into the Polo Lounge and find icon Warren Beatty in a booth. He motions me over to meet an Egyptian fashion editor from Cairo. I say, "Warren, you are a little late to visit Cairo." I tell him I'm rooting for Annette and love her film "The Kids Are All Right". Warren tells me "The Social Network" will win.

This year I am two days late arriving to Oscar weekend. I am now shown to a very very very small room, the size of a broom closet. Uncharacteristically, I have a slight melt down. I am moved. The housekeepers run down the hall with my clothes flying. I calm down. The hotel is sold out. I get someone else's room. Another poor schmuck checking in downstairs will get the broom closet.

It is cold, grey and rainy. Taffata, organdy and embroidered silk evening clothes hang in my closet. I stay in my sweaters and fur coat and head to Arianna Huffington's Mediterranean house in Beverly Hills where Wendi Murdoch and Arianna are hosting a party for Tom Freston's wife, the beautiful blond Kathy. The book is called "Veganist: Lose Weight, Get Healthy, Change the World. A perfect book for Monks.

Arianna has just sold the Huffington Post for to AOL to $315 million dollars and rumored to have personally landed around $20 million. She is euphoric as she greets Nicole Kidman and Keith Urban at the door. Other drenched power players ushered in under umbrellas include Disney's Bob Iger and wife Willow Bay, Fox's Jim Gianopulos, Candice Bergen and journalist daughter Chloe Malle, Google's Eric Schmidt, Oliver Stone avoiding questions about Charlie Sheen and escorting his daughter Tara, Moby, Jamie Niven, Brian Grazer, Vivi Nevo, Tracey Ullman, CBS's Les Moonves and Julie Chen, Rob Reiner, Paramount's Brad Grey and fiancé Cassandra Marc and Jeff Bezos. Hors d'oeuvres include pigs in blankets, a food group not mentioned in Kathy's book.

The party action migrates to UTA Jim Burkus's home in the neighborhood for "True Grit's" Ethan and Joel Coen. I pass Ron Howard on the way in and he says, "Keep me on your list." Is he kidding? Sunrise and Mark Ruffalo, Tim Robbins, Focus Feature's James Shamus, Nancy Meyers and John Goldwyn mingle. Adorable Hallie Steinfeld is there with her parents. I am trying to fix her up with Justin Bieber. She giggles, "Peg, I am only 14."

Hunky Josh Brolin tells me he is coming to New York in March to shoot two new films. He is working on producing and starring in "The Hunchback of Notre Dame" with Tim Burton as a future project.

I am now inches away, face to face with Harrison Ford and stupidly tell him I love him in "Morning Glory". He is looking at me in utter disbelief and I will not shut up. A gorgeous guy is also inches away in a hat, glasses, jacket, layered sweater and scarves. I whisper to Harrison, "That looks just like Johnny Depp." Harrison rolls his eyes and reluctantly introduces me to his friend Johnny Depp. I babel a bit about his great work and run for cover to a corner next to my buddy, Jerry Bruckheimer. Jerry introduces me to the wives, Vanessa Paradis and Calista Flockhart. I bore them with girly chit-chat and realize it's time to get out of there.

I head over to the CAA/Bryan Lourd "Friday Night Party". Torrential rains and horrific winds cause a traffic jam that makes it impossible to get near the house. Cell phones do not work. The world's most famous faces cower under black umbrellas and make a run for it.

Bryan Lourd and Bruce Bozzi receive friends at the door all night. Inside Uma tells me she finally moved into a doorman building in New York after being terrorized by stalkers for years. Talented, Ben Walker talks about "Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter" he is about to shoot as his fiancé Mamie Gummer looks sexy shivering in a white satin gown. Producer Jon Kilik mentions he oversees a new cut of Julian Schnabel's "Miral" to be released in March. Bennett Miller, standing with Kristin Gore says Sony loves his new film "Moneyball" and Brad Pitt is terrific. (When is Brad Pitt not terrific?) Sandy Gallin tells me he has an actual job decorating Jeffrey Katzenberg's home and he has never been happier. I congratulate Barry Levinson's son, Sam, a director, for winning the writing award at Sundance for his first film, "Another Happy Day" which is inspired by his family.

Also seen floating around are, Taylor Swift and Jake Gyllenhaal, but not together, Sean Penn, Tom Curise and Katie Holmes, Anderson Cooper, Hilary Swank, Kelly Ripa, Carrie Fisher, Bruce Weber, Sean Combs, Paul Haggis, Marisa Tomei, Jay Roach, Kate Beckinsale, Demi Moore and Ashton Kutcher, Kate Hudson, Gerard Butler, Leo DiCaprio and Bar Refaeli, Renee Zellweger with Bradley Cooper, Biutiful director Alejandro Gonzalez-Inarritu, Kathryn Bigelow and Mark Boal, Ellen Barkin who is headed to Broadway in "The Normal Heart" this spring and CAA's Kevin Huvane, Richard Lovett and Hylda Quealy.

Busy Bruce Cohen who is producing Sunday's awards broadcast tries to get his car to leave. Limo lock is at a standstill. Nothing is moving outside. Two hundred swells become party prisoners and resign to just having an absolute ball till 5:00am. Once again, this is the most star studded party in town.

Saturday, February 26th, 2011

The sun comes up and dries up all the land. IAC chairmen and owner of The Newsweek/Daily Beast Barry Diller and his designer wife Diane Von Furstenberg host their annual lunch for Graydon Carter in their Coldwater Canyon home. Barry introduces me to his star guest, Governor Jerry Brown, just elected to his third (nonconsecutive) term as California Governor. Diane's children, Alex and Tatiana, along with their children comprise three generations of guests, which makes this party so special.

Like last year, enormous clear plastic tents are erected on the hill near the house. Long wooden picnic tables covered with yellow flowers sit on oriental rugs, covering the soggy ground. Terrines of hot soup, platters of sausages, fried chicken and salads are beautifully arranged on an endless buffet. Everyone wears winter clothes; comfy sweaters and sensible shoes. I arrive in a fur coat.

Barry and Diane's loyal friends have been coming to this party for over fifteen years. Everybody knows everybody and it doesn't matter if you have a hit film or TV show this season. Oprah Winfrey kisses David Geffen, casually chats with former Disney CEO Michael Eisner and current Sony chief Sir Howard Stringer. Brett Ratner arrives with his house guest Jean Pigozzi who is allowed to photograph everyone. Graydon greets people with wife Anna and Fran Lebowitz by his side.

Ingrid Sischy and Sandy Brant, Rupert Murdoch, Ron Meyer, Bryan Lourd Francesco Clemente with his twin boys and Tom Ford chat each other up. People watching include the pregnant Victoria and David Beckham with Lynn Wyatt, Liv Tyler, Vincent Gallo, Eva Longoria, Larry Gagosian and Shala Monroque, Ben Silverman, Debbie and Allen Grubman, Tobias Meyer and Mark Fletcher and Stephen Gaghan and Mini Mortimer wearing her oversized cat glasses.

Bruce Cohen has invited me to the Oscar broadcast rehearsal. This is a special honor. There are metal barricades leading up to the credentials trailer. High-tech security includes photos and computer background checks. The only thing they don't do is pat me down and ask for fingerprints. Once inside the Kodak Theater's massive auditorium, I find a seat next to Bruce's proud parents. I watch Josh Brolin and Javier Bardem come out in white dinner jackets and flub their lines as they pretend to present Best Adapted Screenplay and Best Original Screenplay. Josh later told me at The Night Before Party that their acting methods are completely opposite. Josh says he is a quick study and is very creative and comfortable ad-libbing. Javier, whose mother tongue is Spanish, needs to have every syllable printed out, which he studies with a dialect coach. Little wiggle room for jokes. Life size photos on large cardboard plaques are taped to each nominee's chair. I try to memorize their location, so when I return Sunday I can quickly kiss them all.

Back at the Beverly Hills hotel, I slip into my gorgeous black tulle Dennis Basso cocktail dress with a plunging neck line and put on my mother's jewels. Jim Coleman takes me the Night Before Party in the hotel. This is Jeffrey Katzenberg's, 9th Annual A-lister event benefiting The Motion Picture & Television Fund where they raise $6.5 million dollars in one night. I walk right into Valentino who gives me the once over and approves my outfit. I tell him and Giancarlo Giammetti that Woody Allen's new film, "Midnight in Paris" is opening the Cannes Film Festival and they must bring the yacht. Woody is also filming all summer in Rome and I am counting on them to entertain him.

Elton John and David Furnish join our conversation and of course we ask for intimate details about the new baby. Elton says this is the first time they have been away from him for more than a night and they are delirious with parenthood. I segway over to Amy Adams who mentions she also hates leaving her baby in the hotel room. I tell her she's acted like a lady with all the attention showered on Melissa Leo and that someday soon she will win an Oscar because she consistently hands in amazing performances and everybody loves her. Next stop is Kate Capshaw in a black bowler hat chatting with Steven Spielberg's god-daughter Gwyneth Paltrow. Kate gushes as she talks about her two grandchildren from daughter Jessica. I have known Steven since "I Wanna Hold Your Hand". In 1982, as a young publicist on "E.T." I moved to California to work for him as one of his thirteen assistants. I now tell him I'm going to Broadway opening of "War Horse" with Kathy Kennedy and Frank Marshall and cannot wait to see his movie version. He is wildly excited about the film. I beg him to work on it.

I meet sweet Jennifer Aniston, her new hair cut and her perfect little body. Her date tells me her secret is a half hour on the treadmill every day. Somehow I think that's an understatement. I tell Jesse Eisenberg I was on his plane home from the Baftas last week. He was hiding under his hoodie and I knew not to bother him. He said innocently, "You should have said 'Hello'. I always cover my head because I think my curls make me look like a girl".

The charity gives us a coupon booklet redeemable at various booths for cheap clothing, new iPads, make-up, chocolates, shampoo and a $50 dollar Arch gift card for free McDonalds hamburgers. A bargain is a bargain, rich people run around like lunatics, collecting gifts for their housekeepers. Among the shoppers are Steven and Heather Mnuchin, Viacom's Deborah and Philippe Dauman, Tamara Mellon, Christine Taylor and Ben Stiller, Cate Blanchette, Susan and Robert Downey,Jr., and Debra and Hugh Jackman.

Next stop is The Weinstein Company's Pre-Oscar party at the Soho House, sponsored by MontBlanc, celebrating their new charity partnership and $1 million dollar donation to the Princess Grace Foundation-USA. Long gone are the funky Miramax Saturday night parties where nominees spoofed their own films in homemade costumes and ad-libbed hilarious skits. Grown men would dress as Anna Paquin and play the piano in hopes of winning a Max Award.

There is social anxiety at the Soho House garage entrance. Guests patiently wait as super stars whisk by. A four hundred pound gorilla refuses to let me on the elevator until I spot Benny Medina. Once on, I see the radiant Jennifer Lopez in the corner and remind her we met on Len Blavatnik's yacht in Cannes. She graciously pretends to know me. Her manager, Benny Medina is kicking me.

I slip into Colin Firth's booth by the front bar to have a tete-a-tete with him and his wife Livia Giuggioli about tomorrow night. Jokingly, I suggest when he wins to say, "I'm speechless". Colin patiently assures me many people, far more clever than I, have already mentioned this. He then says that others are waging bets on whether he might subconsciously stutter. I grill him about his wardrobe, assuming he will be wearing a new Tom Ford tuxedo. He tells me both he and Ford will be in older models as Ford only designs classics. I tell him I made director Charles Ferguson, front runner for the financial documentary "Inside Job" spend $6,000 dollars last week for a new Tom Ford tuxedo.

In the back room Jennifer Lopez is now seated with Weinstein's wife Georgina Chapman. Nominee Helena Bonham Carter, her husband Tim Burton and her mother Elena circulate. Celebs have now drifted over from The Night Before Party. The star power includes Adrien Brody, Mary-Kate and Ashley Olsen, Cameron Diaz, Camilla Belle, Chace Crawford, Claire Danes and Hugh Dancy, Darren Aronofsky, Emma Stone, Jaime Foxx, director John Wells, Kerry Washington, Piers Morgan, Rachel Zoe, Russell Simmons, Sean Parker, Sir Ben Kingsly, Zack Braff , Michelle Williams and Leonardo Dicaprio with Bar Rafaeli. "Speech" filmmakers are functioning on high anxiety.

Sunday, February 27th, 2011

Producer Donna Gigliotti is my date to the awards. We are both so nervous we arrive at the Kodak Theater at 3:00pm and nobody is there. We are driven around for an hour. When we arrive at the world's most famous red carpet, I guide Donna through the extreme right security check-in to make sure we mingle with the nominees and get on camera. I teach her the red carpet hustle which is five steps forward, three steps back and one inch behind a couture-clad nominee. We greet Bryan Lourd as Sandra Bullock is talking to ABC-TV and a billion people see me wearing a black Marchesa gown. Five steps forward, three steps back, we next meet Gwyneth Paltrow. As I hook up the back of her dress another billion people see us correcting a fashion malfunction. Once again, five steps forward and three steps back. We are now posing for the still cameras between Nicole Kidman and Keith Urban. Our handbags begin buzzing. Countless friends are e-mailing us that they just saw us on television.

James Franco and Anne Hathaway are hip and energetic hosts. The film montages are always the best and the set looks great. This is the year of no surprises. Sorkin, Seidler, Christian Bale, Melissa Leo, Natalie Portman and Colin Firth are totally prepared to receive the gold. Tom Hooper's win leads into Best Picture. Harvey is now sitting in Spielberg's seats as Spielberg announces the win. Six months of

grueling work have finally paid off. King George VI and Harvey Weinstein now share the journey of a single man who triumphs over adversity.

The Governor's ball, held above the Kodak Theater, recreates the Mocambo-Ciro's niteries of the 1930's and 40's, using a palette of teal and white. Three bands alternate musical styles as hungry guests wolf down Wolfgang Puck's delicious food. The winners triumphantly sachet around the room holding their heavy eight pound gold statues.

An hour later there is a migration to the famous Vanity Fair party hosted by Graydon Carter at the Sunset Tower Hotel owned by Jeff Klein. One celebrity after another poses in front of the green hedge standing in the middle of the circular Vanity Fair logo to record their devotion and support to Graydon and the magazine.

There's a hierarchy of arrival times. The inner circle of Graydon's 150 best friends attend a seated dinner and viewing of the show at 5pm. They include Barry Diller and Diane Von Furstenberg, Francis Ford Coppola, Jon Hamm and Jennifer Westfeldt, Betsey Bloomingdale, Tory Burch and Lyor Cohen, Tom Ford, Sandy Gallin, Mitch Glazer and Kelly Lynch, Carolina and Reinaldo Herrera, L'Wren Scott and Sir Mick Jagger, Naomi Watts and Live Schreiber, Wendi Stark, Judd Apatow, Jackie and Joan Collins, George Hammilton, Donna Karan and Steve Martin.

The best and the brightest talent in town arrive at 9pm. They are Justin Bieber and his date Selena Gomez, Andrew Garfield, Jude Law, Vera Farmiga, Armie Hammer, Jennifer Lawrence, Kevin Spacey, Charlize Theron, Anne Hathaway, Hailee Steinfield,Taylor Hackford and Helen Mirren, Scarlett Johansson, Michelle Williams, Isla Fischer and Sasha Baron Cohen, Jane Fonda after her play, "33 Variations", Melania and Donald Trump whom I introduce to David O. Russell as The Trumpster gushes about "The Fighter". Donald offers me a ride home on his plane. He is leaving in ten minutes. Too bad James Franco didn't know because he is presently sitting on a commercial flight back to school, skipping his own after party. Social standings of the rest of the guests are determined by half hour increments. Every other person previously mentioned in the story is here. VF's Beth Kseniak and Matt Ullian tell me the list is cut down to 800 this year.

At 11:30pm there is another celebrity migration up the hill to Madonna manager Guy Oseary's house. One should note that earlier in the evening Madonna came down the hill to pose in a risqué outfit with daughter Lourdes in front of the green hedge. Madonna and co-host Demi Moore are able to lure the crème de la crème with the promise of fabulous music, dancing and no cameras. Those reported on their dance floor include Ryan Phillippe with Amanda Syedfried, who were making out all night and Phillippe's ex-wife Reese Witherspoon and new fiancé Jim Toth. They pregnant Natalie Portman and choreographer Benjamin Millepied, Mick Jagger, Tom Hanks, Sean Penn, Ralph Feinnes, Mila Kunis, Cameron Diaz, Gwyneth Paltrow and Renee Zellweger and Bradley Cooper boogie til dawn.

A winner's work is never done. Colin Firth, Tom Hooper and David Seidler show up at 4:30am at The Four Seasons Hotel for a live broadcast on The Today Show with Meredith Vieira. Functioning on an adrenalin rush, they are back at the Kodak Theater with Geoffrey Rush to appear on Oprah's live broadcast. Leave it to Oprah to get the king's last words.

-----Original Message-----
From: Peggy Siegal
Sent: Friday, March 04, 2011 6:12 PM
To: Stephanie
Subject: Oscar diary

Send to jeffrey

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/16/2009 11:20:59 AM
To: Sultan Bin Sulayem [redacted]

just as we thought------Russian bank Sberbank has quietly taken over his Capital Group's biggest asset, a massive housing, shops and offices project called Gorod Stolits, in Moskva-City on Moscow's outskirts. Under a $400 million (£270 million) loan agreement, the bank will ensure construction of the complex goes ahead at the end of the year as planned by Doronin, who has been likened to Donald Trump.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/14/2013 8:47:12 PM
To: Larry Summers [redacted]

Article 1.

Washington Post

Obama to make first trip to Israel, part of a potential 'new beginning' with region

Scott Wilson

President Obama will travel to Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories next month to make an early second-term push for peace negotiations between two divided governments and to assess the broader political developments remaking the Middle East.

It will be Obama's first trip as president to Israel, where suspicions run high in the aftermath of his unsuccessful early efforts at Middle East peacemaking.

The choice of destination — one that Obama avoided in his first term — suggests a revival of his ambitions abroad after a year of virtual dormancy on foreign affairs. The timing also points to a willingness on his part to quickly reengage a politically volatile foreign-

Office of Terje Rod-Larsen

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policy issue just months after winning his second term.

But the visit will highlight how much the region has changed since he last visited the Middle East in his first year in office, with the rise of Islamist governments and the widening repercussions of civil revolt.

After Obama helped topple Moammar Gaddafi in Libya in 2011, many in the region wondered when he would emerge again to help shape the course of the tumultuous Arab Spring, which has replaced a pair of U.S.-allied dictatorships with elected Islamist governments.

Within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, much has changed since the direct peace talks Obama inaugurated in September 2010 collapsed within weeks. Israel's recent battle with the armed Hamas movement in the Gaza Strip left many predicting a wider fight in the future, as divisions deepened within the Palestinian and Israeli electorates over whether talks or war would resolve the conflict.

"To make it a substantive trip that is more than a positive photo-op would require setting up a specific framework for an agreement and setting a tight deadline to achieve it," said Jeremy Ben-Ami, the executive director of J Street, a nonprofit group that advocates the

creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

White House officials would not provide a date for Obama's trip, which he will squeeze into the tight schedule he is building around a busy domestic agenda that includes immigration, guns and the economy.

But Israeli media reported that Obama is scheduled to arrive March 20 as part of a trip that will include a stop in Jordan, where the civil war in next-door Syria and its growing refugee crisis is presenting a major challenge to King Abdullah II, a U.S. ally .

Obama began his first term by making a strong push for peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians, believing the conflict fueled radicalism in the region in general and toward the United States in particular, given its historical support for the Jewish state.

In contrast to predecessor George W. Bush, Obama wanted to demonstrate to Arab governments that the United States would make demands of Israel in pursuit of a regional peace agreement.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu made little secret of his preference for Republican Mitt Romney in last year's U.S. presidential campaign. Netanyahu and Obama have at times disagreed bitterly over issues relating to

the Palestinians, including Israel's continued settlement construction in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Israel's military occupied those territories, along with Gaza, in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Palestinians view them as the key territorial elements of their future state.

In a June 2009 address in Cairo, a speech that asked for a "new beginning" with the Islamic world, Obama said: "The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements." He also did not stop in Israel on that trip, instead visiting Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Germany, where he emphasized the horror of the Holocaust and the moral imperative of defending Israel. Romney, among others, made the omission a campaign issue.

But on regional security issues, Obama and Netanyahu have deepened cooperation amid rising U.S. military aid to Israel. Obama has agreed with Netanyahu that Iran must not be allowed to use its uranium-enrichment program to develop a nuclear weapon, an issue that the two will discuss during Obama's visit.

Netanyahu's Likud party emerged from elections last month as the largest bloc in Israel's parliament, meaning that he will serve another term as prime minister. But

a surprisingly strong showing by a new centrist party is likely to put more pressure on him to pursue talks.

"It was a mistake for Obama not to go in the first term at a time when it could have affected Israeli public opinion of him, and now, it has hardened against him to a point that I don't believe it can," said Elliott Abrams, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations who served as a senior Middle East adviser to Bush.

Obama's visit will coincide with growing concern in the region that the two-state solution favored by him is in peril, as Israeli settlement construction continues and as the Islamist Hamas gains clout within the once-secular Palestinian nationalist movement. Hamas emerged stronger politically from the recent clash with Israel and continues to reject the Jewish state's right to exist.

Hamas and its secular rival Fatah are due to meet Saturday as part of a reconciliation process. If an agreement is reached and Hamas joins the Palestinian Authority, Obama will be faced with an awkward decision on whether to meet with a government that includes members of a U.S.-designated terrorist movement.

As he begins again in the region, Obama will be advised by new Secretary of State John F. Kerry. He has also named former

senator Chuck Hagel as defense secretary, a nomination still in question after an unsteady performance by the candidate before the Senate Armed Services Committee last week that focused in part on his past criticism of Israel.

"This trip is a signal that the president has an interest, not just in the peace issue, but also in the broader concerns that Israel is facing," said Dennis Ross, a senior Middle East adviser to Obama during his first term who is at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "In some ways, it will be the president traveling to Israel to ask for a new beginning."

Article 2.

Foreign Policy

Saeb Erekat - The Peace Processor

An interview by Aaron David Miller

February 5, 2013 -- Other than Mahmoud Abbas, Saeb Erekat could be the most recognizable Palestinian on the planet. The chief Palestinian negotiator is certainly among the most passionate in promoting the cause. And nobody on the

Palestinian side knows the substance of the issues or the negotiating history better.

I first met Erekat in the late 1980s, while working on the Palestinian issue for then Secretary of State George Shultz. Back then, the U.S.-educated diplomat was already showing the brashness and outspokenness that would make him one of the most memorable -- if exasperating -- of the Palestinians with whom we dealt.

He annoyed then Secretary of State James Baker by wearing his kaffiyeh around his shoulders at the opening of the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991. And over the years, he continued to annoy the Israelis too with his fiery performances on CNN -- though to this day, key Israeli negotiators, such as Isaac Molho, continue to praise his pragmatism at the bargaining table.

It was Erekat's academic bent, analytical chops, and capacity to write in English that would make him so indispensable to the only Palestinian who really counted in those days -- Yasir Arafat. Erekat was a unique figure -- neither a fighter (no nom de guerre for him), nor a PLO insider, nor an organization man from Tunis. Rather, he was a West Banker from Jericho, and he succeeded in maintaining his relevance in a Palestinian

political scene dominated not by fellow academics, but by hard men defined by struggle and intrigue. During the heady days of the peace process, he became a key point of contact for the Americans, the Israelis, the Arabs, and much of the rest of the international community.

I came to know Erekat not only as a negotiator, but as a person. He sent his kids to Seeds of Peace, a conflict resolution and coexistence organization that I ran briefly after leaving the State Department, and my daughter befriended his and stayed with the Erekats in Jericho. Saeb and I have yelled at each other, defended our respective positions, laughed, and mourned opportunities that were never adequately explored. But through it all, what he said about himself was true: He wasn't as pro-Palestinian or pro-Israeli as much as he was pro-peace.

That peace has proven elusive to this day. But with all our differences -- and there are many -- I believe Erekat believes in its possibility. Who else would list as an "objective" on his resume: "Solve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict based on a two state negotiated solution through diplomatic offices"?

If, or perhaps when, another effort to negotiate a deal is made, one thing is clear -- Erekat will be in the middle of it. Last week, he agreed to answer my

questions on the past and future of the Israeli-Palestinian problem.

FP: What were your best and worst moments in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, and what was the greatest missed opportunity?

Saeb Erekat: Though I was not the chief negotiator at that moment, the connection between [then Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin and President Arafat made everyone around them, including myself, feel that peace was possible. There was significant progress in all tracks until Rabin's assassination by an Israeli terrorist -- after he was killed, no Israeli leader had the vision to understand that the window of opportunity for a two-state solution would close as fast as they continued their colonization policies.

The missed opportunity has definitely been Israel throwing away the Arab Peace Initiative, which offers normalization of relations of 57 countries with Israel in exchange for Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 border. They threw it away by bombing Gaza, by intensifying collective punishments, and by increasing settlement construction all over the occupied West Bank, particularly in and around Occupied East Jerusalem.

FP: 2013 is the 20th anniversary of the Oslo negotiations. What was Oslo's greatest success, and its greatest failure?

SE: The fact that, two decades after Oslo, we are still a nation under occupation shows that Israeli governments did derail it. The interim accords were not supposed to last for 20 years but only five. After that, we were going to enjoy freedom and sovereignty.

But Israel increased its settlement expansion. In fact, within 20 years, the number of settlers almost tripled. The institution-building efforts led by the Palestinian government have been completely undermined by the lack of freedom. This situation cannot continue. Oslo succeeded in bringing back 250,000 Palestinians from the diaspora and building the capacity for our state. The international community failed though, by granting Israel an unprecedented culture of impunity that allowed them to use negotiations as a means to continue rather than stop colonization.

FP: What is the most important thing Israelis don't understand about Palestinians?

SE: That we are not going anywhere. As simple as that. We are not going to disappear just because their government builds an annexation wall around us.

They should close their eyes and imagine their state within 10 years time. What do they see? If they continue their policies, they are going to officially adopt the form of an apartheid regime, which I think is not what many Israelis want.

FP: What is the most important thing Palestinians have learned about Israelis?

SE: That Israelis will not take back the ships that brought them here to leave somewhere else. We got to understand that we have to live side by side. The rules of engagement, though, cannot be those of apartheid, but those of freedom.

FP: What do you expect from the next Israeli government on the peace process?

SE: I don't think there is room for optimism, but our position hasn't changed. We don't see any other solution than a two-state solution. Any Israeli government that recognizes this fact and respects what previous governments have agreed upon should become a partner for peace.

FP: Is Hamas-Fatah unity possible, and what would the impact be on the future of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations?

SE: We expect to have progress in the near future, with Hamas allowing the Central Elections Commission to register new voters in Gaza. I believe there is political agreement -- in fact, there is a signed agreement. We expect to have

elections as soon as possible, which is the right way to solve our differences: Let our people decide, those in Palestine as well as our people in the Diaspora.

Having said so, Hamas has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, including its mandate to negotiate a final status agreement with Israel. Once that is achieved, we expect to hold a national referendum.

FP: How would you describe Egypt's role in the peace process now? What do you expect from President Barack Obama's administration with regards to the peace process?

SE: Egypt has played a central role, and continues to do so. We trust that Egypt, under President Mohamed Morsy's leadership, will continue to play a strong role because Palestine and Egypt have a common interest in achieving peace.

President Obama had stated that he has a personal commitment to bring peace to the Middle East. We, the Egyptians, and the rest of the Arab world tell him that we are ready for peace. We have the Arab Peace Initiative. This goes in line with the stated U.S. national interest. Washington's failure to explicitly say that Israel is to blame for choosing

settlements over peace has contributed to Israel's culture of impunity.

FP: Can America be an effective broker in negotiations?

SE: If the U.S. decides to be an honest broker, it could not only be effective but in fact could bring real peace to the region, a just and lasting one. The U.S. has a moral obligation toward the Palestinian people, who have been under occupation and living in exile for decades.

FP: Is a two state solution still possible?

SE: Yes, but only if there is a political will. So far, Israel's will is about colonization, and the international community has failed to put an end to decades of double standards by treating Israel as a state above the law. We don't see any other solution than a two-state solution, though Israel is taking us to a one-state reality.

Aaron David Miller is a distinguished scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Article 3.

The Daily Beast

The Mixed Legacy Of Shimon Peres

Daniel Gavron

Feb 4, 2013 -- Now that he has finished his consultations with the country's political parties and charged Benjamin Netanyahu with forming a new coalition, Israel's respected President, Shimon Peres, is once again very much in the news. In his speech inviting Netanyahu to form the next government, the President spoke forcefully about peace and even seemed to influence Bibi to mention peace, a word he never used in his election campaign. Peres has rightly earned respect for this from many quarters, but now, as the coalition is being formed, it might be a good time to examine one aspect of Israel's political culture: the lack of respect for the task of a parliamentary opposition. Peres is at least partly to blame for this, as he almost always preferred to join various administrations—even as a junior partner—rather than lead the opposition, ofen citing "our grave situation" and "national responsibility." Now is surely a better time to criticize Peres than in June, when the world (maybe even including President Barack Obama) will be coming here to celebrate his 90th birthday. Then, surely, everyone will be paying deserved tribute to the wisdom of this elder statesman and prophet of peace, and it would be a shame to spoil the

party. So let's clear the air right now, well before the festivities. Before we get to the matter of coalition politics, which is very much on our minds right now as Netanyahu struggles to put together a government, let us consider the other negative part of the Peres legacy: his stint as Defense Minister under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin from 1974 to 1977. Today Peres is widely respected as the architect of the Oslo Accord of 1993, achieved while he was Foreign Minister. It was the first political move toward a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, and Peres deserves huge credit for securing the agreement. However, two decades earlier, as Defense Minister, he supported the Jewish settlement project in the newly-conquered Palestinian territories, both overtly and covertly. Not for nothing did Rabin label Peres in his memoirs as "an indefatigable intriguer." In 1975, while Rabin was doing his utmost to prevent the settlement of Elon Moreh, near Nablus, Peres continuously sabotaged his efforts. After no less than eight settlement attempts, which were ruled illegal by Israel's Supreme Court, a "compromise" was reached, and Elon Moreh was established five kilometers to the east of the original site. Moreover, during the furor over Elon Moreh, Defense Minister Peres quietly facilitated the creation of Ofra, near Ramallah.

These two settlements, which have become flagships of the settlement movement, were the start of Jewish colonization in Samaria, the northern part of the West Bank. The previous year, as a young reporter, I interviewed Peres, after he and his political ally Moshe Dayan had refused "on principle" to join the government of Golda Meir. "If a single child can learn that politics is not just intrigues," Peres told me, "I will be satisfied that we have done our bit." Just one week later, when he and Dayan had reversed their position for no discernable reason, and were seated snugly around the cabinet table, I asked Peres what he had to say to the "single child." His aides sniggered, but Peres didn't bat an eyelid: "Just what my mentor, David Ben-Gurion (Israel's first Prime Minister) told me: when the security of Israel is laid on one side of the scales, and everything else on the other side, security tips the balance." Peres subsequently used that self-same argument to join every government that would have him. The late Menachem Begin lost nine elections before finally becoming Israel's Prime Minister in 1977. He served as a pugnacious and dedicated leader of the opposition. Peres almost never headed the opposition, always preferring a ministerial appointment, once even designing a grotesque system of

"rotation" with Yitzhak Shamir, so that he could be in the government. He proposed the ideal of "national unity," and greatly devalued the democratic concept of parliamentary opposition. Former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni ruined her reputation when she refused to join Netanyahu in his last government. While it is quite true that Livni was an ineffective opposition leader, it is the very fact of her refusal to join the administration and "influence it from within" that has provoked most of the criticism by Israeli political commentators. Similar criticism is currently being leveled at Labor Party leader Shelly Yachimovich for stating clearly that she would not join Netanyahu's next government, but would serve as leader of the opposition. There are certainly many reasons to criticize Yachimovich, but not her eminently democratic decision to lead the parliamentary opposition. Very few of our political commentators have ever expressed respect or even understanding for the concept of opposition. The most popular political idea in Israel today is national unity—better still, a National Unity Government: "We should all rally round the flag and support our government in these critical times." This position, widely espoused, echoes what Peres has said repeatedly over the years.

So, although the Peres vision of peace is a positive legacy, he has also taught us less helpful lessons. The settlements are a supremely negative inheritance, but I would argue that the anti-democratic rejection of the concept of a parliamentary opposition is an even more harmful bequest handed down to us by President Shimon Peres.

Daniel Gavron, who lives in Israel, is a former journalist and the author of nine books, the most recent of which is Holy Land Mosaic, stories of cooperation and coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).

Article 4.

NYT

India vs. China vs. Egypt

Thomas L. Friedman

February 5, 2013 -- New Delhi -- It's hard to escape a visit to India without someone asking you to compare it to China. This visit was no exception, but I think it's more revealing to widen the aperture and compare India, China and Egypt. India has a weak central government but a really strong civil society, bubbling with elections and

associations at every level. China has a muscular central government but a weak civil society, yet one that is clearly straining to express itself more. Egypt, alas, has a weak government and a very weak civil society, one that was suppressed for 50 years, denied real elections and, therefore, is easy prey to have its revolution diverted by the one group that could organize, the Muslim Brotherhood, in the one free space, the mosque. But there is one thing all three have in common: gigantic youth bulges under the age of 30, increasingly connected by technology but very unevenly educated.

My view: Of these three, the one that will thrive the most in the 21st century will be the one that is most successful at converting its youth bulge into a "demographic dividend" that keeps paying off every decade, as opposed to a "demographic bomb" that keeps going off every decade. That will be the society that provides more of its youth with the education, jobs and voice they seek to realize their full potential.

This race is about "who can enable and inspire more of its youth to help build broad societal prosperity," argues Dov Seidman, the author of "How" and C.E.O. of LRN, which has an operating center in India. "And that's all about leaders, parents and teachers creating

environments where young people can be on a quest, not just for a job, but for a career — for a better life that doesn't just surpass but far surpasses their parents." Countries that fail to do that will have a youth bulge that is not only unemployed, but unemployable, he argued. "They will be disconnected in a connected world, despairing as they watch others build and realize their potential and curiosity."

If your country has either a strong government or a strong civil society, it has the ability to rise to this challenge. If it has neither, it will have real problems, which is why Egypt is struggling. China leads in providing its youth bulge with education, infrastructure and jobs, but lags in unleashing freedom and curiosity. India is the most intriguing case — if it can get its governance and corruption under control. The quest for upward mobility here, especially among women and girls, is palpable. I took part in the graduation ceremony for The Energy and Resources Institute last week. Of 12 awards for the top students, 11 went to women.

"India today has 560 million young people under the age of 25 and 225 million between the ages of 10 and 19," explained Shashi Tharoor, India's minister of state for human resource development. "So for the next 40 years we should have a youthful working-age

population" at a time when China and the broad industrialized world is aging. According to Tharoor, the average age in China today is around 38, whereas in India it's around 28. In 20 years, that gap will be much larger. So this could be a huge demographic dividend — "provided that we can educate our youth — offering vocational training to some and university to others to equip them to take advantage of what the 21st-century global economy offers," said Tharoor. "If we get it right, India becomes the workhorse of the world. If we get it wrong, there is nothing worse than unemployable, frustrated" youth.

Indeed, some of India's disaffected youth are turning to Maoism in rural areas. "We have Maoists among our tribal populations, who have not benefited from the opportunities of modern India," Tharoor said. There have been violent Maoist incidents in 165 of India's 625 districts in recent years, as Maoists tap into all those left out of the "Indian dream." So there is now a huge push here to lure poor kids into school. India runs the world's biggest midday lunch program, serving 250 million free school lunches each day. It's also doubled its number of Indian Institutes of Technology, from eight to 16, and is planning 14 new universities for innovation and research.

But this will all be for naught without better governance, argues Gurcharan Das, the former C.E.O. of Procter & Gamble India, whose latest book is "India Grows at Night: A Liberal Case for a Strong State." "The aspirational India has no one to vote for, because no one is talking the language of public goods. Why should it take us 15 years to get justice in the courts or 12 years to build a road? The gap between [youth] aspirations and government performance is huge. My thesis is that India has risen despite the state. It is a story of public failure and private success."

That is what Das means by India grows at night, when government sleeps. "But India must learn to grow during the day," he said. "If India fixes its governance before China fixes its politics that is who will win. ... You need a strong state and a strong society, so the society can hold the state accountable. India will only get a strong state when the best of society join the government, and China will only get a strong society when the best Mandarins go into the private sector."

Article 5.

Foreign Policy

Don't be too sure there won't be another U.S. war in the Middle East

Richard L. Russell

February 5, 2013 -- Shortly before he left office in Feb. 2011, Defense Secretary Robert Gates told West Point cadets that "in my opinion, any future defense secretary who advised the president to again send a big American land army into Asia or into the Middle East or Africa should ‘have his head examined,' as General MacArthur so delicately put it." The remark no doubt reflected Sec. Gates's fatigue and frustration from the enormous intellectual and emotional burdens associated with overseeing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

One suspects, however, that in a more reflective moment, Gates would have acknowledged that "never say never" is a wise rule of thumb in planning for military contingencies, especially in the region that makes up Central Command's area-of-responsibility. Few, for example, predicted the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Gates himself -- who was a senior CIA official during the covert war supporting the Afghan resistance -- surely did not anticipate then that the United

States would have to return to Afghanistan two decades later to oust a Taliban regime that was harboring terrorists. Before 1990, moreover, no one predicted that Iraq, having just ended a bitter eight-year war with Iran, would swing its battered forces south to invade Kuwait.

So if it's conventional wisdom that the United States will not, or should not, intervene militarily in the Middle East or South Asia after it draws down forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, it's also likely dead wrong. What is true, however, is that political and military trajectories in the Middle East and South Asia are likely to increasingly challenge U.S. contingency access in the coming decade. The ability for the United States to surge large-scale forces into the region, as it did in the 1990 and 2003 wars against Iraq, will grow increasingly circumscribed. The United States will have to adapt to this new strategic landscape by developing more nimble, highly-mobile, stealthy, and networked forces, and by abandoning the traditional practice of slowly and steadily building up conventional forces at regional logistic hubs prior to launching war.

* * *

Perhaps the most significant factor that portends against further intervention in

the Middle East and South Asia is increased political resistance -- and outright opposition -- from the countries in the region. That resistance is likely to come from the new regimes emerging from the Arab uprisings, as well as a number of Gulf monarchies.

Indeed, the political trends in the region are unlikely to conform to the rosy predictions of democratic peace theorists, whose musings have implicitly informed the security policies of both Republican and Democratic administrations for decades. Old authoritarian regimes seem to be passing the way of the dodo bird, but the new regimes taking shape are heavily influenced by militant Islamic ideology that will make them less likely to engage in security or military cooperation with the United States.

Democracy optimists argue that these ideological regimes, once entrenched in power, will have to moderate their zeal in order to govern. Pragmatism will ultimately trump ideology. That line of reasoning, however, is based on the assumption that the policy decisions of such regimes can be explained by rational choice economic theory. In other words, if they want to attract international capital and participate in the world economy, they are going to have to break with their ideological affinities. But that reasoning ignores a hard fact of international

politics: that time and again, political and ideological prerogatives trump economic rationality. It made little economic sense, for example, for Pakistan to pursue a nuclear weapons program in the 1970s, just as it makes little economic sense for Iran to do so today. Clearly, both Pakistan and Iran made major policy decisions based on political-military priorities rather than economic calculations.

As for the surviving monarchies in the Middle East, they too will likely be less accommodating to American military forces than they have been in the past. To be sure, much of the Arab support for past American military operations -- like both Iraq wars -- was hidden from the public eye. Arab states often loudly and publicly denounced "unilateral American" military action in the region at the same time as they supported it in backroom dealings, quietly authorizing facilities support and air, land, and sea access.

But if Arab Gulf states were quietly supportive in the past, their opposition to American military force is likely to grow in the future. They read the aftermath of the Arab uprisings much differently than did American and European policymakers. The Gulf monarchies were shocked that the United States "abandoned" Egyptian President Hosni

Mubarak in his time of need in early 2011. Their leaders expected the United States to push for Mubarak and the Egyptian military to crack down on public protests in Cairo. After all, American policymakers during the Carter administration had at least given this policy option consideration during the Iranian revolution in 1979.

Already, several Gulf states have begun to translate their displeasure into policy independence from Washington. In 2011, for example, a coalition of Gulf states led by Saudi Arabia intervened in Bahrain to quell domestic unrest in the island country. They did so under the banner of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), which for years had been a feckless military force. Largely unnoticed in Western commentary was that the GCC, for the first time in its history, mounted a relatively effective military intervention.

Bahrain today is for all intents and purposes a province of Saudi Arabia, even if it is not polite to say so in diplomatic circles. Since the Iranian revolution, Bahrain -- like the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, and Qatar -- has pursued close ties with the United States, in significant measure to counterbalance Iran and Saudi Arabia. With Washington at their back, they were able to stake out security policies that were at least nominally independent from

Saudi Arabia. When Saudi Arabia wanted American forces removed from the kingdom, for example, Qatar was eager to compensate by hosting a more robust American command presence in the region.

The Arab uprisings and subsequent GCC intervention in Bahrain have turned the tables, making Saudi security backing a necessity for the smaller Gulf monarchies. From their perspective, American forces are clearly more capable than Saudi forces, but given the alignment of their interests, Riyadh is a more reliable security partner. Gulf leaders and military commanders in the coming decade will be focused on how to avoid following in Mubarak's footsteps. Part of minimizing that risk will involve decreasing security dependency on the United States. Gulf leaders have to worry that if push comes to shove, the Americans will throw them under a bus just like they did to Mubarak.

* * *

If the political dynamics in the Middle East and South Asia do not favor further American military intervention in the future, neither do the emerging military trends. The proliferation of supersonic cruise missiles and mines in the region will make for nasty forced entries into

narrow maritime confines like the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf.

But the likely proliferation of nuclear weapons -- and ballistic missile delivery systems -- will pose even more formidable challenges to conventional military surges in the region. In the future, the United States will not be able to take for granted unchallenged surges of naval, air, and ground forces into regional theaters via logistics hubs. These hubs -- like the American naval presence in Bahrain -- are large, readily identifiable, and will be increasingly vulnerable to future targeting by nuclear weaponry.

Iran's nuclear weapons, assuming it gets them, will pose a direct threat to American military surge capabilities. Although American policymakers and military commanders might feel confident that they could surge forces into the Gulf despite Iranian nuclear threats because of the American nuclear deterrent, Gulf security partners might be more nervous and less willing to cooperate. As a result, they might not grant access to U.S. air, naval, and ground forces out of fear of angering Iran.

American observers who doubt that Gulf states would make such calculations should recall how Kuwait responded in

the lead-up to Iraq's invasion in 1990. When faced with a build-up of Iraqi forces along its border, Kuwait decided not to mobilize its military out of fear that the move would provoke Saddam Hussein. The incentives for Gulf states to make similar strategic calculations in the future will be greater when Iran has an inventory of nuclear weapons to match its growing ballistic missile capabilities.

The Gulf states, moreover, will likely reason that the U.S. capability to threaten or use force against a nuclear Iran will be significantly diminished. Even without nuclear weapons, Gulf states have seen, in their view, a long history of American reluctance to threaten or use force against Iran. For example, the United States took no direct military action against Iran after it aided and abetted Hezbollah bombings against Americans in Lebanon in the 1980s, after Iran supported the bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia in 1996, or even after Iran supported the deadly campaign of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) against U.S. troops in Iraq. Gulf states will no doubt judge that if the United States was unable and unwilling to attack Tehran under these circumstances, then it is certainly not going to attack Iran in the future, when it will be able to retaliate with nuclear weapons.

American policymakers may counter that Iran would never be foolish enough to threaten or use nuclear weapons against the United States, given its robust nuclear deterrence posture. But the threat or use of nuclear weapons might not look so foolish from Iran's perspective. One of the great strategic lessons drawn from the long history of conflict in the Middle East is this: Do not go to war without nuclear weapons, as Saddam Hussein did when he invaded Kuwait. The corollary is: Do not allow the United States to methodically build-up forces in the Gulf prior to invading, as Saddam did both in the run-up to the 1991 re-conquest of Kuwait and in 2003, before the drive to topple the regime in Baghdad.

Drawing upon these lessons, Iran will likely do everything in its power to deny the United States the ability to surge conventional forces into the region -- and that might include threatening to target U.S. forces with nuclear weapons. Iran might accept the risk that preemptive use of nuclear weapons could bring on American nuclear retaliation, because failure to do so would mean certain destruction for the regime. The United States would be able to build-up conventional forces in the region and oust Iran's leaders just as it did in Baghdad.

This line of strategic reasoning runs counter to conventional wisdom in the

West, but we actually know little or nothing about what Iranian decision-makers think about nuclear weapons or deterrence theory. Since the Iranian revolution in 1979, opportunities for the exchange of professional views between Western and Iranian scholars, policymakers, and military leaders on these critically important issues have been extremely limited. Therefore, it's not unreasonable to assume that the Iranians, like American policymakers in the early stages of developing their nuclear triad doctrine, will think of nuclear weapons as merely "big artillery." Unfortunately, the United States and its security partners lack formal and informal exchanges with the Iranians akin to the Cold War discussions and arms control negotiations between the Americans and Soviets, which allowed both parties to develop mutual understandings of the other's perception of nuclear weapons. These understandings were essential for crisis management in the Cold War strategic relationship after the Cuban missile crisis.

Meanwhile, the Gulf states, led by Saudi Arabia, are likely to look for their own nuclear deterrents. Much like France wanted its own nuclear force de frappe during the Cold War, the Gulf states will want their own nuclear weapons to deter Iran. Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf

states will worry that the United States would be deterred from coming to their defense in future regional crises by Iran's nuclear weapons.

Saudi Arabia and other Arab states are likely to see nuclear weapons as a quick fix for all of their security woes. Although they have been on a shopping spree in the past decade, buying expensive and sophisticated Western military technology, they have had a tough time absorbing the new technology and fully utilizing and integrating weapons systems. To be sure, in a rough net assessment, Saudi Arabia and its allies in the Gulf have significantly greater conventional capabilities than Iran. But if Iran goes nuclear, they will want to follow suit.

* * *

Americans may be weary of conflict in the Middle East and South Asia, but strategic prudence demands that we contemplate future military interventions in the Central Command theater. A scan of the horizon reveals that both political and military trends in the region pose formidable obstacles to conventional force surges into the region.

But there is another wrinkle in this story that U.S. policymakers must contend with as they plan for the future. As Gulf monarchies seek to reduce their

dependence on American military power, they will increasingly look to China for security assurances. China does not have a political agenda devoted to promoting democratization, and it maintains political and diplomatic ties with both Arab states and Iran. China's military activity in the region is modest but increasing, as evidenced by its recent peacekeeping dispatches to the region and naval port visits in the Gulf. Beijing is likely to send more naval forces to the Gulf to increase its presence there and enhance its ability to protect the sea lanes which bring oil to China's thirsty economy. China is keenly aware that the United States has naval supremacy in the Gulf, but will be working to erode that strategic edge in the future.

Faced with these realities, there is a need for new thinking and innovative conceptualizations of surges into Centcom's area of responsibility. Theater campaign planners will have to think about contingencies in which the United States cannot slowly and methodically build up forces in the region and then kick off campaigns after most troops, arms, and equipment are in place. Future U.S. force build-ups in the region will be far too vulnerable to preemptive nuclear strikes. As a result, planners will have to devise campaign plans in which the insertion of U.S. military forces begins

with an immediate rolling and flowing start. The United States will have to work from smaller troop footprints and be prepared to start fighting even as follow-on-forces are on the way. Ideally, these forces would flow from multiple staging positions to reduce vulnerability to nuclear attack. The politics of the region, however, will work against securing a multitude of staging areas from which to deploy.

The region under the purview of Centcom has always been riddled with political violence that has posed formidable challenges to military operations. But in plotting a course over the horizon, the political and military obstacles for American military surges into the region are poised to grow even larger. As a result, theater contingency planners will have fewer good options for projecting American military power into the region -- and they'll have to do more with the bad and the ugly.

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Article 6.

The Diplomat

Getting to the Endgame With Iran

Robert Dreyfuss

February 6, 2013 -- Why did it take so long to secure a date for talks between Iran and the P5+1?

After all, in the weeks before the presidential election in November, it was reported that the United States and Iran had already tactically agreed to convene private, one-on-one talks. And since then the United States, the European powers, Russia, and China, all sought to arrange another round of negotiations, first in December and then in January. It now appears that Iran, which is about to enter its presidential election season, has finally agreed to what will be the first round of negotiations with the P5+1 since the last round in Moscow seven months ago. On Tuesday, Tehran announced that it will join talks on February 26 in Kazakhstan.

The negotiations will be a serious test for the Obama administration and for John Kerry, the new secretary of state. Previous rounds have all faltered because neither side was willing to make

concessions to the other, and so far there is little sign that the United States and the P5+1 have improved their offer to Iran very much. As the talks were announced, the Washington Post reported: "The P5+1 powers have made only mild revisions to a proposal that Iran flatly rejected last June." Until now, the United States has been unwilling to acknowledge Iran's right to enrich uranium on its own soil and to suggest that some economic sanctions might be lifted as part of a deal, and Iran has refused to agree even to a limited deal called "stop, ship, and shut" – involving the suspension of its enrichment to 20 percent purity, shipping its existing stockpiles of 20% uranium to a third country for processing, and shutting down its underground facility at Fordo, near Qom – without an agreement to lift sanctions.

After the reelection of Barack Obama in November, there were great hopes that the president would have greater political freedom of offer concessions to Iran. Yet, publicly at least, the White House isn't signaling that it is ready to make a more generous offer to Iran, and in fact Obama in January signed into law yet another round of draconian economic sanctions.

Perhaps as a result, Iran allegedly dragged its feet on setting a date for talks. Despite prodding from the P5+1 – including urgent efforts by Russia — in

January Iran reportedly went silent about talks. Russia, increasingly frustrated by the inability of Tehran and the West to negotiate seriously, vented its frustration. “Some of our partners in the six powers and the Iranian side cannot come to an agreement about where to meet," Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov told a news conference. "We are ready to meet at any location as soon as possible. We believe the essence of our talks is far more important (than the site), and we hope that common sense will prevail and we will stop behaving like little children.”

According to analysts in Washington, reinforced by comments from Iran itself, a big reason for Tehran’s recalcitrance is that Iran wants to prove to the United States that its vaunted sanctions regime will not force Iran to make unilateral concessions at the bargaining table. In addition, Iran is concerned that it won’t get much in return in talks with the West, and that it will be asked to make unilateral concessions on uranium enrichment without getting sanctions relief in return. Combined with Iranian internal divisions, as its own presidential election season gets underway, that could mean that for the next six months or so Ayatollah Ali Khamenei simply won’t be ready to talk seriously, despite scheduling the Kazakhstan round.

Others suspect that Iran is waiting to see how President Obama's new national security team – with Kerry as secretary of state, Chuck Hagel as secretary of defense, and John Brennan at the Central Intelligence Agency – will shape Obama's stance at any talks.

In Washington, some would argue there's a growing consensus, at the level of think tanks, Iran experts, and other analysts, that a preliminary, first-round deal, including "shop, ship, and shut," might work, if in response the P5+1 could lift some of the economic sanctions on Iran and agree to limited Iranian enrichment.

Perhaps the best-case scenario is the possibility that there are ongoing, secret and back-channel talks between Washington and Tehran. Nothing along those lines has leaked and there is no indication of this, yet. But in advance of the first round of Iran-P5+1 talks in Vienna in 2009, the United States and Iran did indeed engage in quiet, behind-the-scenes diplomacy.

In fact, of course, any sanctions relief for Iran will occur slowly and step-by-step, not all at once, in parallel with steps taken by Iran and openness to more intrusive inspections and oversight by the IAEA.

But it's certainly not helpful that in early January yet another round of unilateral

sanctions was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Obama. The complex set of new measures targets key industrial sectors, including shipping and imports of products such as aluminum, steel and coal, and seeks to block Iran from using barter commodities such as oil and gold to pay for imports. The Washington Post paraphrased U.S. officials as saying that, "the new policies are closer to a true trade embargo, designed to systematically attack and undercut Iran's major financial pillars and threaten the country with economic collapse." Obama signed the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) that contained the sanctions provisions despite having hinted earlier that he might veto the NDAA over a host of measures contained in the bill.

If the Obama administration believes that ever-tougher sanctions will cause Iran to cave in at the talks, it's likely that they are badly misreading Iranian politics.

For many observers, however, and for Iran, too, the nomination of Hagel for secretary of defense may be a sign that the White House is beginning to realize that sanctions, and threats of military action, won't force Iran's hand.

As has been widely reported, hawks, neoconservatives, and members of the pro-Israel lobby in Washington have

slammed Hagel for his past comments and positions on Iran. In conjunction with Israel-friendly members of Congress, they've warned Obama to rein Hagel in so as not to send a dovish signal to Tehran. Robert Satloff, executive direction of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP), a pro-Israel think tank, warned bluntly that the White House should act quickly to make sure that Hagel backs away from his previous views on Iran and at least toes the administration's tougher line. "If the White House does not take steps soon to correct that impression, the chances for a negotiated resolution of the Iran nuclear crisis will fall nearly to zero and the likelihood of Israeli military action will rise dramatically," he wrote.

Indeed, within days of his nomination as secretary of defense, Hagel was already backing away from his earlier views, meeting with senior Pentagon officials and influential senators who'll vote on his confirmation to clarify his views on Iran, asserting that he supports broad international sanctions against Iran and that he believes that the military option ought to be "on the table." Several Democratic senators who met with Hagel announced with satisfaction that the former senator from Nebraska had sufficiently backtracked or "clarified" his views on Iran. Consequently, they

announced that he had earned their support – and their vote.

Then, during his confirmation hearings on January 31, Hagel – under hostile questioning from several Republican senators – backed away from earlier-held positions on Iran, including the role of sanctions. And, though he previously been a sharp critic of a military attack on Iran, in his opening statement Hagel said: "I am fully committed to the President's goal of preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, and—as I've said in the past—all options must be on the table to achieve that goal. My policy is one of prevention, and not one of containment—and the President has made clear that is the policy of our government. As Secretary of Defense, I will make sure the Department is prepared for any contingency."

Satloff's views were echoed by another tough-talking official at WINEP, former Ambassador Dennis Ross, a pro-Israel hawk who served as Obama's top adviser on Iran during much of the president's first term. "I think 2013 is going to be decisive," Ross told the Los Angeles Times, expressing concern about Hagel's previous comments. "Time really is running out. For diplomacy to have a chance of success, the Iranians need to understand that if diplomacy fails, force is going to be the result. We still have a

challenge to convince the Iranians that we're quite serious about the use of force," he said. "In the first term, the administration didn't always speak with one voice on this issue. So what Hagel says can make a difference."

Despite his poorly receieved performance at his confirmation hearings, it's widely believed in Washington that Hagel will be confirmed as secretary of defense and that his private advice to Obama will more closely hew to his long-held beliefs about the futility of sanctions and the grave downside to a military strike. Partly for that reason, it remains very unlikely that the Obama administration will resort to force to resolve the dispute with Iran. In fact, in remarks that Iranian officials cited as promising, Vice President Joe Biden expressed the administration's willingness to hold bilateral talks with the Iranians. In response to a question at the Munich Security Conference Biden said, "We have made it clear at the outset that…we would be prepared to meet bilaterally with the Iranian leadership" when Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei is serious about negotiations. Iran's Foreign Minister, Ali Akbar Salehi responded favorably and said, "I am optimistic, I feel this new administration is really seeking this time to at least divert from its previous

traditional approach vis-a-vis my country."

But if Washington remains committed to ever-tougher sanctions – and without promising Iran that sanctions will be lifted as part of a deal – then negotiations are unlikely to succeed. Vali Nasr, another former Obama administration official with expertise on Iran, suggested recently that there's not much more the world can do to sanction Iran, and that such penalties could drive Tehran to take radical action. The regime of sanctions against Iran over its nuclear activity "really has reached its end," Nasr, dean of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, said during the World Economic Forum in Davos. And he warned that unless there is a diplomatic breakthrough — or, alternatively, an attack on Iran — "you really are looking at a scenario where Iran is going to rush very quickly towards nuclear power, because they also think, like North Korea, that (then) you have much more leverage to get rid of these sanctions."

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Dreyfuss Report, appears at TheNation.com. He is the author of 'Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam'.

Article 7.

The Wall Street Journal

A New U.S. International Economic Strategy

Robert B. Zoellick

February 5, 2013 -- Five years into the global economic storm, America's traditional allies, theEuropean Union and Japan, are struggling. Developing economies are reshaping the global dynamic but also face big challenges. The United States is the one country that could lead the modernization of the international system so as to supply security, economic opportunity, and prospects for liberty. America's own strategy for economic revival cannot be limited to the nation's borders. And its future foreign policy—its projection of power and principle—must be grounded in the emerging economic order.

President Obama has said he admires Ronald Reagan's transformative thinking. If so, he should ask for an assessment of

Reagan's second-term innovations on currency and monetary affairs, trade, debt and development. Reagan advanced a new international system to match the revival of capitalism after the oil shocks and stagflation of the 1970s. America's success in the 1980s contributed both to the end of the Cold War, by persuading the Soviet Union it could not keep up, and to two decades of exceptional global growth.

The new U.S. international economic strategy should have five parts. First, this country should strengthen its continental base by building on the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico. Together, the three partners could boost energy security, improve productivity, and give North Americans an edge in manufacturing and other industries that are already experiencing rising wages in East Asia. A politically acceptable immigration policy, and a push for educational innovation using new technologies and competition, could lead to a more prosperous, populous, integrated and democratic future for the hemisphere.

Second, the extraordinary monetary policies of late, led by the Federal Reserve's continued near-zero interest-rate policy, are taking us into uncharted territory. Central banks have tried most every tool to stimulate growth; if Japan is

any warning, the next tactic is competitive devaluation, which risks a new protectionism. "Currency manipulation" could become a danger that reaches far beyond the debate about Chinese policies. The world economy will need at some point to withdraw the drug of cheap money and negative real interest rates. The U.S. should anticipate these dangers.

The International Monetary Fund also could help set standards about exchange-rate policies and serve as a referee that blows a whistle, even if it cannot penalize. The IMF and the World Trade Organization should anticipate this risk and give effect to the existing WTO agreement that economies must "avoid manipulating exchange rates . . . to gain an unfair competitive advantage."

Third, the U.S. needs to break the logjam on opening markets. As the leading world economy, America should initially try to strengthen and increase international trade through the WTO. As my colleagues at the Peterson Institute have pointed out, there are gains from the stymied Doha Round of trade negotiations that should be harvested now: ending agricultural export subsidies; limiting food export controls; eliminating tariffs and quotas for almost all exports of the poorest countries; facilitating customs and clearance

procedures; and improving the transparency and speed of the system for settling disputes.

Next, the U.S. needs to keep the WTO current with a vastly changed world economy. The past WTO agreements are valuable for all 158 WTO members. But some economies want to go further by reducing barriers in important sectors such as the services trade, environmental goods and services, government procurement, and the digital economy.

The services trade, for example, is vital for boosting innovation, productivity and jobs in developing and developed countries alike—but regulatory, licensing, zoning and other barriers to services are often equivalent to a 30% tariff or higher. Because liberalization in the WTO has been stuck, countries have turned increasingly to bilateral and multilateral free-trade agreements, some of which have addressed these newer topics. The U.S. should foster the WTO principle of world-wide liberalization by adopting standards in various industries and sectors that would be open to all economies that reciprocate. The WTO also needs new rules for fair trading by state-owned enterprises.

Yet the U.S. also should use free-trade agreements to open markets. Trade competition advances structural reforms

and growth without bigger government and more spending. The Obama administration has talked about trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic accords. Yet it has failed to close even one new free-trade agreement. Ron Kirk, the president's trade representative, said in 2009 that the administration did not have "deal fever." In fact, it has been "deal delinquent."

Fourth, gender equality is not only fair and right—it is smart economics. No economy can reach its potential if it overlooks the talents of half its people. The U.S. should lead in identifying structural barriers in countries that hold back girls' and women's health, education, credit, jobs and entrepreneurship.

Finally, the U.S. needs to match growth priorities of developing economies. President Obama should expand the global food-security initiative he announced in 2009 to boost agricultural productivity and production across the value chain, including through the private sector, in sub-Saharan Africa and other poor regions. Infrastructure investment could increase global demand today while building productivity for tomorrow.

The U.S. can lead a push with middle-income economies to develop public-private infrastructure models that move

from "one-offs" to a deal flow. The zero returns for savers from U.S. monetary policy can make infrastructure investments attractive.

In addition to offering financing, the private sector can improve the design, operation and maintenance of infrastructure. As the state of Indiana has shown, the federal government could profitably use public-private partnerships for its infrastructure, too.

The administration has talked about some of these topics. But it is oddly passive, as if it were hesitant to lead. State Department speeches are not enough. To carve out an international economic strategy, the new secretary of the Treasury needs to choreograph policies across all U.S. departments and with multilateral economic institutions. The U.S. had better wake up: International economic strategy is the new foreign policy.

Mr. Zoellick has served as president of the World Bank Group, U.S. trade representative and deputy secretary of state. He is now a fellow at the Belfer Center at Harvard and the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

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Sent from my iPhone

> On Apr 28, 2016, at 12:40 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> j
> ---------- Forwarded message ----------
> From: Martin Weinberg [redacted]
> Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
> Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
> To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com<mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com>>
>
>
>
>
>

Privileged - Redacted

>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
> From: [redacted]
> Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
> To: [redacted]
> Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
>
> Sorry, the suit is attached to this email.
>
> From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
> Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
> To: 'Martin G. Weinberg'
> Subject: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
>
> Hi Marty,
> The attached lawsuit was filed this week in federal court in California alleging that Jeffrey Epstein and another man, Donald Trump, raped her in 1994. We're planning to publish a story on the suit this afternoon, and we want to make sure it is fair. Is Mr. Epstein available to speak? Or do you want to offer a comment on this behalf?
> My number is [redacted], and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.
> Thank you in advance.
>
>
> David Ingram
> Correspondent
> Reuters News
>
> Thomson Reuters
>
> Office: [redacted]
> Mobile: [redacted]
>
> [redacted]
> Reuters.com<http://reuters.com>
>
>
>
>
>
>
> --
> please note
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> confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
> constitute inside information, and is intended only for
> the use of the addressee. It is the property of
> JEE

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> communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
> and may be unlawful. If you have received this
> communication in error, please notify us immediately by
> return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com<mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com>, and
> destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved
> <katie johnson v trump complaint.pdf>

From: Alan Dershowitz [redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:51:57 PM
To: Roy Black [redacted]
CC: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]
Subject: Re: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my iPhone

On Apr 28, 2016, at 12:47 PM, Roy Black <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:39 PM
To: Alan M. Dershowitz; Roy Black; Jack Goldberger
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

j
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Privileged - Redacted

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]>
Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Sorry, the suit is attached to this email.

From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
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Subject: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

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My number is [redacted] and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.

Thank you in advance.

David Ingram
Correspondent
Reuters News

Thomson Reuters

Office: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]

[redacted]
Reuters.com

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From: Roy Black [redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:47:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Alan M. Dershowitz [redacted]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Privileged - Redacted

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:39 PM
To: Alan M. Dershowitz; Roy Black; Jack Goldberger
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

j
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Privileged - Redacted

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]>
Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Sorry, the suit is attached to this email.

From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
To: 'Martin G. Weinberg'
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Thank you in advance.

David Ingram

Correspondent
Reuters News

Thomson Reuters

Office:[redacted]
Mobile[redacted]

[redacted]
Reuters.com

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please note

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:39:12 PM
To: Alan M. Dershowitz [redacted]; Roy Black [redacted]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]]
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
Attachments: katie johnson v trump complaint.pdf

j
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Privileged - Redacted

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]>
Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

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From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
To: 'Martin G. Weinberg'
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My number is [redacted], and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.

Thank you in advance.

David Ingram
Correspondent
Reuters News

Thomson Reuters

Office: [redacted]
Mobile [redacted]

[redacted]
Reuters.com

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From: soon yi previn [redacted]
Sent: 12/8/2015 5:58:45 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: following up: WA poetry release

Open in principle depending on specially how and where it would be shown and how it would be advertised-both subject to particular requirements and/or restrictions.Also dependent on approval of final cut. Would enter project with positive attitude but release would be reworked by lawyer.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone

On Dec 8, 2015, at 10:40 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Leah Reis-Dennis** <[redacted]>
Date: Tue, Dec 8, 2015 at 11:33 AM
Subject: following up: WA poetry release
To: jeevacation@gmail.com, Lisa New <[redacted]>

Dear Jeffrey,

My name is Leah Reis-Dennis, and I'll be heading operations for Lisa's new non-profit, Verse Video Education. She's asked me to be in touch with you about helping us get a release from Woody Allen.

First, I wanted to send along the rough stringout of footage from the conversation with Woody a couple of years ago on "This is Just to Say" by William Carlos Williams. This is totally unedited and uncut footage, but we would love the opportunity to turn it into something great.
https://www.dropbox.com/sh/c0bn1jjxeo0654g/uWZ6KBVbLS?preview=WoodyAllen+Basic+Clip+for+Viewing.mov

If Woody Allen agrees to let us use the footage, he will be in distinguished company. To date, we have filmed conversations about poetry with dozens of distinguished Americans including:

Bill Clinton
Al Gore
John McCain
Mayor Rahm Emanuel
Mayor Tom Menino
Supreme Court Justice Elena Kagan
Sir Mervyn King
Former Secretary of the Treasury Larry Summers

The conversation would be part of a large multiplatform initiative that Harvard Professor Lisa New has under way to bring poetry into the mainstream, and, especially, into English Language Arts classrooms in the United States and around the world. The initiative, Poetry in America, includes a HarvardX online course, a television series we're creating with WGBH to be paired with PBS LearningMedia segments for the classroom, and, a series of online professional development courses we're creating for ELA Middle and High School teachers and for their students.

Let us know if Woody Allen might be open to our sending another release form his way. Of course, if he's interested in releasing the footage for only certain parts of our project, we're open to having a conversation about that, too.

Thank you, and I hope to meet you soon.

Best, Leah

--
Leah Reis-Dennis
Poetry in America
[redacted]

--
please note
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Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: Stephanie [redacted]
Sent: 6/14/2011 4:54:35 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
CC: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Subject: RE: Events this week

Other events that are not listed below (they were sent over from Marshall Heyman at the WSJ) Let me know if you are interested.

Tonight: Red Rooster for Halle Berry, Simon & Schuster party for publication of the new James Bond Novel & the opening of Spiderman w/ an after party at bowlmore.
Wednesday: Self Magazine & Zooey Deschanel Party
Thursday: Worldwide Orphans w/ Amy Poehler

CALENDAR OF MAJOR EVENTS, OPENINGS, AND FUNDRAISERS IN NEW YORK

Tuesday, June 14, 2011

Sunrise: 5:25 am Sunset 8:26 pm Moon:
High: 77 Low: 61

After-School All-Stars of New York

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Benefit Mandarin Oriental New York. New York. Contact: Janice Phillips. (212) 245-6570.
Event address: 80 Columbus Circle, New York. Event web address: www.asasny.org.
Tags: Fundraiser Child Advocacy Education K-12.
EXPAND

New York Area Professional Convention Management Association

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Luncheon Reception, networking and program. Doubletree Guest Suites. New York. Contact: Shannon Harris. (646) 616-0114.
Event address: 1568 Broadway, New York. Event web address: pcma.org.
Tags: Discussion Luncheon Networking Association.
EXPAND

Business Development Institute

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Mobile Financial Services Communications Leadership Forum Disucssions. New York University Midtown Campus. New York. Contact: Maria Feola. (212) 765-8043.
Event address: 11 West 42nd Street, New York. Event web address: www.bdionline.com/mobilefinancialforum0611.html.
Tags: Discussion Education Adult.
EXPAND

New York Professional Convention Management Association

PRINT | TWEET
Taking Care of Business: Moving from Success to Significance Discussions and networking. Business attire. Speaker(s): Sue Hershkowitz-Coore. Doubletree Times Square. Contact: Shannon Harris. (646) 616-0114.
Event address: 1568 Broadway 47th Street, New York,. Event web address: www.pcma.org/x147.xml?events=x19306.
Tags: Discussion Networking.
EXPAND

Agape International Spiritual Center

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Gala and Premiere Screening 6:00 pm. "Discover the Gift." VIP reception, followed by viewing. Hosted by Michael Bernard Beckwith. Tickets from $20.00. Buy Tickets. NYU Skirball Center for the Performing Arts. New York.
Event address: 586 LaGuardia Place, New York. Event web address: skirballcenter.nyu.edu/calendar/discoverthegift.
Tags: Premiere Reception Screenings.
EXPAND

City Parks Foundation

PRINT | TWEET
Summerstage Gala 6:00 pm. Cocktails, dinner and concert. "Motown Meets NYC," theme. Tickets from $1,000.00. Central Park-Rumsey Playfield. New York. (212) 360-2756.
Event address: East 72nd St. off Fifth Ave., New York. Event web address: www.summerstage.org/donate_now/gala.html.
Tags: Concert Gala Opening Arts Performing Arts Environmental.
EXPAND

Greater New York Construction User Counci

PRINT | TWEET
2011 Chairman's Reception 6:00 pm. Cocktails and program. Hosted by Jonathan D. Resnick. Steelcase. New York.
Event address: 4 Columbus Circle, New York. Sponsored by Jack Resnick & Sons, Inc,McGowan Builders, Inc,Turner Construction. Event web address: buildingcongress.com.
Tags: Awards/Awards Shows Association.
EXPAND

ABWA - Association of Black Women Attorneys

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
35th Anniversary Celebration 6:30 pm. Cocktail reception, followed by dinner, awards and dancing. Speaker(s): Kim K.W. Rucker. Chaired by B. Shea Owens. Tickets from $250.00. Chelsea Piers. New York. Contact: Sponsorships:. (888) 933-2442.
Chelsea Piers: Pier Sixty. Event address: 23rd St. at the Hudson River, New York.
Tags: Gala Association.
EXPAND

UJA-Federation of New York

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Digital Media and Marketing and Communications Dinner Cocktails and program. Business attire. Honoring Tim Armstrong, Jack Haber. The Pierre Hotel. New York. (212) 836-1853.
Event address: 2 East 61st St., New York. Event web address: ujafedny.org.
Tags: Dinner Association.
EXPAND

amfAR

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Annual Inspiration Gala 7:00 pm. Cocktails, presentations, runway show, dinner, live auction and performances by Liza Minnelli and Jennifer Hudson. “Black Tie, Hot Metal," theme. Honoring James Franco,Michael Kors. Chaired by Klaus Bisenbach, Larry Boland,R. Martin Chavez, Ph.D, Paolo Diacci,Adam Norbury. MoMA - Museum of Modern Art. New York. Contact: Wilson Alexander Aguilar.
Event address: 11 West 53rd Street, New York. Sponsored by Grey Goose,Piaget,Reca Group,Wilhelmina Models. Event web address: www.amfar.org/spotlight/event.aspx?id=9522.
Tags: Gala Health AIDS.
EXPAND

GenArt

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Film Festival Closing Night 7:30 pm. Screenings of "Hot Dogs & Hand Grenades," by Justin Corsbie and "Salvation Boulevard," by George Ratliff, followed by after-party and awards presentation at Hiro (88 9th Ave). Visual Arts Theater. New York.
Event address: 333 West 23rd Street, New York. Event web address: genart.org.
Tags: After party Awards/Awards Shows Screenings Arts Film Arts Visual Arts.
EXPAND

Making Books Sing

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Fundraiser 7:30 pm. Beer, brewery tours and light fare. Hosted by Cat Greenleaf, Talib Kweli. Tickets from $15.00. Brooklyn Brewery. Brooklyn. Contact: Kimberly Wilson Marshall.
Event address: 79 North 11th St., Brooklyn. Event web address: makingbookssing.org.
Tags: Fundraiser Education K-12.
EXPAND

Wednesday, June 15, 2011

Sunrise: 5:25 am Sunset 8:27 pm Moon:
High: 79 Low: 62

NYSAE-New York Society of Association Executives

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Installation of Officers & Directors Luncheon 11:30 am. Reception and program. Speaker(s): Dr. Jerry V. Teplitz. Tickets from $65.00. Doubletree Metropolitan Hotel. New York. (212) 206-8230.
Event address: 569 Lexington Ave., New York. Event web address: www.nysaenet.org.
Tags: Luncheon Association.
EXPAND

Women's Forum of New York

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Inaugural Elly Awards 11:30 am. Lunch and program. Hon. chairs: Lucy Jarvis and Muriel Siebert. Hosted by Janice Reals Ellig. Speaker(s): Bobbi Brown,Barbara Walters. Honoring Evelyn H. Lauder,Diana Taylor. Chaired by Jane Chesnutt,Denise Seegal. Co-chaired by Beth Canavan,Lisa Caputo,Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel. Tickets from $300.00. Tables from $5,000.00. The Plaza Hotel. New York. Contact: Rita Crotty. (212) 447-9107.
Event address: 770 Fifth Ave, New York. Event web address: www.womensforumny.org.
Tags: Awards/Awards Shows Fundraiser Luncheon Education Adult.
EXPAND

Hike for Heroes

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Reception Ceremony. Business casual attire. Chaired by Mitchell B. Modell. Tickets from $140.00. Sheraton New York Hotel & Towers. New York. Contact: Lindsay Carlton. (212) 966-7900.
Event address: 811 Seventh Ave., New York. Sponsored by Modell's Sporting Goods. Event web address: www.wishuponahero.com/hike-for-heroes/cocktail-party.
Tags: Reception Civic Family/Social Services.
EXPAND

UJA-Federation of New York

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Annual Trust & Estates Event 6:00 pm. Cocktail reception, followed by program and dessert. Business attire. Honoring Ronald J. Stein. Tickets from $650.00. Hilton New York. New York. Contact: Meredith Waltzer. (212) 836-1218.
Event address: 1335 Avenue of the Americas, New York. Event web address: ujafedny.org.

Tags: Cocktail party Association.
EXPAND

UJA-Federation of New York

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
General Insurance Dinner Business attire. Honoring Kevin Kelley, Stephen P. McGill. Chaired by Joseph Boren. Grand Hyatt New York. New York. Contact: Loni Kraut. (212) 836-1769.
Event address: Park Ave. at Grand Central Terminal, New York. Event web address: ujafedny.org.
Tags: Awards/Awards Shows Dinner Association.
EXPAND

UNICEF-United Nations Children's Fund

PRINT | TWEET
Next Gen Photo Benefit 6:30 pm. Cocktails, hors d'oeuvres and silent auction. Tickets from $40.00. Phillips de Pury.
Event address: 450 Park Avenue,. Event web address: www.unicefusa.org/about/special-events/nextgen/photo-exhibit.html.
Tags: Auction Cocktail party Child Advocacy.
EXPAND

RIOULT Dance Company

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Gala 7:00 pm. Performance and dinner. Honoring Robert Cole,Harsha Murthy. Tickets from $350.00. Joyce Theater. New York.
Event address: 175 Eighth Ave., New York.
Tags: Benefit Performance Gala Arts Performing Arts.
EXPAND

Thursday, June 16, 2011

Sunrise: 5:25 am Sunset 8:27 pm Moon:
High: 79 Low: 62

New York Building Congress

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Reception for Speaker Christine C. Quin 8:00 am. Breakfast. Hosted by Richard Anderson, Joseph Mizzi,Frank J. Sciame. Tickets from $500.00. Sciame Organizations. New York. Contact: Ânne Mullaly Weir. (917) 438-7063.
Event address: 14 Wall Street, New York. Event web address: newyorkbuildingcongress.com.
Tags: Breakfast Speakers Fundraiser Association Politics Democratic.
EXPAND

UJA-Federation of New York

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Music Visionary Luncheon Reception and program. Honoring Jody Gerson, Jon Platt. The Pierre Hotel. New York. Contact: Steven Singer. (212) 836-1452.
Event address: 2 East 61st St., New York. Event web address: ujafedny.org.
Tags: Luncheon Association.
EXPAND

Jewish Enrichment Center

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
2011 Grand Reception 5:30 pm. VIP reception, cocktails, dinner and presentation. Speaker(s): President George H.W. Bush. Honoring Craig A. Rothfeld,Stephen Siegel, Ari J. Storch. Gotham Hall. New York. (212) 889-5532.
Event address: 1356 Broadway, New York. Event web address: jeconline.com/dinner.
Tags: Fundraiser Reception Faith Jewish.

EXPAND

Professional Women In Construction

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Networking Event 5:30 pm. Cocktails and dinner. Speaker(s): Michele Medaglia. Tickets from $80.00. Club 101. New York.
Event address: 101 Park Ave., New York. Event web address: pwcusa.org.
Tags: Dinner Discussion Networking Association.
EXPAND

Asian American Business Development Center

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Tenth Anniversary Outstanding 50 Award Gala 6:00 pm. Cocktails, dinner and program. Co-chaired by Shaokao Cheng,Miguel Centeno,Joyce Chang,Renaud Dutreil,Edward Goldberg, Jim Hirani, Allan Huy, Peter Hwang, Eugene Kelly, Catherine Lee, Walter Shay. Waldorf=Astoria. New York. (212) 966-0100.
Event address: 301 Park Avenue, New York. Event web address: www.outstanding50award.com.
Tags: Awards/Awards Shows Dinner Gala Association Economic Development.
EXPAND

Songwriter's Hall of Fame

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
42nd Annual Dinner and 2011 Induction Ceremony 6:00 pm. Cocktails and awards presentation. New York Marriott Marquis. New York. (914) 579-1000.
Event address: 1535 Broadway, New York.
Tags: Awards/Awards Shows Dinner Arts Performing Arts.
EXPAND

Voices Against Brain Cancer

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Sixth Annual Sounding Off for a Cure Concert 6:00 pm. Performances. Hammerstein Ballroom. New York City.
Event address: 311 West 34th Street, New York City.
Tags: Concert Fundraiser Health Cancer.
EXPAND

Catholic Charities - Archdiocese of New York

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Third Annual Junior Board Gala Cocktails, hors d'oeuvres, gaming, and entertainment. “Casino Night," theme. Cocktail attire. Chaired by Stephanie Bagley,Timothy Spelman. Co-chaired by Sean Gorman,Christine Keith. Tickets from $125.00. Buy Tickets. Providence. New York. Contact: Kathleen McGowan. (646) 794-2439.
Event address: 311 West 57th St., New York. Fax: (212) 755-1526. Event web address: www.catholiccharitiesny.org/get-involved/junior-board/.
Tags: Cocktail party Fundraiser Association Faith Christian.
EXPAND

Fort Tryon Park Trust

PRINT | TWEET
Sunset on the Hudson 6:30 pm. Cocktails at the New Leaf Café, followed by dinner on the David Rockefeller Linden Terrace. Festive attire. Honoring Bette Midler,New York Restoration Project. Chaired by Edith Kean. Tables from $10,000.00. Fort Tryon Park. Contact: Jennifer Hoppa. (212) 795-1388.
Event address: Northern Manhattan,. Event web address: www.forttryonparktrust.org/sunset_on_the_hudson_gala.html.
Tags: Cocktail party Dinner Fundraiser Environmental.
EXPAND

Make-A-Wish Foundation of Metro NY

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Annual Gala "An Evening of Wishes" Cocktails, dinner and program. Business Attire. Honoring Michael Delaney,James B. Lee, Jr. Co-chaired by Frank Bisignano,Thomas A. Roberts. Cipriani Wall Street. New York. Contact: Amy Epstein. (212) 957-9474.
Event address: 55 Wall St., New York. Event web address: metrony.wish.org.
Tags: Gala Health Cancer Health Pediatrics.
EXPAND

Persol

PRINT | TWEET
Magnificent Obsessions: 30 Stories of Craftsmanship in Film Exhibition opening. Invitation only. Honoring Milena Canonero,Terry Gilliam,Sir Ben Kingsley. Center 548. New York. Contact: Gina Sevilla. (646) 654-3448.
Event address: 548 West 22nd Street, New York.
Tags: Exhibition Opening.
EXPAND

Wounded Warriors Family Support Initiative

PRINT | TWEET
Special Event 6:30 pm. Cocktails and entertainment, with special performance by The Roots. Speaker(s): Captain Paul Bud Bucha. Intrepid Sea, Air & Space Museum. New York.
Event address: 1 Intrepid Square, Pier 86, 46th St. at 12th Ave., New York. Event web address: woundedwarriorsinitiative.com/event.php#roots.
Tags: Fundraiser Civic.
EXPAND

Worldwide Orphans Foundation

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Matt Blesso's Third Annual Birthday Celebration 7:00 pm. Cocktails. Hosted by Dr. Jane Aronson,Amy Poehler. Tickets from $75.00. Private Location.
Event web address: www.wwo.org.
Tags: Cocktail party Fundraiser Child Advocacy.
EXPAND

Actors Fund

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Benefit Performance 8:00 pm. "Zarkana, Cirque du Soleil". Tickets from $125.00. Radio City Music Hall. New York. Contact: Stephen Joseph. (212) 221-7300.
Event address: 1260 Ave. of the Americas, New York. Event web address: actorsfund.org.
Tags: Benefit Performance Rally/March Arts Performing Arts.
EXPAND

Friday, June 17, 2011

Sunrise: 5:25 am Sunset 8:27 pm Moon:
High: 79 Low: 62

Action Against Hunger

PRINT | MAP | TWEET
Spanish Wine Festival 6:30 pm. Culinary and wine tastings. Hosted by PJ Wine. Metropolitan Pavilion. New York. (212) 967-7800.
Event address: 125 West 18th St., New York. Event web address: www.actionagainsthunger.org.
Tags: Tasting Wine Tasting Social Services Food Banks.
EXPAND

New York Child Learning Institute / Phoenix Center Inc

PRINT | MAP | TWEET

2011 Annual Black Tie Affair & Auction Cocktails, dinner and program. Black tie attire. Invitation only. Hosted by Knights of York. Honoring Dr. Joan Fallon,Bob Hurley, Carol Laurenzano,Jim Watkins,Lauren Thierry Watkins. Chaired by Declan Connolly. Co-chaired by Thomas J. Petersen. Tickets from $275.00. United Nations Delegates Dining Room. New York. Contact: Aimee Demilia Newsham. (201) 485-8520.

Event address: United Nations Building, First Ave. at 45th St., New York. Fax: (201) 485-8523. Event web address: www.knightsofyork.org.

Tags: Auction Gala Association Education K-12.

EXPAND

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 1/26/2017 2:16:35 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Trump

Importance: High

love his negotiating style as he makes me look soft..

President Donald Trump threatened Thursday to cancel a meeting with Mexican President Enrique Pena Nieto after Pena Nieto reiterated that Mexico would not pay for a border wall and suggested he could cancel the meeting.

Donald J. Trump
✔ @realDonaldTrump

The U.S. has a 60 billion dollar trade deficit with Mexico. It has been a one-sided deal from the beginning of NAFTA with massive numbers...

Donald J. Trump
✔ @realDonaldTrump

of jobs and companies lost. If Mexico is unwilling to pay for the badly needed wall, then it would be better to cancel the upcoming meeting.

From: Sultan Bin Sulayem [redacted]
Sent: 9/18/2015 5:26:12 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fareed Zakaria: Trump sells America short

Importance: High

Fareed Zakaria: Trump sells America short

Dear Donald Trump: China, Japan and Mexico are not "killing us"

By Fareed Zakaria, Thursday, September 17, 2015

Donald Trump's presidential bid is centered on the promise of his personal talents. He says he's the "most successful person ever to run for the presidency, by far." (George Washington and Dwight Eisenhower, sit down!) But if there is an idea animating his candidacy, it is that the United States is being badly beaten by its economic competitors. In his speech on foreign policy this week, Trump explained that America is being bested by countries such as China, Japan and Mexico because their leaders are "smarter, more cunning and sharper than our leaders." "They're killing us," he often says.

This is an odd moment to make these charges because the reality is almost entirely the opposite. The United States is more dominant on the global economic landscape than at any point since the heyday of Bill Clinton's presidency — perhaps even more so.

Last quarter, the U.S. economy grew at a 3.7 percent clip. Annual growth now is almost twice that of Europe and four times that of Japan. Unemployment is at 5.1 percent, the lowest in seven years. The deficit as a percentage of gross domestic product (2.8 percent in 2014) is at its lowest since 2007.

"The U.S. has come out of the 2008 crisis better than all the others," says Ruchir Sharma, head of global macro investing at Morgan Stanley. "Americans have reduced their debt burden more than the Europeans, while China's debt has skyrocketed to extremely dangerous levels. If you look outside of China, U.S. growth is actually faster even than the emerging markets. Since the 2008 crisis, U.S. equity markets have outperformed all others — in fact 9 out of the 10 most valuable companies in the world are now American. The dollar is the currency of choice. Global growth is not what it used to be, but in a bad neighborhood, the U.S. has the best house by far." Sharma points out that for the past four years, the United States' share of global GDP has increased while Europe's and Japan's have moved down.

When I was in Europe last week, businessmen there were concerned with what they saw as a new level of U.S. dominance in everything from technology to entertainment to finance. Consider America's big banks. They were at the epicenter of the financial crisis and were badly battered by it. Since then, bankers have complained that they've faced uncertainty about government policies, overzealous regulators trying to compensate for their laxness before the crisis and the unwieldy burdens of the Dodd-Frank law.

Well, U.S. banks today are more dominant than ever. The Wall Street Journal notes that in the past five years, JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, Citigroup, Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley have increased in value by $254.6 billion. In the same period, their European competitors, Barclays, Credit Suisse, Deutsche Bank, UBS and Royal Bank of Scotland added just $9.5 billion. In July, Barclays Chairman John McFarlane was asked if America's banks were eating European lenders' lunch. He replied: "They are doing a good job of it." He added that the U.S. banks "are the only ones that really claim to be global and successful."

To compare the United States' performance and leadership to Mexico's, Japan's and China's is particularly ill-timed. Trump might be stuck in a 1980s time warp on Japan. When his "The Art of the Deal" was published in 1987, Americans were envious of Japan's brilliant leaders, who were said to be outsmarting the United States at every turn. Since then, Japan has become the poster child for economic stagnation and political paralysis. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has been unwilling or unable to get his promised reforms enacted, and the country's economy continues to shrink.

Mexico is watching its growth collapse. While its president, Enrique Peña Nieto, is a courageous and intelligent leader who has made some very bold decisions, he has also made some significant missteps. Most important, the country was ill-prepared for plunging oil prices that have battered government revenues and growth.

China has had three decades of supercharged growth and competent government policy. But in the past few years, Beijing went on a borrowing binge, running up its total debt to levels that are unprecedented, according to Sharma. And in the past two months it has made mistakes in managing both its equity markets and currency — mistakes that have cost $400 billion, the Financial Times reports.

Of course, the United States has problems that are worrying, such as wage stagnation and low labor-force participation. But the important comparison is not to some ideal fantasy of what America might be but to other countries in the real world. And the facts show, Mr. Trump, we're killing *them* .

NOTE: This e-mail message is subject to the Dubai World Group disclaimer see http://www.dubaiworld.ae/email_disclaimer

From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 5/22/2017 8:39:37 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Fw: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

Importance: High

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Parker, Ashley <[redacted]>
Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 3:19 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

Hi Reid,

Ashley Parker here at the Washington Post. I cover the White House and am emailing because my colleague, Bob Costa, and I getting ready to post a story about President Trump's decision to move ahead with retaining outside counsel, and we understand you're one of the finalists for the role, and have already spoken with senior White House officials. I just wanted to let you know that we plan to mention your name (and of course see if you want to comment), and I also wanted to check and see if you were open to chatting totally off the record, just in case there is any nuance or guidance you'd like to provide. I'm at [redacted] or my desk is [redacted]

Thanks,
Ashley

Ashley Parker
[redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Desk: [redacted]
Twitter: @AshleyRParker

From: Darren Indyke [redacted]
Sent: 5/22/2017 8:53:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

Importance: High

Oy.

DARREN K. INDYKE
DARREN K. INDYKE, PLLC
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, New York 10022
Telephone: [redacted]
Telecopier: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]
email: dkiesq@aol.com

**** Please note that my mobile telephone number has changed to the new number provided above. ***

****
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****

On May 22, 2017, at 4:46 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

whoops
--------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Weingarten, Reid** <[redacted]>
Date: Mon, May 22, 2017 at 4:39 PM
Subject: Fw: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel
To: "jeevacation@gmail.com" <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

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Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 3:19 PM

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Thanks,

Ashley

Ashley Parker

[redacted]

Cell: [redacted]

Desk: [redacted]

Twitter: @AshleyRParker

--

please note
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From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 5/22/2017 9:28:04 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

Importance: High

Do I have the choice? And if so, your view?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 4:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Fw: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

do you want it? or jared?

On Mon, May 22, 2017 at 4:39 PM, Weingarten, Reid <[redacted] wrote:

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Parker, Ashley [redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 3:19 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

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Thanks,
Ashley

Ashley Parker
[redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Desk: [redacted]
Twitter: @AshleyRParker

--

please note

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/22/2017 8:41:33 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

Importance: High

fun

On Mon, May 22, 2017 at 4:39 PM, Weingarten, Reid [redacted] wrote:

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

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Sent: Monday, May 22, 2017 3:19 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: WaPo story-- Trump's outside counsel

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Thanks,
Ashley

Ashley Parker
[redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Desk: [redacted]
Twitter: @AshleyRParker

--
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From: Dave Hope [redacted]
Sent: 8/20/2012 4:35:38 PM
To: Warren Eisenstein[redacted]
Subject: dave hope
Attachments: Skm2d35412082008380.pdf

----- Forwarded Message -----
From: "Hope, Doug" <[redacted]>
To: Dave Hope <[redacted]
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2012 8:42 AM
Subject: Small World

Dave,

Talk about a small world. I got on the airplane Saturday night and opened up the Palm Beach newspaper and here's what I found (see attached). Remember "Bear", Warren's friend from NY. Well, he is a Billionaire (Literally and really) and always seems to be in the news in South Florida. He competes with Trump on big property deals and seems to be quite the womanizer. The only problem is he goes after some of the young ones sometimes and must not check there ID's.

Oh well, I thought you might get a kick out of this article. What a small world.

Take good care!!

Doug

From: Darren Indyke[redacted]
Sent: 3/2/2019 4:56:48 PM
To: Martin Weinberg[redacted]
CC: Darren Indyke [redacted]; jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Epstein paid three women $5.5 million to end underage-sex lawsuits

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

https://www.palmbeachpost.com/news/crime--law/epstein-paid-three-women-million-end-underage-sex-lawsuits/8GEJk4YYa2X4ffig4HAqyJ/

Epstein paid three women $5.5 million to end underage-sex lawsuits

Jane Musgrave

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Jeffrey Epstein, a former Palm Beach resident, pleaded guilty in Palm Beach County Circuit Court in 2008 to two prostitution-related charges in connection with having teenage girls give him sexual massages. (Uma Sanghvi / The Palm Beach Post)

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Hide caption

Jeffrey Epstein

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Hide caption

Attorney Brad Edwards

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Hide caption

Attorney Jack Scarola

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Hide caption

Jeffrey Epstein, a former Palm Beach resident, pleaded guilty in Palm Beach County Circuit Court in 2008 to two prostitution-related charges in connection with having teenage girls give him sexual massages. (Uma Sanghvi / The Palm Beach Post)

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Hide caption

Jeffrey Epstein

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Hide caption

Attorney Brad Edwards

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Hide caption

Attorney Jack Scarola

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

By

Posted Oct 3, 2017 at 12:01 AM Updated Oct 4, 2017 at 12:46 AM

Ending years of speculation about how much Palm Beach billionaire Jeffrey Epstein paid young women who claimed he used them as sex toys, court documents filed last week show he shelled out $5.5 million to settle lawsuits with three of more than two dozen teens who sued him.

Responding to requests from Epstein's attorneys in a complex lawsuit that was spawned by the sex scandal, attorney Bradley Edwards said the politically-connected 64-year-old convicted sex offender paid more than $1 million to each of the three women Edwards represented.

Identified in court papers only by their initials or pseudonyms because of the nature of the allegations and their youthful ages, L.M. was paid $1 million, E.W. $2 million and Jane Doe $2.5 million, Edwards said of the settlements he negotiated with Epstein to end the lawsuits.

Jack Goldberger, one of Epstein's criminal defense attorneys, on Tuesday declined comment on the revelations, citing confidentiality agreements that were part of the settlements. For the same reason, he declined to say whether Epstein paid similar amounts to settle roughly two dozen lawsuits filed by other young women against Epstein, claiming he paid them for sex when some were as young as 14 years old.

Attorney Jack Scarola, who is representing Edwards, said his client was compelled to divulge the confidential settlements to answer questions posed by Epstein's attorneys. "Brilliant move on their part," he said.

Even if Epstein's attorneys hadn't opened the door, Scarola said the information would have likely come out. He says the information will help him undermine Epstein's claims that Edwards "ginned up" the allegations to help his former law partner, imprisoned and disbarred Fort Lauderdale lawyer Scott Rothstein, perpetuate a $1.2 billion Ponzi scheme.

The revelations of the settlements came as part of an ongoing lawsuit that started as a dispute between Epstein and Rothstein, both billionaires.

A year after Epstein in 2008 pleaded guilty to solicitation of prostitution and procuring a minor for prostitution, he sued Rothstein and Edwards, claiming they trumped up the allegations of sexual molestation to perpetuate the Ponzi scheme.

Rothstein was sentenced to 50 years in prison in 2010 after admitting he had built his wildly successful law firm by forging the names of federal judges and others to persuade investors he had negotiated settlements in lawsuits against high-profile people. Investors were told they could get a cut of the cash.

One of the high-profile people Rothstein used to lure investors was Epstein, according to a lawsuit West Palm Beach attorney Robert Critton filed on Epstein's behalf. According to the lawsuit, Rothstein told investors Epstein, a money manager, had agreed to settle the lawsuits with the teens for $200 million — a claim Critton described as "a complete fabrication."

After Epstein dropped the lawsuit in 2012, Edwards turned the tables on him. Edwards accused Epstein of filing the lawsuit maliciously to punish him for representing the young women. Although Edwards was a partner in Rothstein's now defunct firm, Scarola claims Epstein had no evidence Edwards was involved in the Ponzi scheme. Federal prosecutors successfully charged other attorneys and members of the firm, but Edwards was never implicated, Scarola said in the malicious prosecution lawsuit.

The revelations about the money Epstein paid to three of the young woman came last week in documents filed for a hearing Tuesday in preparation for a December trial on the lawsuit.

Attorney Tonja Haddad Coleman, who represents Epstein, on Tuesday sought a delay of the trial, in part, because she claimed she has been unable to talk to her client since his estate on his private island in the U.S. Virgin Islands was devastated last month by Hurricane Irma. "I've had no ability to communicate with Mr. Epstein," she said.

Pointing out Epstein's enormous wealth and his private jet, Palm Beach County Circuit Judge Donald Hafele rejected her request. While saying he didn't want to appear insensitive to those victimized by the storm that hammered the Caribbean

and roared through South Florida, he said Coleman offered no proof, such as an affidavit from Epstein, to shore up her claims.

Still, Hafele gave Coleman extra time to respond to various motions that he will have to decide before the case goes to trial.

Despite Scarola's insistence that Edwards had nothing to do with Rothstein's Ponzi scheme, Coleman said the evidence indicates otherwise. Why else would he try to depose Epstein's well-known friends, such as now President Donald Trump, former President Bill Clinton and illusionist David Copperfield, she asked. He used the celebrities as a draw, she said.

"The Epstein cases were used to fleece money and defraud investors," she said.

Edward's malicious prosecution case has been difficult for both sides because both Epstein and Edwards have refused to answer questions. As he did in the civil lawsuits, Epstein has invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination when questioned by Scarola. Edwards has claimed that much of the information Epstein is seeking is protected by attorney-client privilege.

The malicious prosecution lawsuit is one of two hotly-contested lawsuits that continue to pit Edwards against Epstein. Edwards also is suing the U.S. attorney's office, claiming it violated the federal Crime Victims Rights Act when it negotiated a non-prosecution agreement with Epstein.

Only after federal prosecutors agreed to drop their investigation of Epstein, did he agree to plead guilty to two prostitution charges in Palm Beach County Circuit Court. In federal court records, prosecutors claim one of the key reasons they agreed to drop their case was Epstein's agreement to settle lawsuits filed against him by dozens of his underage victims.

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By The Palm Beach Post

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DARREN K. INDYKE
5300 W. Atlantic Avenue, Suite 602
Delray Beach, Florida 33484
[redacted]

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From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 9/17/2015 10:00:33 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: SS
Attachments: SHBRK Scann15091717260.pdf; Untitled attachment 318284.htm

Importance: High

in case you, unlike Donald Trump, would like to collect Social Security

age 62 2,002 per month
age 66 2,669 per month (full retirement age)
age 70 3,587 per month

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax
cel

Begin forwarded message:

From: [redacted]
Subject: Message from KMBT_C253
Date: September 17, 2015 at 5:26:38 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Reply-To: [redacted]

Los Angeles Times
latimes.com
$2.00 DESIGNATED AREAS HIGHER © 2016 WSCE
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 2016

ELECTION 2016

Trump losing ground in 'burbs

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EN DECKER

LE, Pa. — Marie very firm view ump, and she change in the fore election

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ntrigued id, but the ed his

said. way have

les ho er s

Photographs by CAROLYN COLE Los Angeles Times

NEAR TEHRAN, Shehrzad Bolandkish, an IT worker, left, and her new husband, Sarmad Kodeiri, dance at their Western-inspired wedding party. "We represent the change in society," Kodeiri says.

YOUNG IRANIANS PUSH BOUNDARIES

Rebelling with fashion, pets, even Deepak Chopra

BY SHASHANK BENGALI AND RAMIN MOSTAGHIM

TEHRAN — The groom wore a navy blue tuxedo, the bride a custom-made gown with a fish-scale pattern inspired by pictures she found on Instagram.

Waiters passed around French tarts as guests crowded a dance floor pulsating under strobe lights. When the DJ played "Gangnam Style," a cheer went up from the young women in tight dresses, salon-styled hair falling down their bare shoulders.

The wedding reception was like so many — except that it took place in Tehran, the capital of an Islamic republic whose ruling clerics take a dim view of such displays of skin and secular, Western-oriented tastes.

"We represent the change in society," said the groom, 30-year-

[See Iran, A4]

BEFORE SEEING a local adaptation of Anton Chekhov's "Ivanov" last month, women in Tehran share a cigarette, once frowned upon.

LIMITS IN RAPE CASES UNDER REVIEW

A bill on Brown's de would abolish legal deadlines for sex crime charges, but experts are skepti

BY MAURA DOLAN

Dozens of wor that Bill Cosby sex saulted them, but tainer faces crimin in only one case, cause of legal dea

The deadl statutes of limit intended to e cases are promptly and are tried when still fresh and e able.

But accusations prompted least two st California barriers to

Gov. J has vetoe gal dead sults ov must no abolish ing s sodom acts, con chil ca

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_029865

From: Flipboard Week in Review [editorialstaff@flipboard.com]
Sent: 7/6/2019 6:57:33 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: U.S. celebrates Fourth of July, Trump-Kim DMZ meeting and Hong Kong protests

Flipboard

Biggest news stories from the past week.

With Flyovers and Flags, Trump Plays M.C. for the Fourth

nytimes.com / MICHAEL D. SHEAR WASHINGTON — In a made-for-television Independence Day production starring America's military weaponry, President Trump on Thursday used the Lincoln... read more

The United States remains its enemy. The Kim Jong-Un-led country, formerly an ally to China, Russia and the Soviet Union, is now accused by the world of a nuclear

North Korea says U.S. 'hell-bent on hostile acts' despite wanting to talk

reuters.com / by Michelle Nichols UNITED NATIONS (Reuters) - North Korea's mission to the United Nations accused the United States on Wednesday of being "more and more hell-bent on... read more

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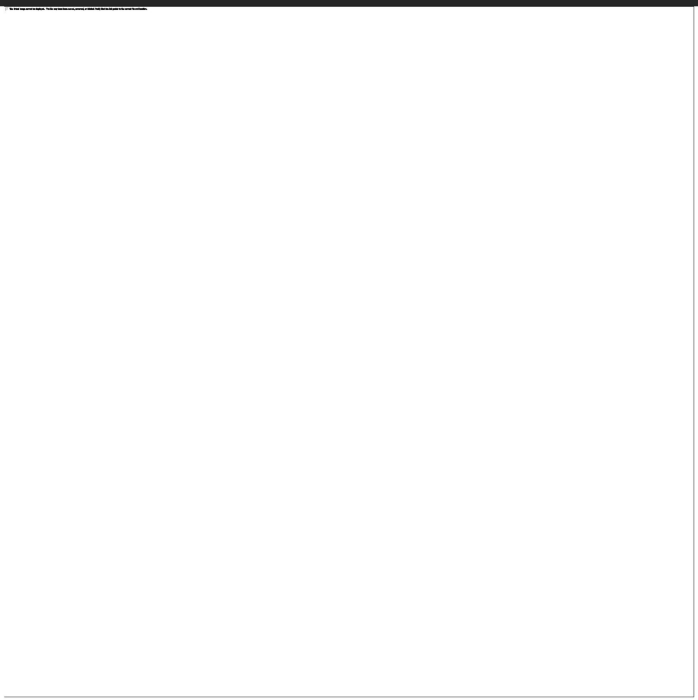
Trump Weighs Executive Order to Add Citizenship Question to Census



bloomberg.com / Justin Sink, Andrew M Harris, Bob Van Voris
President Donald Trump said he may issue an executive order to add a question on citizenship to the 2020 census as the administration considers ... read more

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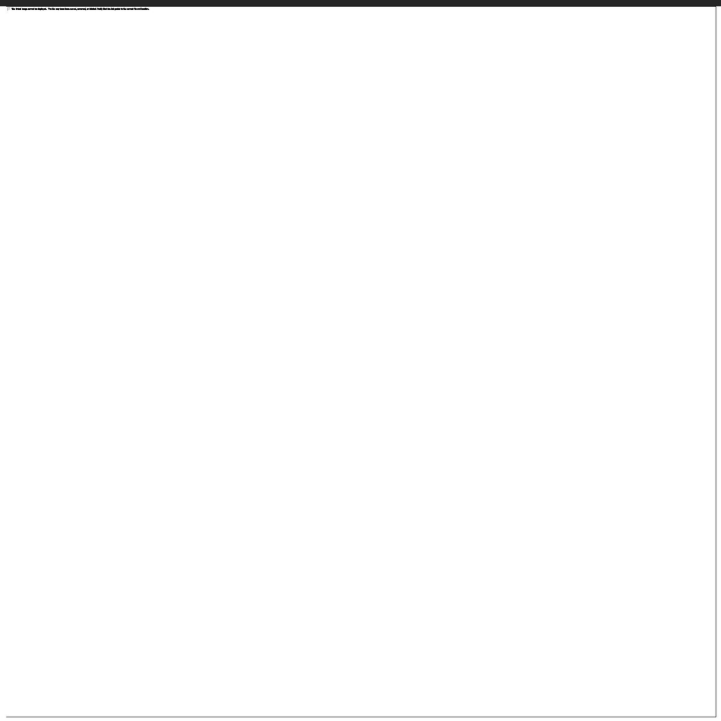
Trump warns Iran nuclear threats will 'come back to bite you'



theguardian.com / Guardian staff and Agence France-Presse
Donald Trump has warned Iran to be “careful with threats” as they can “come back to bite you” in response to Tehran’s vow that it will exceed within... read more

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Arrests made over Hong Kong protests, legislature break-in

apnews.com / JOHNSON LAI HONG KONG (AP) — Police said they had arrested 13 people after the protests on Monday's anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China, including one man... read more

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Acting DHS chief orders immediate investigation into offensive posts allegedly written by Border Patrol agents

cnn.com / Priscilla Alvarez, CNN (CNN) — Acting Department of Homeland Secretary Kevin McAleenan has ordered an immediate investigation into offensive posts "that allegedly includes... read more

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House Democrats sue for Trump's tax returns

politico.com / BRIAN FALER House Democrats on Tuesday sued for President Trump's tax returns, marking the beginning of a high-stakes legal fight over his efforts to keep his taxes... read more

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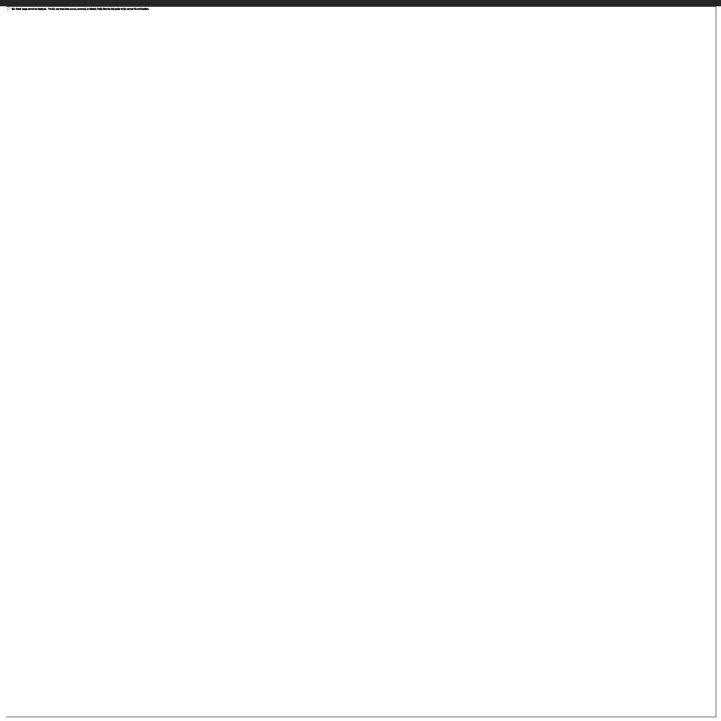
Cori 'Coco' Gauff, 15-year-old American, storms back for another Wimbledon upset



usatoday.com / Scott Gleeson The 15-year-old American pulled off another huge upset Friday, this one in a third-round thriller that saw her come back to beat Slovenian Polona Hercog... read more

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Alex Morgan and Alyssa Naeher lead U.S. women to 2-1 victory over England in World Cup semis

nbcnews.com / David K. Li The defending champs are now one victory away from hoisting the trophy for a fourth time. Alex Morgan celebrated her 30th birthday Tuesday by scoring a... read more

---

European leaders back German Defense Minister Ursula von der Leyen to be first female European Commission president

washingtonpost.com / Quentin Ariès, Michael Birnbaum

BRUSSELS — European leaders on Tuesday proposed awarding the powerful presidency of the European Commission to German Defense Minister Ursula von der... read more

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From: Jessica Cadwell [redacted]
Sent: 8/11/2009 6:55:54 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Robert D. Critton Jr. [redacted]
Subject: FW: Jane Doe

Privileged - Redacted

Jessica Cadwell, CP, FRP
Certified Paralegal
Florida Registered Paralegal
BURMAN CRITTON LUTTIER & COLEMAN, LLP
515 N. Flagler Drive
Suite #400
West Palm Beach, FL 33401
[redacted]

From: Jacquie Johnson [mailto: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 2009 2:55 PM
To: Jessica Cadwell
Subject: RE: Jane Doe

Yes – we are still trying to get the details though

From: Jessica Cadwell [mailto: [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 2009 2:27 PM
To: Jacquie Johnson
Subject: RE: Jane Doe

Does this mean you have service on Maxwell

Jessica Cadwell, CP, FRP
Certified Paralegal
Florida Registered Paralegal
BURMAN CRITTON LUTTIER & COLEMAN, LLP
515 N. Flagler Drive
Suite #400
West Palm Beach, FL 33401
[redacted]

From: Jacquie Johnson [mailto [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 2009 2:30 PM
To: Jessica Cadwell
Subject: RE: Jane Doe

From: Jessica Cadwell [mailto: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 2009 11:28 AM
To: Jacquie Johnson
Subject: RE: Jane Doe

Do you have service on Maxwell or still trying to subpoena her??

Jessica Cadwell, CP, FRP
Certified Paralegal
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[redacted]

From: Jessica Cadwell [redacted]
Sent: 8/11/2009 7:00:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: FW: Jane Doe

Privileged - Redacted

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Florida Registered Paralegal
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515 N. Flagler Drive
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[redacted]

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 2009 3:01 PM
To: Jessica Cadwell
Subject: Re: FW: Jane Doe

Privileged - Redacted

On Tue, Aug 11, 2009 at 2:55 PM, Jessica Cadwell <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

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--
****
The information contained in this communication is confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may constitute inside information, and is intended only for the use of the addressee. It is the property of Jeffrey Epstein
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments.

From: Jessica Cadwell [redacted]
Sent: 8/11/2009 7:16:00 PM
To: Robert D. Critton Jr. [redacted]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]; Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Connie Zaguirre [redacted]
Subject: FW: Jane Doe

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Tel: [redacted] / Fax: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

From: Jacquie Johnson [mailto: [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 2009 3:19 PM
To: Jessica Cadwell
Subject: RE: Jane Doe

Trump has been moved to Sept. 24.

From: Jessica Cadwell [mailto: [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, August 11, 2009 3:00 PM
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Please let me know when u do.

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Tel:[redacted] / Fax:[redacted]
Email: [redacted]

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
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The information contained in this communication is
confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
constitute inside information, and is intended only for
the use of the addressee. It is the property of
Jeffrey Epstein
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments.

From: Lawrence H. Summers [redacted]
Sent: 1/8/2015 1:26:40 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: idea for jefferey e.

Not terrible idea.

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

Begin forwarded message:

From: Kelly Friendly <[redacted]>
Date: January 7, 2015 at 5:01:26 PM PST
To: "Lawrence H. Summers" <[redacted]>
Subject: idea for jefferey e.

Perhaps you should suggest Jefferey talk to Joe Lockhart at the Glover Park Group. He has helped Clinton and General Petraeus.

Joe is great and he likes you a lot. LMK if you want to reach out to him. He is an old friend....

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/8/2015 3:11:21 PM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: idea for jefferey e.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Lawrence H. Summers** <[redacted]>
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JEE
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and

destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: John Brockman [redacted]
Sent: 12/31/2010 6:23:47 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Edge Question 2011 - An Invitation

Importance: High

"Deliciously creative...the variety astonishes...intellectual skyrockets of stunning brilliance. Nobody in the world is doing what Edge is doing." Denis Dutton, ARTS & LETTERS DAILY

THE WORLD QUESTION CENTER

James Flynn has defined "shorthand abstractions" (or "SHA's") as concepts drawn from science that have become part of the language and make people smarter by providing widely applicable templates ("market", "placebo", "random sample," "naturalistic fallacy," are a few of his examples). His idea is that the abstraction is available as a single cognitive chunk which can be used as an element in thinking and debate.

The Edge Question 2011

WHAT SCIENTIFIC CONCEPT WOULD IMPROVE EVERYBODY'S COGNITIVE TOOLKIT?

The term 'scientific"is to be understood in a broad sense as the most reliable way of gaining knowledge about anything, whether it be the human spirit, the role of great people in history, or the structure of DNA. A "scientific concept" may come from philosophy, logic, economics, jurisprudence, or other analytic enterprises, as long as it is a rigorous conceptual tool that may be summed up succinctly (or "in a phrase") but has broad application to understanding the world.

[Thanks to Steven Pinker for suggesting this year's EDGE Question and to Daniel Kahneman for advice on its presentation.]

In Memoriam
DENIS DUTTON
1944-2010

Last year, the 2010 EDGE Question, "How Is The Internet Changing The Way You Think?" (http://www.edge.org/q2010/q10_index.html), generated 172 essays (132,000 words) and received global press attention.

To date, the following have already responded to the 2011 EDGE Question: Clifford Pickover, Rudy Rucker,Sean Carroll, Gino Segre, Jason Zweig, Dylan Evans, Steven Pinker, Martin Seligman, Gerald Holton, Robert Provine, Nassim N. Taleb, Roger Schank, George Dyson, Milford Wolpoff, George Lakoff, W. Daniel Hiliis, Nicholas Humphrey,Christian Keysers, Haim Harari, John Allen Paulos, Bruce Hood, Howard Gardner.

PERMALINK: http://www.edge.org/q2011/q11_index.html
user id: edge
password: q2011
(all lower case – password-protected until publication)

SUBMITTING ESSAYS: Email as text or attached Word file to me.

DUE DATE: 8pm, Wednesday, January 12th

PUBLICATION DATE: Midnight, Thursday, January 13th

PRESS EMBARGO: Until publication. Do not cite or circulate.

EDITORIAL MARCHING ORDERS

Say something new, true, and interesting, based on your own experience, in 1,000 words or less. Email contributions to me.

As usual, no politics ("Democrat" "Republican") or politicians ("Obama" "Bush" "Clinton" "Palin", etc.), editorials, opeds, opinion pieces, flippancy. No ad hominem comments. No self-promotion: referencing your books, papers, courses, "selling from the stage", pushing your well-known agenda. No footnotes or hyperlink: stay on the page. No anecdotes about spouses, significant others, kids, family pets. Write a stand-alone piece: don't respond to the pieces of other contributors already posted.

Go deeper than the news. Tell me something I don't know. This is not a purely scientific question: this is question about our culture and ourselves. The ideas we present on Edge can offer readers and the wider public a new set of metaphors to describe ourselves, our minds, the way we think, the world, and all of the things we know in it.

Be imaginative, exciting, compelling, inspiring. Tell a great story. Make an argument that makes a difference. Amaze and delight. Surprise us!

I look forward to hearing from you. Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

John Brockman
Editor & Publisher

The EDGE Question in the News:

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/7/2019 12:02:12 PM
To: paul krassner [redacted]
Subject: Re: Media Magic: How a Democrat Pedophile Became a 'Trump Scandal'

https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/04/opinion/letters/jeffrey-epstein.html

On Wed, Mar 6, 2019 at 11:27 PM paul krassner <[redacted]> wrote:

From: Ann Coulter **Subject: Media Magic: How a Democrat Pedophile Became a 'Trump Scandal'**
Date: March 6, 2019 at 5:01:34 PM PST
To: "Friend" <[redacted]>
Reply-To: "HumanEvents.com" <r-ysmllbbqqlsnfcqqgvnrswzfrrbsfrffsqzpggvggfvzccqwtsb@humaneventsmail.com>

Media Magic: How a Democrat Pedophile Became a 'Trump Scandal'

Strangely, the media have suddenly taken an intense interest in the case of pedophile and major Democratic donor Jeffrey Epstein.

In 2005, the Palm Beach police were told by the mother of a young girl in West Palm Beach that her daughter had been brought to the Democratic donor's mansion and asked to have sex with him for money. This kicked off an intensive, one-year undercover investigation.

The police sifted through Epstein's garbage and interviewed 17 witnesses, including the housemen, who told of sex toys and dildos left behind after the underage girls left. One of

Epstein's procurers, a 20-year-old local woman named Haley Robson, who was paid $200 for every teenaged girl she brought to Jeffrey, was cooperating with police, telling them she was like "Heidi Fleiss." They obtained statements from five of Epstein's young victims, who said they'd been paid $200 to $300 to engage in various sex acts with ...

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From: paul krassner [redacted]
Sent: 3/7/2019 4:27:09 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Media Magic: How a Democrat Pedophile Became a 'Trump Scandal'

Importance: High

From: Ann Coulter **Subject: Media Magic: How a Democrat Pedophile Became a 'Trump Scandal'**
Date: March 6, 2019 at 5:01:34 PM PST
To: "Friend" <[redacted]
Reply-To: "HumanEvents.com" <r-ysmllbbqqlsnfcqqgvnrswzfrrbsfrffsqzpggvggfvzccqwtsb@humaneventsmail.com>

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From: paul krassner [redacted]
Sent: 3/7/2019 3:02:42 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Media Magic: How a Democrat Pedophile Became a 'Trump Scandal'

Importance: High

GOOD FOR THE LACK OF DOUBLE JEOPARDY

On Mar 7, 2019, at 4:02 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/04/opinion/letters/jeffrey-epstein.html

On Wed, Mar 6, 2019 at 11:27 PM paul krassner <[redacted]> wrote:

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Date: March 6, 2019 at 5:01:34 PM PST
To: "Friend" [redacted]
Reply-To: "HumanEvents.com" <r-ysmllbbqqlsnfcqqgvnrswzfrrbsfrffsqzpggvggfvzccqwtsb@humaneventsmail.com>

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From: Pritzker, Tom [redacted]
Sent: 8/8/2016 9:28:25 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

Importance: High

You have to be a bit of a wonk to know some of the names, but Nye, Scowcroft and Nick Burns run it (Scowcroft being replaced by Condi). Members include Patraeus, Albright, Slaughter, Donalon (Obama NSA), Hadley (Bush NSA), Sullivan (NSA Hillary), Bill Burns (State #2), Kurt Campbell, Hoss Carwright (#2 Jt Chiefs), Harman, Ignatius, Sanger, Nunn, Reed, Sawers (MI6), Sherman (iran deal), Work (current #2 DoD). It seems to now be taking on an aura.

Looking for a time to come catch up in NY.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, August 08, 2016 2:45 PM
To: Pritzker, Tom [redacted]
Subject: Re:

who attends

On Mon, Aug 8, 2016 at 1:39 PM, Pritzker, Tom [redacted]> wrote:

I'm working on a date. Just finished presentation on leadership to grand pooh baahs of Aspen Strategy Group. Take a look at members it will make you laugh. Certainly made me laugh when they asked me to do it.

On Aug 8, 2016, at 9:55 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

glenn?

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/8/2016 9:30:03 PM
To: Pritzker, Tom [redacted]
Subject: Re: Re:

im in santa fe for the next two weeks come visit

On Mon, Aug 8, 2016 at 5:28 PM, Pritzker, Tom <[redacted]n> wrote:

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From: PETER MANDELSON [redacted]
Sent: 1/22/2011 3:00:54 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: This is business develpt to diagnose illness

Importance: High

On 16 November 2010 18:34, Michael Greenberg <[redacted]> wrote:

Ben and Lord Mandelson:

My late reply does no justice to my enthusiasm to follow up on our previous call and to your interest in the same. Apologies.

A word of explanation about the past two weeks:

- Financing:

Am in the midst of a $8-10 mn financing

In past two weeks have met potential investors in Toronto, Vancouver, DC, NYC, and Boston.

Have in this time already closed approximately $2 mn, which is encouraging

This pace will continue for another month or so until the financing is fully closed.

- US DoD:

Last week several of us took our prototype device to be demonstrated for the US military's Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (WRAIR).

At the conclusion of a four-hour session our host, Colonel Colin Ohrt, MD, who is in charge of the relevant WRAIR program, called our device a game-changer. He would like to pilot our device in Tanzania, Cambodia, Kenya, and Thailand. Follow up is being arranged.

Colonel Ohrt also separately evaluated our white paper on malaria elimination and expressed strong interest in also pursuing this project with Fio.

Accompanying Fio for these meetings was General Richard Tubb, MD (retired last year from the US Air Force). Dick was Chief of the White House Medical Unit and physician to Presidents Clinton and Bush.

- USAID

Also last week we successfully demonstrated our device for USAID and the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI). Follow up is being arranged.

Accompanying Fio for these meetings was Andrew Natsios, former head of USAID.

For all the foregoing meetings our prototype device performed well. Exciting times.

My trip to London has yet to be arranged and is dependent on financing events. In the meantime, I will happily travel to meet you in NYC.

Attached is the White Paper on Malaria Elimination which Fio had written and invited several academic partners to join. Since the time the document was first drafted, we discovered an even simpler technical strategy based on our new prototype device and reinforced by our recent discussion with WRAIR. This simplification would result in field trials as early as next year, which is much sooner than in the attached White Paper. To accomplish this we would team up with WRAIR rather than some of the current academic partners in the paper.

Best regards and wishes,

Michael

PS: Ben, any emails I've sent to Lord Mandelson always bounced back. Clearly I don't have the correct email address. Kindly forward this note to Lord Mandelson and forward his correct email address to me. Thanks.

Michael M Greenberg

[redacted]

[redacted](M)

From [redacted] **On Behalf Of** Benjamin Wegg-Prosser
Sent: November-08-10 10:08 AM
To: Michael Greenberg
Cc: Shlomit Dekel

Subject: Re: GoToMeeting Invitation - Meet Now

Hi Michael

Just wondered if you had an update on things, we are keen to hear more.

Best

Ben

On 27 October 2010 06:54, Michael Greenberg <[redacted]> wrote:

It was great to speak with you both. Am eager to follow up on all fronts mentioned. In transit since we spoke - will reply more fully tomorrow.
Best wishes,
Michael

From: [redacted]
To: Michael Greenberg
Cc: [redacted]
Sent: Mon Oct 25 10:35:12 2010
Subject: Re: GoToMeeting Invitation - Meet Now

Michael,

Thanks for your time on Friday, it was great to hear more about FIO, we are keen to hear more.

In terms of follow up
- we look forward to receiving the White Paper that you mentioned.
- we will consider opportunities in Russia, principally via Rusnano, who we are in discussions with http://www.rusnano.com/Home.aspx?dummy=634236281106041875
- you asked about Onexim, this is the principal investment vehicle for Prokhorov (think New Jersey Nets). He's reckoned to be the wealthiest man in Russia post-crisis. He is investing more in nanotech and green energy projects.

- London meeting - please let us know dates when you might be coming through Europe.
- NY meeting - we will update when we know more about plans to come to New York as we could also aim to meet there.

Let's keep in touch and see where we get.

Best
Ben

On 22 October 2010 20:08, Michael Greenberg <[redacted]> wrote:

Hello:

If you would kindly click to this URL: https://www1.gotomeeting.com/join/526754137

and follow the instructions, you will be able to view my laptop screen, on which I will be able to show you our corporate presentation.

Sincerely,

Michael Greenberg

CEO, Fio Corporation

--
Benjamin Wegg-Prosser
Email:[redacted]
Skype: bweggprosser
Mob: [redacted] (UK)
Mob: [redacted] USA)
Mob: [redacted] RF)

--
Benjamin Wegg-Prosser
Email:[redacted]
Skype:[redacted]
Mob: [redacted] (UK)
Mob: [redacted] (USA)
Mob: [redacted] (RF)

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Benjamin Wegg-Prosser

Email: [redacted]
Skype: [redacted]
Mob: +[redacted] (UK)
Mob: +[redacted] (USA)
Mob: +[redacted] (RF)

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Benjamin Wegg-Prosser
Email: [redacted]
Skype: [redacted]
Mob: [redacted] (UK)
Mob: [redacted] (USA)
Mob: [redacted] (RF)

Chief Whip

Deputy

Diana DeGette

About Diana DeGette

Chief Deputy Whip Diana DeGette is a 8th term member of Congress, representing Colorado's 1st Congressional district. In her eight terms serving the Denver metro region, Diana has established herself as a leader for progressive change on health care, reproductive rights, food safety, consumer protection and the environment.

DeGette is the most senior legislator in Colorado's House delegation, and in the 111th Congress she held a large amount of power as the House Democratic chief deputy whip and the vice chair of the influential House Energy and Commerce Committee.

With the Republicans taking control of the House in 2010, DeGette lost her vice chair position, but she is still a chief deputy whip and the ranking member of the Energy and Commerce Committee's subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

In January, 2011, Rep. DeGette was elected the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

DeGette is best known for championing increased federal funding for stem-cell research. In 2006, the congresswoman pushed President George W. Bush to issue the very first veto of his presidency when she teamed up with then-Rep. Mike Castle (R-Del.) to pass the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act through a GOP-controlled Congress.

In summer 2008, DeGette published "Sex, Science, and Stem Cells: Inside the Right Assault on Reason," a book that condemns the politicization of science and argues that legislation on issues like abortion, birth control and funding for education programs should be based on science rather than religion. "Too many of our elected officials are simply incapable of thinking rationally about sex," she writes.

Diana is married to attorney Lino Lipinsky. They have two daughters and a dog.

Health care

Diana believes that it is critical that all Americans have access to the health care they need. Diana has led the way for health care reform in Congress and played a central role in expanding coverage for low-income children and families.

Diana is a leading voice on health care reform in Congress. Her efforts were critical to the passage of a health reform bill earlier this year that will expand access to health care to millions of Americans and lower costs for those that previously enjoyed coverage. In particular, she was the leader of a broad coalition of representatives that were successful in resisting efforts to limit a woman's right to choose under the new legislation. Diana's top health care reform initiatives include access to high quality, affordable care for all children, prevention and wellness, strengthening the health care workforce, and expanding primary care and community health center services.

Diana has led efforts to expand the State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP), which provides health insurance to low-income children up to age 18. In the 111th Congress, Diana was a leader in the expansion of SCHIP that was signed into law by President Obama in February of 2009.

Stem Cell Research

U.S. Rep. DeGette was the chief architect of legislation to expand stem cell research, which was passed twice with broad, bipartisan support in Congress. The measure was vetoed twice by President George W. Bush – including his very first presidential veto. In March of 2009, President Barack Obama signed an executive order reversing former President Bush's restrictions on embryonic stem cell research. Standing next to the President as he signed the order, U.S. Rep. DeGette is working with the Obama Administration on codifying the order into law. In March 2010, Diana introduced bipartisan stem cell research legislation that would do just that. The Stem Cell Research Advancement Act would ensure a lasting ethical framework overseeing stem cell research at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and will provide stability to the scientists and individuals who are on the quest for live-saving cures.

Reproductive rights

As the co-chair of the Congressional Pro-Choice Caucus, Diana has fought for common-sense family planning and reproductive rights. She is a lead sponsor of the Prevention First agenda, which is a comprehensive, bi-partisan approach to reducing unintended pregnancies and the need for abortion. Most recently, Diana led the fight against the Stupak-Pitts Amendment – a dangerous restriction on women's reproductive rights.

From: [redacted]
Sent: 1/20/2014 4:26:13 PM
To: jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Happy bertday

Importance: High

Hah! I completely forgot he always had that complex as a kid. Now its cool to be a mixed breed.
Trump has a gd pool. Swimming laps now 5/6 days/wk. Staying in good shape.
Why don't you do a boxing/workout session with philip sometime at mendez gym in mid town. He's into boxing with the spics.
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, 20 Jan 2014 12:20:45 -0400
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Happy bertday

The black part?

On Monday, January 20, 2014, [redacted] wrote:

> I know. When warren goes, a part of us goes too. No BS in that.
> Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

> **From:** Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> **Date:** Mon, 20 Jan 2014 12:12:29 -0400
> **To:** [redacted]
> **Subject:** Re: Happy bertday
>
> Tough
>
> On Monday, January 20, 2014, [redacted] wrote:
>
> > Jeff: have a great day on the island (or PB?). Getting to together with Dr Frog tonight.
> > Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

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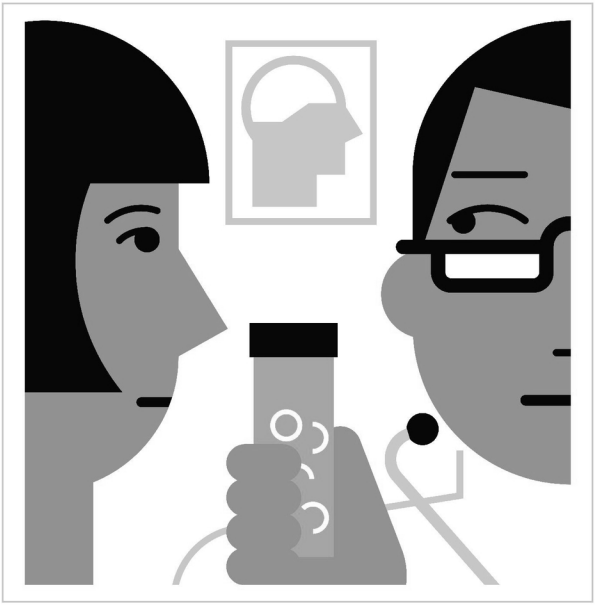
ANNALS OF SCIENCE

THE POWER OF NOTHING

Could studying the placebo effect change the way we think about medicine?

BY MICHAEL SPECTER



For years, Ted Kaptchuk performed acupuncture at a tiny clinic in Cambridge, a few miles from his current office, at the Harvard Medical School. He opened for business in 1976, on a street so packed with alternative healers that it was commonly referred to as "quack row." Kaptchuk had just returned from Asia, where, as an exiled alumnus of the turbulent sixties, he had spent four years honing his craft. "There were lots of alternatives on that street in those days, but no practitioners of Chinese medicine," Kaptchuk, who is sixty-four and still lives in the neighborhood, told me recently as we sipped (Chinese) tea in the study of his house. "The area is a little too L. L. Bean for my taste now," he said. "It was a different place then."

Not long after Kaptchuk arrived in Boston, he treated an Armenian woman for chronic bronchitis. A few weeks later, she showed up in his office with her husband, who had a Persian rug slung over his shoulder. He nodded to Kaptchuk and said, "This is for you." Kaptchuk accepted the rug, which he still owns, but had no idea what he had done to earn it. "Oh, doctor, you have been so wonderful," the woman told him. "You cured me. I was about to have an operation on my ovaries and the pain went away the day you saw me." Kaptchuk never spoke to the woman again, but he has been unable to get her out of his mind. "There was no fucking way needles or herbs did anything for that woman's ovaries," he told me, still looking mystified, thirty-five years later. "It had to be some kind of placebo, but I had never given the idea of a placebo effect much attention. I had great respect for shamans—and I still do. I have always believed there is an important component of medicine that involves suggestion, ritual, and belief—all ideas that make scientists scream. Still, I asked myself, Could I have cured her? How? I mean, what could possibly have been the mechanism?"

At the time, few serious scientists would have entertained such questions, let alone allowed words like "ritual" and "belief" to seep into a conversation about medicine. Placebos had a bad name, which is not surprising, since they have been used primarily to deceive people. In clinical trials, if a drug and a sugar pill produce similar results, the drug has generally been considered worthless. But the definition of medical treatment is changing, and so are attitudes about placebos. This year, Harvard created an institute dedicated wholly to their study, the Program in Placebo Studies and the Therapeutic Encounter. It is based at the Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center and Kaptchuk was named its director. He has already recruited leading researchers from around the world, in disciplines as diverse as neuroanatomy and semiotics. The program was formed to explore an idea that even twenty years ago would have seemed preposterous: that placebos—given deliberately—might be deployed in clinical practice. As medicine.

Kaptchuk has no shortage of critics. They acknowledge the power of the mind to influence health but question the rigor of studies suggesting that placebos could possibly prove as valuable as drugs. Indeed, the idea of dispensing sugar pills is jarring even to those who, like Kaptchuk, are enthusiastic about it. After all, placebos have almost always been defined as exactly what medicine is not. "I realized long ago that at least some people respond even to the suggestion of treatment," Kaptchuk said. "We know that. We have for centuries. But unless we figured out how that process worked, and unless we did it with data that other researchers would consider valid, nobody would pay attention to a word we said."

The research has been propelled in large measure by the emerging discipline

Scientists are now seriously investigating—and debating—our response to sugar pills.

ANDERS WENNGREN

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of neuroimaging—which, like a live satellite feed from inside the human body, permits scientists to track precisely how a person reacts to a drug (or a placebo) as soon as he takes it. An injection of saline, for example, that has been described as a drug not only will reduce symptoms of Parkinson's disease but can help a patient produce more of the dopamine that the disease destroys. Results like those have provided scientists with chemical evidence of something they had long suspected: simply believing in a treatment can be as effective as the treatment itself. In several recent studies, placebos have performed as well as drugs that Americans spend millions of dollars on each year.

Transforming interesting laboratory findings into medicine is never simple, however, particularly when those findings involve fake pills and sham injections. Some people clearly respond better to placebos than others, though we don't know why; some illnesses and afflictions are more amenable to suggestion than others; and many of the most intriguing findings are tenuous. Even so, the recent research is difficult to dismiss. Through conditioning techniques, for example, our brain can "learn" different kinds of placebo effects: people first given morphine and then a placebo have one neurochemical response, while people who take ibuprofen followed by a placebo have another. Different "doses" cause different reactions, and studies have demonstrated that people who suffer from headaches and consume aspirin regularly can associate the shape, the color, and even the taste of a pill with a decrease in pain. The value of treatments like those—which have none of the side effects of drugs—would be immense, but placebos are not pharmaceuticals, and no reputable researcher has suggested that they will soon be for sale at your local pharmacy.

Kaptchuk acknowledges that placebos are not magic potions. "Placebos don't shrink tumors," he said. "They don't make blind people see. If you are paralyzed, they won't help you walk." He deplores the grandiose claims of alternative medicine and prefers to rely on data. "Ultimately, I am not a zealot or even a true believer," he said. "I am sure that I do not understand the placebo effect. I ask questions, hopefully valuable questions, and we will see where the research lands."

Kaptchuk practiced acupuncture for half his adult life. But he stopped twenty years ago. Despite the popularity of acupuncture, clinical studies continually fail to demonstrate its effectiveness—a fact that Kaptchuk doesn't dispute. I asked him how a person who talks about the primacy of data and disdains what he calls the "squishiness" of alternative medicine could rely so heavily on a therapy with no proven value. Kaptchuk smiled broadly. "Because I am a damn good healer," he said. "That is the difficult truth. If you needed help and you came to me, you would get better. Thousands of people have. Because, in the end, it isn't really about the needles. It's about the man."

For most of human history, placebos were a fundamental tool in any physician's armamentarium—sometimes the only tool. When there was nothing else to offer, placebos were a salve. The word itself comes from the Latin for "I will please." In medieval times, hired mourners participating in Vespers for the Dead often chanted the ninth line of Psalm 116: "I shall please the dead in the land of the living." Because the mourners were hired, their emotions were considered insincere. People called them "placebos." The word has always carried mixed connotations. Thomas Jefferson wrote approvingly of what he called a "pious fraud," and noted that "one of the most successful physicians I have ever known has assured me that he used more bread pills, drops of coloured water, and powders of hickory ashes, than of all other medicines put together." But, as increasingly specific knowledge about human anatomy emerged, people began to demand scientific answers to medical questions. Knowledge displaced faith, and human health improved rapidly. Antibiotics are real; placebos are not.

The first publicly acknowledged placebo-controlled trial—and still among the most remarkable—took place at the request of King Louis XVI, in 1784, under the direction of Benjamin Franklin, then the American Ambassador to France. The German physician Franz Anton Mesmer had become famous in Vienna for a new treatment he called "animal magnetism," and he claimed to have discovered a healing fluid that

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could "cure" many ailments. Mesmer became highly sought after in Paris, where he would routinely "mesmerize" his followers—one of whom was Marie Antoinette. The King wasn't buying it, however, and he asked a commission of the French Academy of Sciences to look into the claims. (The members included Franklin, the chemist Antoine Lavoisier, and Joseph Guillotin—who invented the device that would eventually separate the King's head from his body.) The commission replicated some of Mesmer's sessions, and, in one case, asked a young boy to hug magnetized trees that were presumed to contain the healing powers invoked by Mesmer. He did as directed and responded as expected: he shook, convulsed, and swooned. The trees, though, were not magnetic, and Mesmer was denounced as a fraud. Placebos and lies were intertwined in the public mind.

It was another hundred and fifty years before scientists began to focus on the role that emotions can play in healing. During the Second World War, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Beecher—who went on to become the first chairman of the anesthesia department at Massachusetts General Hospital—attempted to assess the degree to which the severity of a soldier's injuries corresponded to the amount of pain he felt. In Europe, Beecher met with more than two hundred soldiers, gravely wounded but still coherent enough to talk; he asked each man if he wanted morphine. Seventy-five per cent declined.

Beecher was astounded. He knew from his experience before the war that civilians with similar injuries would have begged for morphine, and he had seen healthy soldiers complain loudly about the pain associated with minor inconveniences, like receiving vaccinations. He concluded that the difference had to do with expectations; a soldier who survived a terrible attack often had a positive outlook simply because he was still alive. Beecher made a simple but powerful observation: our expectations can have a profound impact on how we heal.

Armed with this information, and with his conviction that the placebo effect could be harnessed to help relieve suffering, Beecher returned to the United States and continued his research. In 1955, he published an article called "The Powerful Placebo," in which he wrote that "placebos have a high degree of therapeutic effectiveness in treating subjective responses." The paper has been cited more than a thousand times by other scientists, and Beecher's conclusion—that the placebo effect plays a critical role in almost any medical intervention—influenced much of what has followed in clinical research. His basic supposition was correct: emotions and expectations can affect our perception of pain.

Before Beecher's work, new drugs were tested in a haphazard manner; since then, they have always been compared with a placebo or with another drug. But Beecher's methodology was deeply flawed. Although he reported that placebos were effective more than a third of the time, he shrugged off a phenomenon known as "regression to the mean." Over time, the condition of most patients improves, with or without treatment. A person who enrolls in a clinical study when he is feeling particularly bad is likely to improve solely as a result of the natural course of the illness, not because he was given a placebo. (And people often enroll in such studies when they are sickest.) A patient who knows that he is in a study also may expect a better therapeutic result than one who doesn't. If you believe that doctors are particularly attentive, you can get better more rapidly, even if they aren't. This is known as the Hawthorne effect. (There is also a "nocebo effect." Expecting a placebo to do harm or cause pain makes people sicker, not better. When subjects in one notable study were told that headaches are a side effect of lumbar puncture, the number of headaches they reported after the study was finished increased sharply.)

For years, researchers could do little but guess at the complex biology of the placebo response. A meaningful picture began to emerge only in the nineteen-seventies, with the discovery of endorphins: substances secreted in the brain that are chemically similar to opiates like morphine and heroin. The discovery led to the novel idea that, in effect, the brain produces its own pharmacy. In 1978, three scientists from the University of California at San Francisco—Jon Levine, Newton Gordon, and Howard Fields—decided to investigate whether endorphins might explain why patients who received placebos often reported a significant reduction in pain. People recovering from dental surgery were told that they were about to receive a dose of morphine, saline, or a drug that might increase their pain. By then, researchers had learned not only about the nocebo effect but that a suggestion of relief will often trigger the production of endorphins, so they were not surprised that patients receiving saline reported reduced pain.

What came next, however, fundamentally reshaped the field. The researchers dismissed the subjects who received morphine and then divided the remaining participants into those who responded to the placebo and those who didn't. Then they introduced Naloxone into patients' I.V. drips. Naloxone was developed to counteract overdoses of heroin and morphine. It works essentially by latching onto, and thus locking up, key opioid receptors in the central nervous system. The endorphins that we secrete attach themselves to the same receptors in the same way, so Naloxone blocks them, too. The researchers theorized that, if endorphins had caused the placebo effect, Naloxone would negate their impact, and it did. The Naloxone caused those who responded positively to the placebos to experience a sharp increase in pain; the drug had no effect on the people who did not respond to the placebo. The study was the first to provide solid evidence that the chemistry behind the placebo effect could be understood—and altered.

"It was one of those studies that make the scales fall from your eyes," Kaptchuk told me. "I had just started to think about the placebo effect—scientifically and historically. And here comes this paper that says that, even if it's all in your head, there is still a biological mechanism driving these reactions. It was very exciting."

Kaptchuk assumed that the results would add legitimacy to the field. He was wrong. "Things are better than they were," he said. "But even now, you know, people at Harvard talk about placebos the way the Popes used to talk about medicine. They declared that Jews were not allowed to treat Christians—not because they were not good doctors but because it would have been ethically wrong. These are ethical judgments masquerading as science. Because from the

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beginning I kept having this nagging thought: what is so bad about getting better from a placebo?"

That kind of thinking, still hard for most doctors to accept, was heretical in 1990, when Kaptchuk arrived at Harvard. "People kept saying, 'Oh, this is just the placebo effect.' You would hear that every day," Kaptchuk said. He had spent years studying Chinese medicine (and medical history), and this made no sense to him. "I thought, Ted, step back a minute. This wasn't just something that was a negative. It was something that needed to be understood."

Slowly, over the past decade, researchers have begun to tease out the strands of the placebo response. The findings, while difficult to translate into medicine, have been compelling. In most cases, the larger the pill, the stronger the placebo effect. Two pills are better than one, and brand-name pills trump generics. Capsules are generally more effective than pills, and injections produce a more pronounced effect than either. There is even evidence to suggest that the color of medicine influences the way one responds to it: colored pills are more likely to relieve pain than white pills; blue pills help people sleep better than red pills; and green capsules are the best bet when it comes to anxiety medication.

Conditioning and expectations matter, and so does learned behavior. In the eighties, Levine and Gordon divided a group of postoperative patients into three sections: those in the first section received morphine secretly, those in the second were told they would receive morphine (and did), and those in the third were given a placebo that was described as a powerful pain reliever. The results were startling. Patients who were told that they would receive a painkiller, whether they actually received it or not, had the same experience in the trial as those who secretly received between six and eight milligrams of morphine—a significant amount. The covert dose had to be increased to twelve milligrams to surpass the effect of the placebo. Over the past two decades, the Italian neuroscientist Fabrizio Benedetti (who studied with Gordon and Levine), and Luana Colloca, a colleague of Benedetti's, who is now based in the United States, at the National Institutes of Health, have expanded on these studies. They have found, for example, that diazepam—more commonly known as Valium—has no discernible effect on anxiety unless a person knows he is taking it. And, increasingly, studies like those have been carried out with the help of imaging techniques—such as PET scans and functional M.R.I.s—that can track brain changes as they happen. These advances in brain imaging, along with an increased understanding of neurochemicals, have transformed a vague and mysterious notion into a tangible effect that scientists consider worthy of investigation.

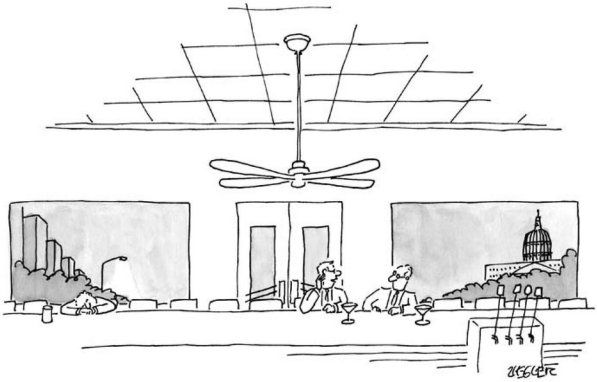
"What's exciting here is that, if we are to talk about using placebos in a clinical setting, they would have to have a measurable effect and a biology we understand," Wayne Jonas told me. Jonas is an interesting hybrid in a world often sharply divided between conventional and alternative therapies. In the early nineties, he served as the director of the Medical Research Fellowship Program at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, in Washington, D.C. He went on to run the Office of Alternative Medicine at the National Institutes of Health, from 1995 to 1999. Today, Jonas is the president of the Samueli Institute, a Washington research group devoted to shifting the focus of health care from treatment to prevention.

"The morphine studies bring us a long way," he said. So did a recent investigation by Kaptchuk, in which participants suffering from irritable-bowel syndrome were not deceived about their treatment; in fact, they were told in great detail about the placebos they received and that they were often as effective as real medicine. The pills brought them relief.

For many people in the field, results like those achieved in the morphine and I.B.S. studies, while preliminary and in need of confirmation, hint at something far more significant than the effect of a placebo or problems with a particular drug. They suggest that the "magic bullet" approach to health care—simple, effective solutions to single problems, like a strep infection or polio—can no longer remain our principal approach to treating disease.

There has always been a distinction between disease and illness. Disease is a biological condition that we have historically treated with drugs, surgery, and other technological solutions. Illness, on the other hand, defines the context of a medical encounter, including the relationship between doctor and patient. Like Kaptchuk, Jonas believes that placebo research demonstrates that it is essential to consider both the science and the art of medicine—to think about diseases as illnesses, and not to rely solely on short-term, high-tech solutions. Scientists hope that, even if it proves impossible to replace drugs with placebos, research into the way they affect us will accomplish nothing less than a transformation of American medicine. "There are

"Bore me to sleep, Daddy."



"He's the chief watchdog, who watches over all the other watchdogs—but this must be his night off."

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no magic bullets for most of the problems that ail us today," Jonas said. "Diabetes, immune-system disorders, chronic pain, cancer. Our illnesses are complex, and we need to approach them in more comprehensive ways. We try to identify drugs that will eliminate disease. Yet the way we go about delivering those agents—the interaction between doctor and patient, for example—often has a bigger impact than the agent we focus on. More than the drug and more than the surgery. And that has been collectively called the placebo effect."

The headquarters of the Food and Drug Administration, situated on a campus called White Oak, on the far edge of Silver Spring, Maryland, seems as close to the rest of the federal medical establishment as it is to Pluto. There is no Metro to White Oak, and it takes half an hour to drive from the sprawling campus to the National Institutes of Health, in Bethesda. The F.D.A.'s physical isolation belies its position as the nation's principal regulator of consumer products. No drug is sold without the agency's approval. There will be no prescriptions for any placebo, either, unless clinical trials have demonstrated its effectiveness to the satisfaction of the F.D.A.

"One of the absolutely fundamental problems that we have is the use of the term 'placebo,' which does nobody any good," Robert Temple told me, echoing a complaint made by virtually everyone who deals with the subject. Temple, who has for many years run the F.D.A.'s drug-evaluation department, is an owlish man with a short, thick mustache and circular glasses. His office is so filled with towering stacks of files that, after you enter, it takes a moment to find him. "Just because something is called a 'placebo group,'" he said, "everyone assumes that what happens in that group is a result of the placebo effect. And that is absolutely not true."

Temple, who has worked at the F.D.A. for four decades, rarely makes a decision without angering somebody. He has been regarded as a meddlesome reactionary by H.I.V. activists and others who insist that drugs be released more rapidly. The more conservative medical establishment frequently accuses the agency of endorsing the wishful thinking of drug manufacturers. And to the large and growing community that supports alternative approaches to medicine Temple is Dr. No.

Temple said that he understands why placebos attract people who become frustrated when science fails to provide definitive answers. "The persistence of what people believe will save their lives as opposed to the evidence is staggering," he said. "So people are talking about using placebos as drugs. But I have no idea what that means in practical terms. How would it work?" Tantalizing hints and possible effects are not data, and Temple says there are no data that would suggest that placebos are drugs. There are several studies, though, that illustrate the basis for his skepticism.

A placebo effect is commonly observed during trials of blood-pressure medications. To qualify for such studies, subjects are supposed to have blood pressure that exceeds a hundred and forty over ninety in at least one of the two measurements. "As soon as somebody enters those studies, his or her blood pressure falls an average of five or six millimetres of mercury," Temple said. "That is significant, but it is not a placebo response, and it is not a response to being in the study. It is often the result of doctors' inflating readings—of rounding up." If a person's blood pressure is a hundred and thirty-eight over eighty-eight, for example, investigators will often include him. "When you use an automatic blood-pressure cuff to establish a baseline for these kinds of studies, the entire placebo effect vanishes," Temple said.

When a drug (or a placebo) is under study, subjects are usually divided into two groups. Neither group knows exactly what it is getting (nor do the doctors), but one group generally receives the drug and the other a placebo. "There is a better way," Temple said. "If you want to see if there is a placebo effect, use three arms in a drug trial, not two. Tell them, 'Some of you will be getting a drug, some will get a tablet that looks like a drug but is nothing but a sugar pill, and some of you will get nothing at all.'

"It seems to me," he went on, "that if there is any substantial placebo effect, there ought to be a difference between the group that knows it's getting nothing and the group that doesn't know it's getting nothing. If there is no difference, then what are we talking about? Because it's not a placebo effect."

It turns out that there have been many trials of the type Temple mentioned. In 2001, the Danish epidemiologist Asbjørn Hróbjartsson, of Copenhagen's Nordic Cochrane Center, along with his colleague Peter Gøtzsche, published a systematic review of a hundred and fourteen clinical trials that compared patients who received a placebo with subjects who

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were told that they would receive no medicine at all. The researchers attempted to assess the combined impact of many different kinds of trials using meta-analysis, a statistical technique for extracting information from studies that are not statistically significant by themselves. Their article, "Is the Placebo Powerless? An Analysis of Clinical Trials Comparing Placebo with No Treatment," published in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, was a long-overdue response to Beecher's 1955 paper.

In almost every case, the researchers reported, there was essentially no difference between the placebo group and the openly untreated group. There were particular exceptions in studies of pain, where there was a slight but measurable placebo effect. Since we are physiologically capable of manufacturing our own painkillers—endorphins—the result may not have been surprising. Expectations and suggestion clearly influence behavior, and when we expect to receive medicine our bodies often begin to prepare for it. (As the evolutionary biologist Robert Trivers recently pointed out, in "The Folly of Fools," his book about the historical necessity of deceit, what the brain expects to happen in the near future affects its physiological state. Trivers's theory would explain a fact that has often baffled scientists: the placebo effect doesn't appear to work with Alzheimer's patients. Trivers suggests that this is because most people who have Alzheimer's disease are unable to anticipate the future and are therefore unable to prepare for it.)

The Danish researchers repeated the study in 2004, and again last year, incorporating new data each time. The results and their conclusions remained the same. "We found little evidence in general that placebos had powerful clinical effects," Hróbjartsson wrote. "Outside the setting of clinical trials, there is no justification for the use of placebos."

Kaptchuk has great respect for Hróbjartsson, yet he is wary of relying on meta-analyses, and he believes that an honest interaction between a doctor and a patient can significantly alter the outcome of treatment. That was the point of his study of irritable-bowel syndrome, in which some subjects were told that they would not be treated. I.B.S., a chronic gastrointestinal disorder, is one of the most common reasons that people seek medical care. Effective long-term therapies have proved elusive. In Kaptchuk's study, eighty patients were randomly divided into two groups. Patients in the first group received a placebo pill twice a day; those in the second received nothing. Before the study began, both groups were told that placebos were "inert or inactive pills, like sugar pills, without any medication in them." They were also informed that placebos have been shown in "rigorous clinical testing to produce significant mind-body self-healing processes." Patients who received the openly distributed placebo scored far better on standard assessments of their condition than those who received nothing. There were also statistically significant differences in the severity of symptoms.

Although a group of eighty patients is too small to draw definitive conclusions, honesty seemed to work. "Asbjørn's stuff is a constant intellectual challenge," Kaptchuk wrote in an e-mail. "His meta-analyses are tops. Great methods, very careful. Clear." Yet Kaptchuk also pointed out that placebos are not the only interventions that can cause complicated reactions. Drugs do, too. Opiods, for example, increase pain in about ten per cent of those who take them. Antibiotics don't always work, and neither does cortisone, a powerful steroid used each year by millions of people. Meta-analyses are useful to help understand large amounts of data from different trials. But statistical results that combine information from a variety of medical centers, with different kinds of patients, often in different countries, administered under different conditions, cannot be uniform and therefore cannot be conclusive.

Hróbjartsson and Kaptchuk are united on at least one front. Like Wayne Jonas, they agree that the medical system needs to change. "You have to put this into the context of the society in which you live," Hróbjartsson told me. "Because I think this may be as much a matter of philosophy as of science. There is an anti-technological, anti-science feeling in the West. We constantly see frustration with the limits of medicine. The placebo can be seen in some sense as a logical avenue for those frustrations. Everyone wants a simple, pain-free solution. But I wonder if that approach isn't just the mirror image of the pharmacological way of handling illness—that there is a pill for every disease.

"The entire idea of a placebo is very 'soapy,'" Hróbjartsson continued. "It slips away whenever you try to find a border."

That has always been true. After all, for many people a placebo is just a sugar pill. For others, the definition includes the entire ritual of treatment, the complete interaction between doctor and patient. Increased attention has mostly raised new questions: What are the physical and psychological mechanisms that produce placebo effects? What are the conditions they most easily affect? And can we actually identify people who respond to placebos? Scientists now have bits of answers to some of those questions, but to reach their goal, and introduce placebos into clinical practice, they will need to answer all of them.

Ted Kaptchuk gets a great deal of pleasure from focussing on what other people reject. Indifference seems to motivate him. "I was raised in a crazy home, and it prepared me to accept any proposition," he said. That, he once told me, is why he was so active in the sixties: "It was a time when the underpinnings of the universe were questioned." Both of Kaptchuk's parents, who were Poles, survived the Holocaust. "That really defines a lot of what I do. My father was a Red, so I have a tendency to get pleasure from subversiveness."

A particularly radical son of the sixties, Kaptchuk was one of the founders of the Columbia University chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, in 1965, but the organization was soon dominated by a faction that became the Weather Underground. That was too radical even for Kaptchuk. He fled to the West Coast. "I was hanging out with the San Francisco Red Guards and reading Mao, trying to get away from U.S. imperialism," he said. "I was militant and crazy. But at some point I said, Ted, this is not being human."

Kaptchuk decided to pursue studies in Chinese philosophy and medicine at the source. Beijing had yet to open its borders to Americans, but Kaptchuk hoped that his revolutionary bona fides would prompt the leadership to make an exception. "My request to study there was de-

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livered to the government by members of the Black Panther Party," he told me. Even that didn't work. The Chinese denied the request, and Kaptchuk spent much of the next decade studying in Macau.

Today, it is hard to imagine Ted Kaptchuk as a radical, let alone a fugitive. He is an observant Jew who wears a yarmulke on top of a shaggy bowl haircut that looks as if he'd copied the Beatles, circa 1964, then let it grow. As a devotee of Eastern thought, he bars shoes from his house and speaks in a hushed, measured voice. David Carradine would have played him beautifully.

Kaptchuk is the first prominent professor at Harvard Medical School since Erik Erikson with neither a medical degree nor a doctorate, and it would be easy to dismiss him as a signature representative of the unsubstantiated-alternative-health-care movement. But he has published scores of books, articles in highly regarded peer-reviewed journals, letters, and review notes—on subjects ranging from placebo research to exorcism, from cancer treatment to shaman rituals among Navajo Indians. He has just finished a study designed to answer a central question in placebo research: Do the genes of people who respond to placebos differ in significant ways from those of people who don't? (The data, compelling but so far preliminary, suggest that the answer is yes.)

"Ted Kaptchuk is the most knowledgeable person in the world on all matters placebo," Franklin Miller told me. Miller is a senior faculty member in the Department of Bioethics at the National Institutes of Health. "He has done the research, the scholarship, and the most interesting and clinically relevant studies." One day, I asked Kaptchuk how a man who practiced acupuncture and dispensed herbs, rather than earning a Ph.D. in biology or statistics, had learned to design complicated trials. He told me that he spent years seeking the advice of the most highly respected and rigorous medical statisticians. "I basically apprenticed myself," he said, "and they were happy to help a quack who wanted to deal with data."

Kaptchuk is proud of being what he calls "a card-carrying member of the Harvard establishment." It is a distinction that did not come easily, even though he has received millions of dollars in funding for his projects from the National Institutes of Health. "The goal is to understand placebos so that they may be used intelligently," he said one day. "But this is the area where I veer from some of my colleagues. Because what do I really want? Anything that gets people away from the conveyor belts that move from the pharmaceutical houses to doctors and on to patients is worth considering. Anything. We need to stop pretending it's all about molecular biology. Serious illnesses are affected by aesthetics, by art, and by the moral questions that are negotiated between practitioners and patients. Chiropractors never say that your pain is all in your head. But orthopedists do it all the time. What a fucking way to try and help somebody heal. Do you know how evil that is?"

That kind of deeply held conviction touches on the fundamental questions that challenge American medicine. Kaptchuk wants to broaden the definition of healing, which is exactly what enrages many scientists. In one recent study of a major asthma drug, he and his colleagues reported that, although placebos had no impact on the chemical markers that indicate whether a patient is responding to therapy, patients nonetheless reported feeling better. Kaptchuk concluded that objective data should not be the only criterion for doctors to consider. "Even though objective physiological measures are important," he wrote in the study, published earlier this year in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, "other outcomes such as emergency room visits and quality-of-life metrics may be more clinically relevant to patients and physicians."

"My jaw dropped when I read this," David Gorski, a professor of medicine at Wayne State University School of Medicine, wrote on the science blog Respectful Insolence. " 'Other outcomes' besides objective measures of disease severity may be 'more clinically relevant'?" That kind of assertion clashes with the basic truths of the scientific method. Kaptchuk counters that we are losing sight of our goal—which is to make people feel better. "This study demonstrated that, without a change in objective data, you still get incredible subjective improvement," he said. "So is a doctor really supposed to say, Gee, the patient is feeling good but I better ignore that and go by the numbers?"

It was late in the afternoon, and we were sitting in Kaptchuk's garden in Cambridge. He looked at me and threw his hands into the air. "Is my approach just hocus-pocus?" he said softly. "Isn't that what you are really asking? You want to know the relationship between rationality and feeling and between science, critical thinking, and the art of medicine. And that boils down to one question: Do you think this entire field is based on a foundation of magical thinking, or do you not?"

Three years ago, a week before Thanksgiving, while I was sitting in my office, my chest began to throb. It was a diffuse pain, but pain nonetheless. I am a middle-aged man with the usual amount of stress (too much) and I handle it in the usual way (denial). My cholesterol and blood pressure are normal, and I exercise regularly and try to eat sensibly. Still, I have read many obituaries of "healthy" men my age who ignored chest pain. So, somewhat sheepishly, I called my doctor and explained the situation, and he told me to come right over.

He conducted a thorough examination, and then we talked. He told me I was fine, that Thanksgiving is often a tense time, and that I should relax. My pain suddenly disappeared. I have written frequently of my belief that magic is for fairy tales and science is for humans. But something about that process soothed me. Of course, it was a relief to know that I wasn't sick. But could words really banish a pain I had struggled with for hours?

After I got home, I realized that I had been given a placebo. Not purposefully, perhaps, but it had the same effect. My doctor told me that I was fine, and that made my pain go away. It also eased my anxiety at least as effectively as if I had swallowed a pill. My doctor takes an extremely science-based approach to his work. That's what makes him so good at his job. But that afternoon we engaged in exactly the type of ritual that, according to Kaptchuk, will have to play a critical role in the future of American health care. And, at least in this instance, it would have been hard to argue that it didn't work. ♦

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Article 1.

NYT

Setting Sail on Gaza's Sea of Spin

Ethan Bronner

July 2, 2011 -- SOME see a parallel with the Exodus, the ship filled with Jewish refugees that tried to break the British blockade of Palestine in 1947 and helped sway world opinion toward Zionism. Others are struck by the insistence on transporting basic aid — food and cement — when it is no longer needed. Still others note the way the Israeli authorities portray the organizers as violent Islamists when most are middle-aged European pacifists.

Almost everything about the flotilla stuck in Greece and waiting to challenge Israel's blockade of Gaza seems to be a parable for something else, part of an unstated effort to recast the Israeli-Palestinian narrative in extreme terms. Instead of helping to clarify what Gaza needs and how it might build a future, the saga has merely brought out the public relations demons on all sides.

Ostensibly the 10 or so boats, with several hundred advocates from more than a dozen countries, are trying to take goods to Gaza because of a siege imposed by Israel and Egypt to pressure Hamas, the Islamist ruler there. A year ago a similar flotilla was stopped by the Israeli Navy, and after commandos boarded and scuffles ensued, nine activists were killed.

The international outrage that followed helped force an easing of the siege. One result, largely unacknowledged by the flotilla leaders: far more goods have gone into Gaza over the past year, and while the 1.6 million people there still need many things, basic supplies are not among them.

Israel is therefore quick to say that Gaza is well provided for and does not need any flotilla. If it still wants to bring in aid, it should take it

to either Israel or Egypt and it will be delivered by truck. Sea access must remain blocked to prevent weapons smuggling.

The Israeli position defies a brutal truth: last year's flotilla made a big difference for the people of Gaza — at a terrible cost in lives — by refocusing international attention on their plight and forcing a change in Israeli policy. Today, twice as many goods enter from Israel as before. Nonetheless, Gaza remains a deeply sad and deprived place.

"The focus on humanitarian aid by both flotilla organizers and the Israeli government is infuriating and misleading," Gisha, an Israeli human rights group focused on Gaza, said in a statement. "There is no shortage of food in Gaza, but economic recovery is blocked by sweeping restrictions."

The Exodus analogy supports a certain political and public relations strategy. In July 1947, when Britain ruled Palestine and the number of Jews allowed in was severely limited, the ship, with 4,500 Jewish refugees from Europe, tried to get through. British forces boarded it, killed three people, wounded dozens and essentially destroyed the ship as it listed in Haifa harbor.

The British ultimately sent the passengers to Hamburg. The sight of thousands of Jewish refugees shipped to Germany soon after the Holocaust sparked international outrage and sympathy for the Zionist cause, a key goal of the trip. "The Exodus showed that if the British are callous enough to send Jews back to Germany, the only ones who should be in charge of the fate of the Jews are the Jews themselves," observed M. M. Silver, an Israeli historian and the author of "Our Exodus." "Palestinian forces are trying to make the same point through the flotilla, that Israel has no right to control the fate of Palestinians."

Several months after the Exodus, the United Nations General Assembly voted for the establishment of two states in Palestine, Jewish and Arab, the key diplomatic moment in Israel's history. The

Palestinian leadership rejected that resolution, but this September plans to ask the United Nations for recognition of its statehood with the 1967 lines, a move strongly opposed by Israel.

Israel, for its part, has been campaigning against the flotilla and perhaps doing more — some of the boats have suffered sabotage. Israel says the Exodus is the wrong analogy; the flotilla is aimed at delegitimizing Israel and killing its soldiers.

"The flotilla is entirely designed to attack Israel's image around the world," said Yuli Edelstein, minister for public diplomacy. "We know that there are representatives of different terror groups on their way to join the flotilla."

Israeli military officials have told newspapers that some flotilla participants plan to pour sacks of sulfur on Israeli commandos and set them afire. The flotilla organizers have denied it.

A government news release noted that Mr. Edelstein had participated in a simulation exercise for the flotilla in which Israeli forces were attacked. The description of the simulation indicates how the government expects the harsh information war to play out: "As the events were taking place, the media — with emphasis on the Internet, Facebook and Twitter — were flooded with mendacious reports (by private users, Hamas and others among Israel's enemies)."

Mendacity has already reared its head. An Israeli actor put up a YouTube clip saying that he was a gay activist rejected by the flotilla because of his sexual orientation. The video was exposed as a fake. Israeli officials, who had promoted the clip on Twitter and Facebook, said they had been duped. But suspicions remained since the clip's production quality was high and officials had long used the talking point that Hamas and other Islamist groups were intolerant of homosexuality.

The Turkish group I.H.H., which helps sponsor the flotillas, has ties to Hamas, and Israeli and Western concern that violence could occur

if the flotilla sets sail does not seem far-fetched, despite the organizers' vows to the contrary.

So the flotilla has virtually no support in Israel. Still, some are uncomfortable with the way the project has been criticized as an attack on Israel itself.

Shlomo Avineri, a historian and onetime director general of Israel's foreign ministry, wrote in the Haaretz newspaper last week that when the flotilla is described as aimed at delegitimizing Israel, he recalls the Soviet Union's reaction to any criticism as an assault on its right to exist. Opposition to Israeli policy is not the same as an attack on its existence, he said, and the government's approach damages Israel.

His argument about the flotilla points to the larger dynamic: the Israeli-Palestinian dispute is increasingly disintegrating from a debate over borders and security into a battle between those claiming that Israel is a genocidal machine and those who dismiss every attack on its policy as an assault on its essence.

Ethan Bronner is the Jerusalem bureau chief of The New York Times.

Article 2.

The Daily Beast

5 Lessons of the DSK Affair

Bernard-Henri Lévy

July 2, 2011 -- The Strauss-Kahn affair is not over.

For it to be over, the American system of justice must pursue its investigation and work to the very end.

If it's truly to be over, Dominique Strauss-Kahn must be granted not only his freedom, but—even more importantly—restoration of his honor.

In other words, "the Strauss-Kahn affair" will continue to be regarded as such as long as it hasn't been clearly established that there never was any affair at all—and that the plaintiff, not content to have lied about this or that aspect of her past, also lied in accusing the former head of the IMF of having raped her.

And yet, given recent revelations, we can already draw a few lessons from what will ultimately—no doubt very soon—be known as the Strauss-Kahn non-affair.

1. The cannibalisation of Justice by the Sideshow.

This cannibalisation is not exclusively an American phenomenon, of course, and we have witnessed myriad examples of it in Europe and France. But it must be said that, with this affair, it has reached the heights of obscenity. The improvised press conference by the woman's lawyer on the steps of a courthouse normally dedicated to the sober discernment of the truth was obscene. The "shame on you's" that greeted Dominique Strauss-Kahn as he arrived for the hearing on June 6th, shouted by battalions of hotel chambermaids who knew nothing of the actual case and whose protest had been orchestrated and scripted, were obscene. And so, too, though in another manner, was the famous "perp walk" which, I'm aware, is the

lot of all those charged with a crime, but which, given the identity of the accused in question, could only degenerate into globally observed torture—high punishment for a crime, which no one, at that point, knew whether or not he had committed.

This vision of Dominique Strauss-Kahn humiliated in chains, dragged lower than the gutter—this degradation of a man whose silent dignity couldn't be touched, was not just cruel, it was pornographic. And it was at least as pornographic (because, I repeat, it's the same thing) as attorney Kenneth Thompson's visible glee in expounding on the state of his client's "vagina" [sic] before the entire world.

2. The Robespierrism of this judicial sideshow.

What is Robespierrism? It's a word taken from the French Revolution, of course, one that describes the way those behind the terror at the time took hold of a man of flesh and blood and dehumanized him by transforming him into an abstract symbol, and, as the literal incarnation of that symbol, tailored his person to fit the skin of all they had decided to purge from society of the Ancien Régime.

Well, we are compelled to observe that, regarding the Strauss-Kahn affair, America the pragmatic, that rebels against ideologies, this country of habeas corpus that de Tocqueville claimed possessed the most democratic system of justice in the world, has pushed this French Robespierrism, unfortunately, to the extremes of its craziness. In this case, Dominique Strauss-Kahn was no longer Dominique Strauss-Kahn. He was no longer a singular man gifted with a singular word, one whose version of the facts should have been carefully heard in order to compare it with that of his accuser. No. He was the symbol of arrogant France. He was the emblem of the world of the privileged, odiously sure of their own impunity. He was the mirror of this world of white global bankers that constitutes Wall

Street—one that the other America, the Main Street of every city in the country, sees as the quintessential enemy. And, similarly, this woman was the allegory of all women who are not only battered and humiliated but also poor and immigrant—their words, silenced too long, finally expressed through hers.

The sad thing is, that's not what justice is. Justice doesn't oppose symbols, but human beings. Unless we succumb once more to what Condorcet—one among many of Robespierre's victims—called the "sympathetic zeal of the supposed friends of mankind," and what I would call the "lynching, in sympathy with minorities, by their supposed friends."

3. For in France, again, Robespierrism has always gotten on well with another -ism, apparently its opposite but in reality its twin, which is called Barrèsism. What is Barrèsism? It is a worldview that takes its name from the French nationalist writer, contemporary of the Dreyfus Affair, Maurice Barrès. And it is particularly and precisely in reference to Captain Alfred Dreyfus that he uttered the famous phrase, "That Dreyfus is guilty, I deduce not from the facts themselves, but from his race." The Strauss-Kahn affair is obviously unrelated to the Dreyfus affair. I must state, to be clear, that I don't think it has much to do with this worldwide religion and delirium that is anti-Semitism. But what I do believe is that this is the appearance of a new variation on Maurice Barrès's phrase that has become, "That X—in this case Dominique Strauss-Kahn—is guilty, I deduce not from his race, but from his class."

And what I believe is that this utterance, along with the transformation (compliments of the Terror) of the "individual" Strauss-Kahn into "the suspect" delivered to the media guillotine, has been enough to fuel the fatal mechanism and make it run full throttle. In a letter by Bill Keller, the executive editor of The New York Times, that I received May 20 and that I have no scruples about

making public since publication was its purpose (it appeared in his commentary in The New York Times Magazine), he said he was "struck" and "puzzled" by the fact that "57 percent of the French public" and, in particular, "70 percent of the Socialists" seemed to embrace the cause of Dominique Strauss-Kahn, whereas "one might expect" them "to be ideologically empathetic to an African hotel maid."

I'm not saying that Keller was among those who found the powerful and white banker antipathetic. And I would say so even less since the Times ultimately provided the first elements of truth leading to the spectacular turnaround we are witnessing.

But I maintain that formulating the problem in these terms—bringing up political categories in a debate in which they are not relevant, in a word, introducing ideological considerations in an area with which they have nothing to do—is, in itself, very disturbing.

And I maintain—as I have said and repeated here and elsewhere—that the very fact of admitting that empathies of this sort can enter into the realm of justice amounts to inventing a class justice in reverse, no less problematic nor, ultimately, less criminal than the former.

It's no longer, as it once was, "bastard poor, the rich are always right," but rather, "rich bastards, it's the poor and the injured who are always, and inevitably, right."

4. Another temptation typical of our era is the sacralisation of the victim's word.

Let me make it clear. If there is a lifelong combat I have led of which I am proud, it is that which consists of giving voice to the humble and to those who have no voice. It is a combat I have fought in Bosnia, in the confines of Asia, in the forgotten wars of Africa but also, and as much or nearly so, in our officially democratic world where it took

decades of struggle so that "equality of rights" wouldn't be empty words, and so that rape, for example, would be recognized as a crime. But giving voice to the lowly is one thing. Considering this voice as Gospel is quite another—which can be the source of new and dreadful injustices. Yet this is exactly what has happened with his accuser's charges.

And I am still asking myself how so many editorialists, so many great consciences and, by the way, so many feminists could take it as a given that the word of this woman—of whom we knew only what filtered through the incomplete language of justice—was necessarily infallible.

The truth is that we have passed from one extreme to the other. The era when the word of the System's victims was, on principle, discredited has given way to one in which it is—also on principle—attributed all prestige.

Yet I repeat: To be a victim of society is one thing, and no one doubts that the alleged victim of the supposed rape is at least the victim of a social order that pays its hotel maids peanuts and treats them like livestock.

But to be the victim of aggression is another thing entirely and of an entirely different nature. It must be established methodically, scrupulously, and with discretion, by comparing evidence, viewpoints and witness accounts and by avoiding the interference of emotion, even when justified, that may motivate one and another. This is a question of principle.

5. Finally, as I immediately emphasized, there is already a victim in this case and that is the very principle, in the United States, of the presumption of innocence. Soon there will be another, I mean another victim, should it be verified that the accuser also lied about what actually happened in this now-legendary suite at the Sofitel, and that will be Dominique Strauss-Kahn himself. But from now on, there

is an established disaster, that being the destruction, in a country of which it was one of the pillars, of the sacrosanct principle that, even in an accusatory system, a man has the right to the respect of his honor and his integrity as long as his guilt has not been established. In the case of Dominique Strauss-Kahn, this principle was flouted by the tabloids (The New York Post, The Daily News, etc.) whose competitions in humiliation transformed him, from the first moment, into a monster. He was trampled on by that part of the "serious" press, which, like Time magazine, with its astounding cover illustrating the “lies” and “arrogances” of the “powerful” with a photo of a pig, committed what the worst of the tabloids did not dare to.

And he was crushed, then, by that fraction of the American judicial apparatus that, by putting Dominique Strauss-Kahn in stocks, by humiliating him before the entire world, by ruthlessly pursuing him, has probably ruined his life. That is what I wished to say when I wrote that, after George W. Bush’s invention of the concept of “pre-emptive war,” America, under Cyrus Vance, Jr., has perhaps begun to invent the idea, scarcely less horrifying, of “pre-emptive penalty.” And please allow a friend of this country to repeat, here, what he has said in his own country, when media-judicial tornadoes of the same kind have swept the land: that all this calls, at the least, for serious, honest, and substantial soul-searching.

Bernard-Henri Lévy is one of France's most famed philosophers, a journalist, and a bestselling writer. He is considered a founder of the New Philosophy movement and is leading thinker on religious issues, genocide, and international affairs. His most recent book, Left in Dark Times: A Stand Against the New Barbarism, discusses political and cultural affairs as an ongoing battle against the inhumane.

Article 3.

Al-Ahram Weekly

New paradigm in Palestine

Mahmoud Musa and Awni Sarrif

30 June - 6 July 2011 -- All roads to a meaningful settlement of the Arab Israeli conflict are at a dead end. Nevertheless, should two states be established in historic Palestine, bloody conflict will persist. Putting aside disputes over natural resources, Israel will remain a Zionist supremacist state with a clear arsenal that can turn the entire Middle East into an inferno, and the enclaved improvised Palestinian Arab entity cannot exist without aid from the outside world. There will be democracy for the Jewish people of Israel, with second and perhaps third class citizenships for all others.

The Palestinians, as the last twenty years have shown, will be ruled under an autocratic corrupt police state. The plight of the Palestinian refugees living outside the new Palestine will continue and their right to return totally forgotten. The Jordanian regime may collapse to become the alternate home leading to civil wars between the indigenous Jordanians and the Palestinians. It is also reasonable to assume that, in order to preserve the Jewish identity of Israel, another Nakba will befall the Israeli Arabs who may be relocated to areas in the West Bank.

There can only be one solution -- one state where Palestinians and Israelis alike are equal citizens in a nation that belongs indeed to the Middle East. Three conditions must be met for the new state to take hold: dissolving the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah and the Hamas Government in Gaza, the rejection of Zionism by the Israelis, and the return of the Palestinian refugees. These can only be accomplished under the auspices of the United Nations (UN).

Whereas the defunct two state solution was proposed in 1947, when the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 181 calling for dividing historic Palestine into two entities and for granting Jerusalem an international status, the reversal of this resolution by the Assembly is imperative. Although not legally binding, this resolution did grant legitimacy to the creation of the State of Israel. Ironically, since that resolution, there was no serious discussion concerning the establishment of two states in Palestine until the 1991 Madrid Conference and the signing of the Oslo Accords (Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements) in Washington in 1993. Except for a few euphoric, but short-lived moments, not the slightest progress has been made towards granting the Palestinians statehood, and all attempts to establish two states have failed.

We propose that neutral member states should ask the UN General Assembly to rescind Resolution 181 and to request a new resolution for the establishment of one state in historic Palestine. Although this responsibility falls under the Security Council, the constant exercise by the US of its veto power to protect Israel against condemnations and sanctions has proven the council's ineffectiveness in dealing objectively with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

At the General Assembly, each state has an equal voting right, thus lending legitimacy to passed resolutions. In its deliberations, the Assembly should also address international law and human rights violations committed by Israel, the PA, and neighbouring states against the Palestinian people, and set a course for a new beginning in the Middle East through major shifts in the paradigms that have crippled the region for decades.

A resolution for establishing one democratic state in historic Palestine will include as citizens all those who live there and all Palestinians in the Diaspora, reaffirming Palestinian refugees right to return, and acknowledging the special place that Palestine is for

world Jewry. Such a resolution is supported by four facts: All attempts to establish two states have ended in failure; the Jewish and Palestinian populations are too intertwined to separate except forcibly which would constitute apartheid; the physical geography and natural resources such as water and natural gas in coastal waters make division a source of perpetual tension; it is imperative to eliminate the current legitimacy given to Israel's racist colonial system and to establish a just political culture for all.

The resolution's implementation would be the responsibility of the UN and Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. To succeed, representatives of world powers may have to serve as even-handed observers.

The international focus on the Goldstone Report elaborating Israel's alleged crimes in Gaza, and on its assault on the humanitarian aid flotilla uncover only the tip of the iceberg of Israel's violations of international law. The UN is within its rights to sanction Israel for its defiance of international laws and norms. However, although Israel is the primary offender, Lebanon (denying Palestinians minimum civilian rights), Jordan (withdrawing citizenship without due process of the law), and the PA (an autocratic police- state), should all be held accountable for gross human rights violations against the Palestinians.

While a new course should be set based on reconciliation and forgiveness, Israeli and Arab individuals charged with such war crimes and human rights violations must be prosecuted. The General Assembly should, therefore, establish an International Criminal Tribunal as a "subsidiary organ" under Article 22 of the UN Charter for this very purpose.

The proposed shift in the paradigms regarding the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, once implemented will contribute to three UN goals: peace and security of the West Asian/North African region as the new state

relinquishes occupied Lebanese and Syrian territories and dismantles it nuclear arsenal; cultural, political, and economic development of the region; and equal rights of all people living on that land.

The new state will be diverse -- an amalgam of different nationalities and faiths, all with equal rights and opportunities. To the Abrahamic faiths, historic Palestine is the Holy Land. The majority of the Palestinians see themselves as Arabs; as such, the new state should have a special status in a more meaningful Arab League. The nationalistic feelings of the Jewish population that link them to fellow Jews worldwide must be recognised and upheld. The Jewish population will, however, have to reject Zionism, a racist and apartheid ideology based on 19th century European colonialist thinking which preyed on the Jewish national feelings long before the Palestinians became its victims.

The new state will bring fundamental changes in governance to the region. Democracy based on equal opportunities will begin to take hold with economic and military unions of the independent states of the region. An EU-like union of the new state, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon will enhance peace and reconciliation and will be a nucleus for a larger regional union.

There are numerous challenges ahead. They range from developing trust to rebuilding the infrastructure, the judicial, educational and social institutions; from disposing of the nuclear arsenal to dealing with the issues of confiscated lands, demolished homes and erased towns and villages. The first step, however, is to go to the UN General Assembly.

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Article 4.

Cato Institute

The Rest Won't Overcome the West

Leon Hadar

July 1, 2011 -- Much has been said and written in recent years about the growing challenge to US geo-strategic and geo-economic status by China, BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) and the other rising global powers, including South Africa, South Korea, and Turkey. Indeed, in the aftermath of the US military debacles in Iraq and Afghanistan, and especially since the financial meltdown and the ensuing Great Recession, small-time pundits as well as renowned futurologists have been predicting that the West is basically kaput and that the rest of the Twenty-First Century belongs to the 'Rest'. In this scenario, China replaces the US and the global hegemonic power sooner or later. As we study these America-is-finished-and-China-rules-the-world forecasts, it is important to recall that not so long ago many of the same pundits and futurologists were anticipating that globalisation and the Internet would lead to the collapse of the nation-state and the end of the business cycle, or that the US would dominate a unipolar international system and bring about the triumph of democracy and free markets worldwide.

That many of the same experts who were celebrating US triumphalism in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the First Gulf War have now been transformed into the prophets of American gloom and doom, should encourage us to embrace a certain sense of scepticism about the notion that China and the rest of the Rest are about to take charge and that Washington will turn out to be nothing more than a tourist attraction for Chinese and Indian tourists in the coming years.

Even if we set aside indicators such as gross national income per capita (US$46,300 in the US; US$3,650 in China) or military spending (US$687.105 billion in the US; US$114.300 billion in China) that make it clear that the combined economic (G-8 and other industrial nations) and military power of the West overwhelms that of the Rest, the reality is that the Rest - occasionally being referred to as the South - remains an amorphous amalgam of nation-states and economies that have very little in common aside from some hostility - which is receding - towards past European colonialism and American hegemonism.

That Russia is both a member of the exclusive western club of the G-8 and of the BRIC grouping is just one example of the complex global reality in which governments like Russia, or for that matter China, Turkey or Brazil, find US power to be appealing while at the same time also trying to keep it at bay. Hence, the states and economies which belong to the elusive Rest are seeking to penetrate the markets of the US and the West and attract their investors, while also hoping to reform global rules and institutions in a way that would reflect their growing power.

But as Mexico failed in its attempt to win support from the South for its candidate for leading the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the long-term interests of China or India may lead them to support the current status quo in the institution. In fact, the G-20 that has been touted as the new global grouping for projecting the rising power of the Rest, has yet to demonstrate its effectiveness in charting a new direction for the global economy.

Moreover, notwithstanding their occasional resort to anti-American rhetoric, China and Russia which are leading members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation are each probably more worried over the threat that the other poses to its security interests than the US challenge.

Turkey may be attempting to reassert its influence in the Middle East by defying US pressure. But it remains a loyal member of Nato and continues to press for membership in the EU. In fact, notwithstanding Turkey's regional ambitions, it has proved to be ineffective in trying to bring to an end the political upheaval and violence in neighbouring Syria. At the same time, despite its lessening influence in the Middle East, the US and its Nato and EU partners continue to play an active role in trying to provide support to its allies and bring some stability to the Middle East.

And while Asean members are strengthening their economic ties with the rising Chinese giant - as are Japan, South Korea, Australia and India - they also support continuing strong US military and economic presence in East Asia as part of an effort to counter-balance Chinese efforts to establish its dominant position in the region.

In a way, even as emerging markets are gaining more economic clout and the international system is becoming multipolar, it is not clear that that is creating the conditions for the West versus the Rest confrontation or that the US or the EU is being marginalised. In the new global economy and international system with its many centres of power, interlocking trade and investment ties, and shifting balances of power, a wise and effective leadership coming out of Washington could help actually turn the US once again into a central and indispensable power.

Leon T. Hadar is a research fellow in foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy, international trade, the Middle East, and South and East Asia.

Article 5.

The Japan Times

South China Sea: making sense of nonsense

Mark Valencia

June 29 — After a series of aggressive incidents involving Chinese patrol boats and subsequent soothing official statements, many analysts are trying to figure out what is really going on.

More specifically, why have different sections of China's government given mixed signals and chosen in nearly one fell swoop to embarrass their own leaders, undermine China's carefully nurtured and reasonably successful "charm offensive" toward the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and play right into the U.S. strategy of convincing ASEAN nations that they need its protection from a bullying China?

In China, has the political train left the station and are ASEAN nations thus just changing seats or cars on the train?

We are talking here not just about blatant violations of the solemnly agreed Declaration on Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) — all parties are guilty of that — but also of contradicting, by poorly timed actions, the words of leaders. When Chinese Defense Minister General Liang Guanglie was telling the Shangri-la Dialogue on June 3 in Singapore that "China is committed to maintaining peace and stability in the South China Sea" and that "China stood by" the DOC, news media were reporting that on May 26 a Vietnamese survey ship operating on its claimed continental shelf had its seismic cables cut by a Chinese patrol boat.

Shortly after that event China sent two vice chairmen of the Central Military Commission to Southeast Asia to try to reassure other

ASEAN claimants. But a second such incident occurred on June 9 — only two weeks later. Earlier, on March 4, the Philippines protested an incident on the Reed Bank in which two Chinese patrol boats allegedly threatened to ram a Philippine survey ship.

Then on the eve of Gen. Liang's visit to Manila, Chinese fighter jets allegedly harassed members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines near disputed islands in the South China Sea.

China responded to frenetic protests from Vietnam and the Philippines that any exploration in the Spratly area without its consent is a violation of its jurisdiction and sovereignty. This real time link between its stark and sweeping position and its enforcement has sent a chill down the spines of other ASEAN claimant and drawn U.S. attention. These disputes and even such incidents are certainly not new but why are they occurring now, and why is China sending very mixed signals?

This was supposed to be a period of negotiations to transform the DOC into an official enforceable code. Needless to say, this effort may now be moribund.

Despite China's rhetoric, ASEAN nations are genuinely alarmed and are looking to the United States for succor and support. The U.S. — having confronted China and injected itself into the issue via U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's speech at the ARF Foreign Minister's meeting in Hanoi in July 2010 — is only too happy to help — at least verbally and with signals that militaries understand.

The great irony is that none of this was necessary for China. Its problem with the U.S., or vice versa, concerns the intelligence-gathering activities of U.S. military vessels and aircraft — the EP-3, the Impeccable, the Victorious, the Bowditch in what it claims is its waters — not conflicting claims to islands or ocean space. These can only be linked in one worst scenario: that China has decided that it disagrees with portions of the U.N. Law of the Sea Treaty that it

ratified and with international law that Western powers developed and have imposed on China while it was weak and that it now is set on revamping the international system.

In other words China is indeed serious about its nine-dashed line claim to all features, waters and resources of the South China Sea and it alone will decide the passage regime to be imposed therein.

This is radical and could lead to war.Otherwise, China could claim most of what it wants by using existing international law and the Law of the Sea Treaty. It could claim the features and, for legal islands, a continental shelf and 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone for each. Of course it would have to negotiate boundaries with the other claimants.

But that is the present situation anyway and China's legal position is very weak. The area claimed would be almost the same as that within the nine-dashed line and the argument would be legitimate — supported by the convention.

Regarding the navigational issues with the U.S., the U.S. has not ratified the convention and has little legitimacy in arguing it or its interpretation thereof. The U.S. would be widely seen as a "bully" if it tried to force its interpretation on the world.

The puzzle is that China has excellent experts on Law of the Sea who are aware of this opportunity and yet China seems to be eschewing this option.

Perhaps U.S. strategy and tactics have pushed a portion of China's military leadership "over the edge." Maybe they have concluded from what they perceive as the U.S. "containment" policy and the constant and active probing by high-tech spy vessels and planes that war is inevitable. In this scenario China feels it must defend its exposed underbelly and push its defense "zone" as far south and seaward as possible.

Of course, this is anathema to the U.S., particularly its navy. In this case, the DOC or even a convention will be of little utility. Let us hope that the real explanation is more benign. One possibility is confusion and lack of coordination between high policy officials in foreign affairs and the military, particularly the PLA Navy. But this could also mean that China's foreign policy is in flux or disarray on this issue and that the PLA Navy has emerged as a trendsetter and spokesperson thereon.

Remember that just as U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates arrived in January on his historic visit to China, its military tested a stealth fighter and the civilian leadership appeared to have been caught unawares.

If the military is on occasion acting independently of the civilian leadership, this could explain the seeming dichotomy between Chinese officials' words and PLA Navy actions. But this would indeed be worrying.

In any event the situation looks likely to get worse before it gets better. More surveys and exploratory drilling are planned in areas claimed by China. And Vietnam has conducted an offshore live-fire drill and has called for international — including U.S. — help to resolve the issues. Rare anti-China protests have broken out in Hanoi and Manila. At this point all one can say is hold on to your hat.

Mark Valencia, a former senior fellow with the East-West Center, is a maritime policy analyst.

Article 6.

Scientific American

How the Brain Understands Food and Appetite [Excerpt]

David Linden

Editor's Note: The following is an excerpt from a chapter in the book Compass of Pleasure: How Our Brains Make Fatty Foods, Orgasm, Exercise, Marijuana, Generosity, Vodka, Learning, and Gambling Feel So Good by David Linden. Copyright (c) 2001 by David Linden.

July 2, 2011 -- In studies where the food intake and energy expenditure of subjects are carefully monitored over a period of weeks to months (which tends to average out day-to-day fluctuations) a remarkable balance between calories consumed and calories burned was observed. When various mammals, from mice to monkeys, are either overfed or starved for a few weeks, their weight soon returns to normal levels when free access to food is resumed. Crucially, our mammalian bodies seem to be able to regulate feeding based on the amount of energy available in the food we consume, not just on the volume of that food. One example of many: When groups of rats were fed nutrient solutions of varying concentrations, they adjusted the volume consumed to achieve a constant inflow of calories. It's a lot like the thermostat in your house: When its thermometer registers a drop in temperature, it sends a signal to the heater to warm the house until the desired set point is reached.

These observations suggest that the brain must receive signals from the body that indicate its weight and that the brain makes use of the signals to modulate appetite and energy expenditure in order to

maintain an individual's weight within a fairly narrow range. The signals are received in a structure at the base of the brain called the hypothalamus. The hypothalamus is involved in the control of many basic, subconscious drives and reflexes including sex, feeding, aggression, drinking, and regulation of body temperature. When rats received lesions in a particular subregion of the hypothalamus called the ventromedial area, they became obese. They behaved as if they were starving and compensated with an increase in food intake and a decrease in energy expenditure. Conversely, when a different part of the hypothalamus, called the lateral area, was destroyed, the rats behaved as if they had been overfed. They reduced food intake and increased energy use and thereby became dangerously lean. This is not just a rat trick: These experiments have been replicated in a wide variety of mammals, and humans who sustain damage to the ventromedial hypothalamus (usually from a tumor of the adjacent pituitary gland) will also increase their food intake and become obese.

This model raises one obvious question: How does your hypothalamus know how much you weigh? Let's step back and play God for a moment. If you wanted to build this system, how would you do it? By measuring blood glucose? Fat deposits? Core body temperature? Pressure on the soles of the feet?

This all remained a mystery until 1994, when Jeffrey Friedman and his colleagues at Rockefeller University reported their observations of two strains of mutant mouse, one called obese and the other called db. (These mutations were not created by scientists using genetic tricks but arose spontaneously in a breeding colony.) Both strains of mice were extremely fat, a trait that was passed on to their offspring in a simple, dominant pattern of inheritance, like eye color. This suggested that obesity in both obese and db mouse strains resulted from a mutation in a single gene in each case. Friedman's group was

able to track down the mutation in the obese mice and found that it blocked production of a particular protein hormone, which they named leptin. The leptin protein is only secreted by fat cells. When similar analysis was performed on the db mice, it was found that the disrupted db gene was responsible for encoding a protein that functions as a leptin receptor: When it binds circulating leptin at the cell surface, it sets in motion a biochemical cascade inside the cell. Most provocatively, the leptin receptor is expressed strongly on neurons in those areas of the hypothalamus that cause obesity or leanness when destroyed.

So with Friedman's key findings we now have a reasonable hypothesis for how the hypothalamus can sense body weight and use that information to maintain it within a narrow range. When weight is gained, the amount of body fat increases, and since fat cells secrete leptin in proportion to their mass, leptin levels will consequently rise. Leptin circulates in the blood and crosses into the brain, where it is sensed by leptin receptors expressed on neurons in the hypothalamus. Activation of those neurons by leptin suppresses appetite and increases energy expenditure. When weight is lost, the system works in the opposite direction: Less fat means reduced levels of circulating leptin, increased appetite, and reduced energy expenditure.

So far, the evidence that supports this hypothesis is quite promising. Leptin levels in the blood do indeed increase with weight gain and decrease with weight loss. Injections of leptin in obese mutant mice cause them to reduce food intake and lose weight (and these injections work even if tiny doses are delivered directly to the hypothalamus). Injections of leptin in db mutant mice have no effect, because there are no leptin receptors in the hypothalamus for the exogenous leptin to activate.

Of those people who are morbidly obese, less than 1 percent harbor DNA mutations that disrupt the function of the leptin gene—a low

rate of incidence that is not surprising, as leptin-deficient humans and mice are both in fertile, so these mutations do not pass readily to subsequent generations.

David J. Linden is an American professor of neuroscience at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, and the author of The Accidental Mind: How Brain Evolution Has Given Us Love, Memory, Dreams, and God.

From: [redacted]
Sent: 2/3/2016 1:15:33 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Jeffrey Epstein [jevacations@gmail.com]
CC: Lesley Groff[redacted]
Subject: I beat Bush

Importance: High

Hi Jeffrey,
I got more votes than Jeb Bush got in Iowa, and I only had one congressional district, he had four!! It's so funny (to me – totally embarrassing to him)!!! Still like Trump 😉 and might be a delegate to the republican convention.

Was in St. Thomas for a couple of days – did call this island, but never heard back. Went scuba diving off St. Jeff and it was beautiful. Would be totally funny (to me at least) if you put a big fake shark or statute under the water where the divers go....

Love ya,
[redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: 5/18/2016 2:42:38 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Hello

Importance: High

Hi Jeffrey,
Hope all is well with you. Enjoying this political climate 😉? I moved from the Trump campaign to Kasich as there was a fabulous opportunity to be on his Advisory Committee for Elder Issues. Now, I'm going to try to get on with Trump as an advisor. He's going to have big problems with Trump University and the charge of Senior Financial Abuse in CA and FL.

Also, starting a new company helping Seniors age successfully, especially individuals with dementia - the earlier we catch it the better. I've been working with a memory center and individuals in DC and it's remarkable the results I've been able to achieve over the last year. Of course, only want to work with people/families/guardians that are SERIOUS about getting the best care. I stress 'serious' because I don't want to get into a situation like as last summer.

How is Fred? It's just sad sad sad that instead of letting me help him, Joe had me fixing his watch and finding a school for his son… I think of where Fred could be today, and instead he's probably locked up in his apartment with no help that has dementia training – he probably thinks he's crazy by now. Know you like Joe, but it was sad sad sad that he didn't let me do my job. Was it an intentional con? Very few things he said were the truth (but, hey, people liked Bernie Madoff too)….

Anyway – the past. I'm charging in the range of $1000 – 1500 per day plus expenses and it's all highly confidential. A customized 'mind-body' enhancement to achieve the most out of one's life! And, training for the family to help transition to the 'new reality' with their loved one with later stage dementia.

I'm in NYC Friday for the annual meeting of the Circumnavigator's Club, and will stay over the weekend. Love to see you if you're in town! Would also like to have lunch with Fred - enjoyed his company - but Joe probably won't let that happen 😉.

Love you! And wishing you Love and Happiness, [redacted]

PS. Any idea how to get rid of this damn smoking gun article? It's now the first thing you see when googling me…

[redacted].
Beck Center for Longevity & Successful Aging
[redacted]

Specializing in a highly confidential approach to living longer, being sharper, and getting more out of your life!

From: [redacted]
Sent: 5/18/2016 4:41:19 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Hello

Importance: High

That sucks....

Sent from my Windows Phone

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: 5/18/2016 10:46 AM
To: Gwendolyn Beck
Subject: Re: Hello

impossisble to get rid of

On Wed, May 18, 2016 at 10:42 AM, [redacted] wrote:

Hi Jeffrey,

Hope all is well with you. Enjoying this political climate 😉? I moved from the Trump campaign to Kasich as there was a fabulous opportunity to be on his Advisory Committee for Elder Issues. Now, I'm going to try to get on with Trump as an advisor. He's going to have big problems with Trump University and the charge of Senior Financial Abuse in CA and FL.

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Love you! And wishing you Love and Happiness, Gwendolyn

PS. Any idea how to get rid of this damn smoking gun article? It's now the first thing you see when googling me…

[redacted]
Beck Center for Longevity & Successful Aging
[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/3/2016 1:22:56 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: I beat Bush

Great

On Wednesday, 3 February 2016, [redacted] wrote:

> Hi Jeffrey,
>
> I got more votes than Jeb Bush got in Iowa, and I only had one congressional district, he had four!! It's so funny (to me – totally embarrassing to him)!!! Still like Trump 😉 and might be a delegate to the republican convention.
>
> Was in St. Thomas for a couple of days – did call this island, but never heard back. Went scuba diving off St. Jeff and it was beautiful. Would be totally funny (to me at least) if you put a big fake shark or statute under the water where the divers go….
>
> Love ya,
>
> [redacted]
>
> [redacted]

--

please note
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JEE
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From: Steven Sinofsky[redacted]
Sent: 11/22/2013 3:48:56 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Bitcoin and DC

Importance: High

http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-switch/wp/2013/11/21/heres-how-bitcoin-charmed-washington/

I'm up 50% on my BTC investment!

Here's how Bitcoin charmed Washington

- BY **TIMOTHY B. LEE**
-
- November 21 at 2:52 pm

The Bitcoin Foundation's Patrick Murck testifies before the Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee. (U.S. Senate)

The pair of Bitcoin hearings held this week by Senate committees could have been a disaster for the Bitcoin community. After all, Bitcoin first came to mainstream attention in 2011 when Gawker reported on Silk Road, an anonymous online marketplace that allowed users to purchase a wide variety of illegal drugs with Bitcoin. Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) denounced the site and suggested that Bitcoin was "an online form of money laundering." A few months ago, it would have been easy to

imagine the first congressional hearings on Bitcoin being a prelude to a federal crackdown on the decentralized financial network.

But that's not what happened. Instead, the hearings were lovefests. All three Obama administration officials who testified this week stressed that Bitcoin has legitimate uses and argued that no new regulations were needed to police illicit uses of the network. Most of the other witnesses echoed those sentiments.

That wasn't a coincidence. The cordial atmosphere of this week's hearings was the culmination of months of careful diplomacy by Bitcoin advocates. Since the spring, leaders of the Bitcoin community and sympathetic policy advocates have been engaging with federal regulators, lawmakers and other influential figures inside the beltway. The result: a near-unanimous consensus that the federal government needs to be careful to avoid hampering the growth of the world's first completely decentralized payment network.

A tough crowd

On the morning of June 13, several dozen well-dressed Washingtonians filed into the Carlucci Auditorium at the stately headquarters of the United States Institute of Peace. For many of the government officials in the room, this would be their first opportunity to meet senior figures in the Bitcoin community in the flesh. Panelists included lead Bitcoin developer Gavin Andressen and Patrick Murck, general counsel of the Bitcoin Foundation.

The way the event was framed didn't augur well for Bitcoin. One of the conference's two sponsors (along with Thompson Reuters) was the International Centre for Missing and Exploited Children. A major theme of the second panel was the use of bitcoins to purchase child pornography.

"Child pornography is like Bitcoin in some ways," said Andrew Oosterbaan, who prosecutes child pornography cases for the Justice Department. "It has intrinsic value to people who want it. The more valuable child pornography is the new child pornography. When you add an anonymous currency, you've taken individuals who are already incentivized to produce, given them a far more meaningful incentive to do so."

"Bitcoin is nothing like child pornography," a visibly angry Murck shot back. "If there was one instance of a child being abused because of Bitcoin, that's one too many. I'm a father, I think there's a special place in hell for people who do that."

But Murck also stressed that the Bitcoin community was willing to work with federal regulators to ensure that Bitcoin-based businesses complied with applicable laws. "I want to craft a sane regulatory environment," he said, urging federal regulators to "engage stakeholders. Don't have secret meetings. Have public meetings. We're all happy to live with the consequences of whatever rulemaking is open and transparent."

Murck would get his wish for engagement, though many of the meetings would be held behind closed doors. "We always intended that conference to be a launching point," says Ernie Allen, the president

of the International Centre for Missing and Exploited Children and an organizer of the June conference. The gathering catalyzed the creation of a task force to consider how policymakers should respond to Bitcoin's emergence. It is expected to issue its recommendations early next year.

Allen says that conversations among members of that task force have changed how he thinks about the online payment network. Allen now believes that premature regulation would be counterproductive.

"We are enthusiastic about the potential of virtual currencies and the digital economy," Allen said in his Monday testimony before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

Allen said he remained concerned about the use of the currency for exchanging child pornography, but he warned that "draconian" regulations could push Bitcoin enterprises underground and overseas, where it would be much harder to police for illicit uses.

The Senate studies Bitcoin

Staff on the Homeland Security Committee, which is chaired by Sen. Tom Carper (D-Del.), had been preparing for their Bitcoin hearing for several months. Committee staffers began to study the topic in earnest in April, when the value of one bitcoin spiked to $266, generating a wave of media attention.

Over the summer, committee staff interviewed around 50 experts in industry, government, academic and nonprofit organizations to learn how the Bitcoin network worked and how it might affect the economy and law enforcement. Committee staffers talked to government agencies, bankers, and technologists. They also talked extensively to representatives of the Bitcoin Foundation.

The committee consulted with Dan Kaminsky, a well-known security expert who conducted an influential security analysis of the Bitcoin software in 2011. Staffers talked to Sarah Meiklejohn, a computer scientist at the University of California, San Diego, about whether Bitcoin is truly anonymous (it isn't). And they talked to Jerry Brito, a researcher at the Mercatus Center, a libertarian think tank. Brito testified at Monday's hearing.

In August, the committee sent a series of letters to federal agencies seeking their views on Bitcoin and other virtual currencies. Letters were sent to the Department of Homeland Security, the Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve, the Justice Department and other agencies with regulatory authority related to financial markets or online crime. The letters asked the agencies to provide details of any inquiries they had conducted into the virtual currencies, and to describe whether they had plans to regulate the currency in the future.

Meanwhile, representatives from the Bitcoin Foundation met with a number of executive branch officials at a closed-door meeting in August. "What the Bitcoin Foundation tried to stress is that Bitcoin is less useful for [illicit] purposes than other centralized virtual currencies," said Brito, who attended the meeting. Bitcoin advocates also stressed that excessive regulation in the United States would merely push more of the Bitcoin economy overseas, where U.S. regulators might not be able to reach it at all.

Those arguments seem to have made an impression, because government officials repeated many of them at this week's hearings. The Homeland Security Committee invited representatives of three federal agencies to testify before the committee this week. Jennifer Shasky Calvery represented the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, which enforces the nation's laws against money laundering. Mythili Raman spoke on behalf of the Justice Department, whose enforcement activities have included the shuttering the Bitcoin-based drug marketplace Silk Road. And Edward Lowery spoke for the Secret Service, which (along with the Justice Department) was involved in shutting down e-Gold and Liberty Reserve, two virtual currencies that the government alleged had become vast money-laundering operations. Calvery also testified before the Senate Banking committee on Tuesday.

"Virtual currencies have yet to overtake more traditional methods to move funds internationally" for "criminal purposes," Calvery said. She pointed out that the Bitcoin network has processed only about $8 billion worth of transactions over the last year, compared to an estimated $1.6 trillion in "global criminal proceeds" in 2009. Clearly, the vast majority of those transactions are using some other financial network.

"We are attuned to the criminal use" of Bitcoin, Raman said. But "there are many legitimate uses. These virtual currencies are not in and of themselves illegal."

Calvery agreed. "Innovation is a very important part of our economy," she said, cautioning that premature regulation could stifle Bitcoin innovation.

The personal touch

Regulators are busy people. They're more likely to pay attention to flesh-and-blood advocates than to anonymous Internet commenters. Murck and Andresen's trip to Washington proved to be crucial to building productive relationships with policymakers.

Calvery was a keynote speaker at the June conference. Murck and Calvery met in the speakers' room at the conference and had a conversation that would later lead to the closed-door August meeting between regulators and Bitcoin advocates. The day after the June conference, Murck was introduced to staffers on the Senate Homeland Security Committee, beginning a conversation that culminated in this week's hearings.

Murck says that not everyone in the Bitcoin community was happy about his engagement with Washington. The Bitcoin community has a strong libertarian streak, and many Bitcoin devotees worried that conversations with federal regulators could help to legitimize and encourage regulation. But to the surprise of many, the Bitcoin advocates' charm offensive actually changed the minds of many D.C. insiders. Winning over Allen was a particular coup for the Bitcoin community. Allen's warnings against the dangers of premature regulation were particularly effective coming from a long-time activist against child pornography.

"Part of the effort was not just to address these issues from a law enforcement perspective, but to listen to the leaders of the Bitcoin movement," Allen said. And when he listened to them, he found some of their arguments to be surprisingly persuasive.

From: [redacted]
Sent: 1/22/2013 10:45:31 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Tom McMillen

Importance: High

Hi Jeffrey,
I saw Tom McMillen last night and he asked about you - said he lost touch. He's tight with the Obama's and is going to be an Ambassador - apparently any country he wants. So great! I'd LOVE to be an Ambassador and am going attempt to raise enough money on the next election cycle.

His info is: [redacted] and [redacted] I hesitate to give him your info w/out ur permission...

Am doing Aspen Institute Socrates Society program over President's weekend if you're in Aspen! Miss you!
Love and Happiness, Gwendolyn

PS. Have a conference call with Jessica Joffe tomorrow.

[redacted]

www.beckresearchlabs.com
www.flirtingwithfinances.com

check out: **www.webegirls.com**

From: [redacted]
Sent: 6/25/2017 8:53:16 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Hello!!!

Importance: High

Hi Jeffrey,
Just called, but not sure I have the right cell number for you. Thinking of you and hope life is treating you great! Any news?

All good here in the District of Corruption – I'm lovin' Trump. He is turning this town on its head, and have to admit, I'm enjoying watching the action (except for the shooting, of course, which was tragic). Especially interesting is watching the Dems implode – I'm really shocked at how wrong they judged the public. Am having dinner tonight with one of the Blue Dog Dems, and think they could maneuver to take over the party – Rep. Jim Costa is the defacto head – we'll see. Have popcorn, sitting back and watching the show 😉

Just got a big promotion to Manager of Senior Health, Virginia Hospital Center/Mayo Clinic. Am very excited, and love the job – it is so rewarding. I spend most of my time giving lectures on neurodegenerative diseases, sleep, heart health and strategies for longevity. And the rest of the time as liaison to State and local Department's of Aging, facilitator to the Alzheimer and Dementia Caregiver Support Group and managing the assistive technology program.

If you hear of any special panels or commissions President Trump is forming, please keep me in mind. Sure the hospital won't mind loaning me out, and pretty sure I'm one of a handful of Republican Gerontologists 😉.

Let me know if you get to DC. Would LOVE to see you!!!

Miss you and all the great times we had xxxx
[redacted]

PS. How are Fred and Mort doing?

[redacted]
Gerontologist, Longevity & Successful Aging
[redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: 6/25/2017 9:10:33 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Hello!!!

Importance: High

Thanks!!!

[redacted]
Gerontologist, Longevity & Successful Aging
[redacted]

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Sunday, June 25, 2017 4:59 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Hello!!!

Great news

On Sun, Jun 25, 2017 at 4:53 PM [redacted] wrote:

Hi Jeffrey,
Just called, but not sure I have the right cell number for you. Thinking of you and hope life is treating you great! Any news?

All good here in the District of Corruption – I'm lovin' Trump. He is turning this town on its head, and have to admit, I'm enjoying watching the action (except for the shooting, of course, which was tragic). Especially interesting is watching the Dems implode – I'm really shocked at how wrong they judged the public. Am having dinner tonight with one of the Blue Dog Dems, and think they could maneuver to take over the party – Rep. Jim Costa is the defacto head – we'll see. Have popcorn, sitting back and watching the show 😊

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Gwendolyn

PS. How are Fred and Mort doing?

[redacted]
Gerontologist, Longevity & Successful Aging
[redacted]

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From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 10/13/2015 6:48:37 PM
To: Jefffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: [redacted]

Importance: High

below from [redacted]

Hi Lesley,
I'm helping a friend at the doctors and should be available between 5 and 630p if we can talk then. Or anytime tomorrow before 5pm. Going to Trump speech tomorrow night - think he's going to get the nomination....
Best, [redacted]

From: Jennifer Jacquet[redacted]
Sent: 8/4/2011 8:21:25 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Yuck. Maybe borrow one from Clinton?

On Aug 4, 2011, at 4:17 PM, Jeffrey Epstein wrote:

i would need my speculumator to gauge accurately

On Thu, Aug 4, 2011 at 10:09 PM, Jennifer Jacquet <[redacted]> wrote:
Well, you're the gyneconomist. Better get to work.

On Aug 4, 2011, at 4:05 PM, Jeffrey Epstein wrote:

they are being feminized.

On Thu, Aug 4, 2011 at 10:01 PM, Jennifer Jacquet <[redacted]n> wrote:
Richard and I have already been in touch about the transfer to the project I work with here at UBC, and it seems there is no problem (I'll check with our admin right now). Thank you, though!

p.s. What the heck is happening to the financial markets and how are you going to help?

On Aug 4, 2011, at 3:40 PM, Jeffrey Epstein wrote:

john and i agree that maybe you shoudl take money from edge. as opposed to me ,, if it helps

--
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Date: Tuesday, January 20 2015 12:14 AM
Subject: are they still bothering you/ if so what about
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: [redacted]

I have to hand it to ms[redacted] I'm sure she deserves the pretty penny she has made for her effort . She has certainly caught the imagination of a public hungry for salacious fiction. To suggest her story is anything other than that, a fiction , is ludicrous. Presidents at dinner on caribean islands. (clinton was never ever there, easy to confirm). Sharing a bath with a Prince (bathtub too small even for one adult). sex slave being paid thousands of dollars. (while at the exact same time, she was working as a hostess in a burger bar). being lent out to a prime minister though this prime mininster, never out of sight of his massive security detail also never visited the island, , sex on a small airplane with a famous lawyer while the other passengers must have been all looking out the window during the event . I would have thought that her fabrications were readilly apparent , but now , being asked to deny what the press has termed her " allegations " is frankly silly. ok, to play along I deny each and every allegation . The only person she didn't suggest she was forced to have sex with , was Bilbo Baggins. , maybe its in the sequel.

--

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From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2012 5:01:27 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]; Francis Derby [redacted]
Subject: Bobby Slayton

Importance: High

Bobby Slayton will be in LA on Sept. 18th (he said if you are hosting Obama in NY though, he could make the effort to attend)

Below from Bobby re the dinner he would like to have:

> AND Tuesday the 16th is perfect for dinner with David And Lewis And if Woody Makes it GREAT, if not, always fun to hang with JE!!! David Brenner said he would try to change his flight if only Monday works!! But the boys are definately in for Tuesday!!!

May I tell Bobby the 16th is good for dinner AND invite Woody?

Lyn & Jojo are back to work on Oct. 16th (they are home on 15th)

Linda Stone will be in NY and staying in an apt Oct. 13-17

From: [redacted]
Sent: 9/28/2012 2:41:02 PM
To: Lesley Groff [redacted]; [redacted]; Richard Barnnet [redacted]; Louella Rabuyo [redacted]; Januiz Banasiak [redacted]; Rich Kahn [redacted]; Darren Indyke [redacted]; Francis Derby [redacted]; Je vacation [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: 3:00 Wheels up!!

Importance: High

Lesley,
Please inform JEE, Vice President Biden is in West Palm Beach and is schedule to depart between 5pm and 6pm today. He parks at Galaxy ramp also in Palm Beach. The airport will be closed between 5pm and 6pm.
Flight time is 2+21min.
we'll need wheels up at 4pm or 2pm. Pls advise which time je prefers?

Thank you,
Larry
------Original Message------
From: Lesley Groff
To: Larry
To: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
To: Richard Barnnet
To: Louella Rabuyo
To: Januiz Banasiak
To: Rich Kahn
To: Darren Indyke
To: Francis Derby
Subject: 3:00 Wheels up!!
Sent: Sep 28, 2012 10:33 AM

JE has moved wheels up to 3pm today!

LArry, please confirm

Also, Larry please confirm you will organize pick up in PB upon the arrival today
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

Date: Friday, July 15 2016 03:40 AM
Subject: Fwd: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein
From: [redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

How did they get access to this and how is it legal that they are posting this?

[redacted]

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Begin forwarded message:

From: Google Alerts <googlealerts-noreply@google.com>
Date: July 14, 2016 at 10:54:36 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein

Jeffrey Epstein

Daily update · July 15, 2016

NEWS

Daily Mail

Shocking VIDEO from inside Florida mansion of Bill Clinton's friend **Jeffrey Epstein**

Daily Mail

These were the images that police found when they searched evil **Jeffrey Epstein's** waterfront mansion. Now Daily Mail Online has exclusively ...

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From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 7/17/2012 8:05:30 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

i spoke with Janusz and he was agreeable and happy to stay on and continue working for you
his wife is still working for trump but that will be short term and she will then look for new work
if janusz still works for you he plans to live on the property with his wife
please advise if i should reinstate his employment and if so as of what date?

PLEASE NOTE EFFECTIVE JUNE 5TH MY CONTACT INFO WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor,
New York, New York 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

On Jul 17, 2012, at 3:46 PM, Jeffrey Epstein wrote:

yes

On Tue, Jul 17, 2012 at 3:44 PM, Richard Kahn <[redacted]> wrote:
[redacted] just mentioned that you were open to entertaining Janusz staying on with a new clearly defined role
Should i call and feel him out?

PLEASE NOTE EFFECTIVE JUNE 5TH MY CONTACT INFO WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor,
New York, New York 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cel [redacted]

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/31/2013 12:54:05 AM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Studio

Importance: High

Barak Obama?
Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Sun, 31 Mar 2013 01:41:30 +0100
To: paula[redacted]
Subject: Re: Studio

come afterward , i have interesting people. ehud barak, mandelson, zucekrman

On Sun, Mar 31, 2013 at 1:37 AM, [redacted] wrote:

> Hi! Last night we confirmed a studio recording with an stunning soprano to record a new aria Fred wrote. Its early 7:30-9pm on April 4. F really wants to see you, so is after that too late? Wanna join us somewhere to eat after? Wanna come to the studio? Fred will be playing the piano for the demo. Otherwise, we could have a visit anytime you want after the 4th. But if you can, the studio would be fun and I would love to have your input in the booth:). Tora and Miasha might come too. Its an awesome aria sung by a Vampiress who looks just like (better) Vanessa Williams from our day. (The Miss USA that somehow had some haha nudie photos floating around). ANYWAY..what do ya think?
> Sent via BlackBerry from T-Mobile

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/1/2016 9:50:51 AM
To: [redacted]

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/07/donald-trump-sexual-assault-lawsuits-norm-lubow

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From: Reid Hoffman [redacted]
Sent: 7/6/2015 5:04:31 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: ICYMI

slow progress.

planning to see you in August.

Hope you're well.

_____
From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Sunday, July 05, 2015 2:30 PM
To: Reid Hoffman
Subject: Re: ICYMI

heyy it looks like your diet program has worked

On Thu, Jul 2, 2015 at 12:03 AM, Reid Hoffman [redacted]
wrote:

ICYMI

My occasional roundup of interesting links and
writing I've shared – in case you missed them. :)

New and Notable

* We are thrilled to welcome Sarah Tavel to Greylock Partners. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=fd2b3c4c94&e=5c5da67d46>
* And also very excited to welcome lynda.com<http://lynda.com> to the LinkedIn team! LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=c5d4aeaddb&e=5c5da67d46>
* Change.org celebrates its 100 million users milestone. Emily Chang discuss this and more with CEO Ben Rattray on Bloomberg West: LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=1cecb3c616&e=5c5da67d46>
* Byron Auguste launched Opportunity@Work, a new civic enterprise aimed at "rewiring the U.S. labor market." Tom Friedman's post: LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage1.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=5656e94c3e&e=5c5da67d46>
* Mimi Ito launched Connected Camps, a summer online coding camp using Minecraft. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=fa8ce1e400&e=5c5da67d46>

Worthwhile Reads

* Jeff Weiner: How LinkedIn is Helping Power the President's Tech Jobs Initiative LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage1.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=604ec30797&e=5c5da67d46>
* The New Yorker: R U There? - Nancy Lublin and Crisis Text Line LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=0e06052ca2&e=5c5da67d46>
* Fast Company: Inside Obama's Stealth Startup LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=99ca65f63c&e=5c5da67d46>
* Jerry Chen: The Age of Developer-Defined Infrastructure LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage2.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=266fd91f7c&e=5c5da67d46>
* Sheryl Sandberg's powerful tribute to Dave Goldberg. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=9e42d166b8&e=5c5da67d46>

Some of My Recent Essays

* Wired: Why the block chain matters LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=13d941a4df&e=5c5da67d46>
* Financial Times: Acquiring proven entrepreneurs is a smart way to innovate LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=87d9caa3f0&e=5c5da67d46>
* Press Start to Continue: One More Role of Founders LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=30298b2c77&e=5c5da67d46>

To Watch

* My conversation with Peter Thiel at CEIBS LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=a70f0f6e65&e=5c5da67d46>
* I enjoyed participating in this fun video by Founders Forum imagining what life would be like for tech entrepreneurs if the World Wide Web had never been invented. LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=f57d26e935&e=5c5da67d46>

Interviews

* Vox: My discussion with Ezra Klein on the biggest lie employers tell employees LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=3edb875ec8&e=5c5da67d46>
* Entrepreneur: Why I'm betting big on Bitcoin LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=26e30a859c&e=5c5da67d46>
* HuffPo: My discussion with Dawn Nakagawa in advance of the WorldPost conference LINK<http://reidhoffman.us7.list-manage.com/track/click?u=3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386&id=15dfcd584d&e=5c5da67d46>[https://gallery.mailchimp.com/3a27d4e452178cc8f199d9386/images/af3c3134-98fc-41af-80f5-c8f6ac552a0b.png]

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 7/1/2016 11:05:09 AM
To: jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fw: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

Importance: High

Jeff: see top story. Below
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: New York Post <email@nypost.com>
Date: Fri, 1 Jul 2016 07:01:36 -0400 (EDT)
To: <[redacted]
Subject: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

JULY 1, 2016

Owner of iconic Brooklyn pizza joint gunned down in hit job

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the head and chest, according to law-enforcement sources. The assassin, described as a white man in his 30s wearing a black hoodie, approached Barbati, who was returning from the Bensonhurst pizzeria, which was once at the center of a Mafia extortion plot over a sto...

A dog brought this multimillionaire and a homeless woman together

Ayesha Curry snaps after troll's Kyrie Irving photoshop

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Help for the struggling Mets will have to come from within — from injured players getting healthy to improvements made by currently scuffling starters...

Naked Times Square guy is actually a super-hot model

He's not just crazy – he's crazy hot. The 21-year-old man ...

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U.S.-led coalition aircraft waged a series of deadly strikes against Islamic ...

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I make thousands by showing off my naked 490-pound body

She sure has a lot to love. Bobbi-Jo Westley, 43, of Pennsylvania, has eight-foot hips, weighs 490 pounds and a fan club of men who call themselves “chubby chasers” and can’t get e...

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 7/1/2016 11:15:57 AM
To: jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Fw: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

Importance: High

Ha! That fuckin lou barbati, its about time someone nailed him over those nuts
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, 1 Jul 2016 07:06:06 -0400
To: Terry Kafka[redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: New York Post Morning Digest - July 1, 2016

too many nuts in the spumoni

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The battle for control of Viacom resumes Thursday in a small Massachusetts courtroom 210 miles from the media giant's Manhattan headquarters. Judge George Phelan is expected to decide whether a move by certain Viacom board members to ...

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From: Michael Wolff [redacted]]
Sent: 11/10/2016 9:45:19 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

crazy

On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 4:43 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
al taylor , pr former jerry springer. producer

On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 10:40 PM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:
What was behind this, do you know? Or just nutters?

On Thu, Nov 10, 2016 at 4:24 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/5/2015 9:30:29 PM
To: Reid Hoffman[redacted]
Subject: Re: ICYMI

heyy it looks like your diet program has worked

On Thu, Jul 2, 2015 at 12:03 AM, Reid Hoffman[redacted]wrote:

ICYMI

My occasional roundup of interesting links and writing I've shared — in case you missed them. :)

New and Notable

- We are thrilled to welcome Sarah Tavel to Greylock Partners. LINK
- And also very excited to welcome lynda.com to the LinkedIn team! LINK
- Change.org celebrates its 100 million users milestone. Emily Chang discuss this and more with CEO Ben Rattray on Bloomberg West: LINK
- Byron Auguste launched Opportunity@Work, a new civic enterprise aimed at "rewiring the U.S. labor market." Tom Friedman's post: LINK
- Mimi Ito launched Connected Camps, a summer online coding camp using Minecraft. LINK

Worthwhile Reads

- Jeff Weiner: How LinkedIn is Helping Power the President's Tech Jobs Initiative LINK
- The New Yorker: R U There? - Nancy Lublin and Crisis Text Line LINK
- Fast Company: Inside Obama's Stealth Startup LINK
- Jerry Chen: The Age of Developer-Defined Infrastructure LINK

- Sheryl Sandberg's powerful tribute to Dave Goldberg. LINK

Some of My Recent Essays

- Wired: Why the block chain matters LINK
- Financial Times: Acquiring proven entrepreneurs is a smart way to innovate LINK
- Press Start to Continue: One More Role of Founders LINK

To Watch

- My conversation with Peter Thiel at CEIBS LINK
- I enjoyed participating in this fun video by Founders Forum imagining what life would be like for tech entrepreneurs if the World Wide Web had never been invented. LINK

Interviews

- Vox: My discussion with Ezra Klein on the biggest lie employers tell employees LINK
- Entrepreneur: Why I'm betting big on Bitcoin LINK
- HuffPo: My discussion with Dawn Nakagawa in advance of the WorldPost conference LINK

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/28/2018 4:52:58 PM
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]

Ribis's Italian immigrant parents taught him to be tightfisted, but it was the Donald who introduced him to dealmaking. As a kid in the New Jersey suburbs, Ribis rose before dawn to count the empty soda bottles at the family deli "so the suppliers couldn't cheat my mom on the deposits." When Trump faced bankruptcy in 1989, he turned to the team of Ribis and Steve Bollenbach, now CEO of Hilton Hotels, to fend off the banks and bondholders. Ribis helped persuade creditors to let Trump keep his trophy holding: his casinos. It was the gaming company's IPO in 1995, orchestrated by Ribis, that restored Trump's wealth.

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From: US GIO [us.gio@jpmorgan.com]
Sent: 6/14/2011 11:54:12 AM
To: Undisclosed recipients:
Subject: Eye on the Market, June 14, 2011
Attachments: image001.png; 06-14-11 - EOTM - The Stratford Inn.pdf

Eye on the Market, June 14, 2011 (attached PDF is easier to read)

Market update: for better or worse, this is the kind of year we were expecting. We were surprised at the market's unbridled optimism in April*, since the tug-of-war between private sector profits and public sector problems has a long way to go. We chose the charts on the front page of our 2011 Outlook carefully; they were designed to show that equity markets were priced inexpensively, but were likely to stay that way, given too much stimulus in the East, and ineffective stimulus in the West **. We expect a modest second half recovery, based primarily on US capital spending increases, easy credit conditions everywhere, and a pick-up in industrial production in Japan. But the world's structural problems are weighing on the private sector, and our portfolios are positioned for a single-digit year in credit, equities and hedge funds.

* The Osama Bin Laden episode marked the equity market peak. Some commentators saw this event as a basis for further optimism, but unsurprisingly, the positive glow lasted for only around 2.5 hours the subsequent Monday. According to the Congressional Research Service, **over the last decade, the US has spent at least $1.1 trillion in war funding operations, surpassing the constant-dollar cost of the Korean and Vietnam Wars combined**. This highlights the disproportionately large pain that small, non-sovereign entities can inflict in the modern era.

** So far, the large growth and employment multipliers from deficit spending estimated by Christina Romer (former Chair of the President's Council of Economic Advisers) have not materialized. John Taylor and John Cogan from Stanford have been closer to the mark: an initial boost, but then a rapidly fading benefit

Something different this week. I was on the road seeing clients last week, and was asked "*what should be done about job growth*". We are investors and not politicians, so my ideas [a] are not relevant. However, it seems to me that **anyone involved in the jobs debate should be required to read the article below, written after the prior deep US recession (1990-1991)**. It's from George McGovern, one of the most liberal politicians [b] ever to hold office and run for President. His epiphanies after leaving office and running the Stratford Inn are worth considering as legislators contemplate additional job creation measures, and the broader regulatory environment in which the private sector operates.

"A Politician's Dream Is a Businessman's Nightmare", by George McGovern, June 1992 [c]

Wisdom too often never comes, and so one ought not to reject it merely because it comes late. (Justice Felix Frankfurter). It's been 11 years since I left the U.S. Senate, after serving 24 years in high public office. After leaving a career in politics, I devoted much of my time to public lectures that took me into every state in the union and much of Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America.

In 1988, I invested most of the earnings from this lecture circuit acquiring the leasehold on Connecticut's Stratford Inn. Hotels, inns and restaurants have always held a special fascination for me. The Stratford Inn promised the realization of a longtime dream to own a combination hotel, restaurant and public conference facility--complete with an experienced manager and staff. In retrospect, I wish I had known more about the hazards and difficulties of such a business, especially during a recession of the kind that hit New England just as I was acquiring the inn's 43-year leasehold**. I also wish that during the years I was in public office, I had had this firsthand experience about the difficulties business people face every day. That knowledge would have made me a better U.S. senator and a more understanding presidential contender.**

Today we are much closer to a general acknowledgment that government must encourage business to expand and grow. Bill Clinton, Paul Tsongas, Bob Kerrey and others have, I believe, **changed the debate of our party [d].** We intuitively know that **to create job opportunities we need entrepreneurs who will risk their capital against an expected payoff. Too often, however, public policy does not consider whether we are choking off those opportunities.**

My own business perspective has been limited to that small hotel and restaurant in Stratford, Conn., with an especially difficult lease and a severe recession. But my business associates and I also lived with federal, state and local rules that were all passed with the objective of helping employees, protecting the environment, raising tax dollars for schools, protecting our customers from fire hazards, etc. While I never doubted the worthiness of any of these goals, the concept that most often eludes legislators is: `Can we make consumers pay the higher prices for the increased operating costs that accompany public regulation and government reporting requirements with reams of red tape.' **It is a simple concern that is nonetheless often ignored by legislators [e].** For example, the papers today are filled with stories about businesses dropping health coverage for employees. We provided a substantial package for our staff at the Stratford Inn. However, were we operating today, those costs would exceed $150,000 a year for health care on top of salaries and other benefits. There would have been no reasonable way for us to absorb or pass on these costs.

Some of the escalation in the cost of health care is attributed to patients suing doctors. While one cannot assess the merit of all these claims, I've also witnessed firsthand the explosion in blame-shifting and scapegoating for every negative experience in life. Today, despite bankruptcy, we are still dealing with litigation from individuals who fell in or near our restaurant. Despite these injuries, not every misstep is the fault of someone else. Not every such incident should be viewed as a lawsuit instead of an unfortunate accident. **And while the business owner may prevail in the end, the endless exposure to frivolous claims and high legal fees is frightening**.

Our Connecticut hotel, along with many others, went bankrupt for a variety of reasons, the general economy in the Northeast being a significant cause. But that reason masks the variety of other challenges we faced that drive operating costs and financing charges beyond what a small business can handle. It is clear that some businesses have products that can be priced at almost any level. The price of raw materials (e.g., steel and glass) and life-saving drugs and medical care are not easily substituted by consumers. It is only competition or antitrust that tempers price increases. Consumers may delay purchases, but they have little choice when faced with higher prices. In services, however, consumers do have a choice when faced with higher prices. You may have to stay in a hotel while on vacation, but you can stay fewer days. You can eat in restaurants fewer times per month, or forgo a number of services from car washes to shoeshines. Every such decision eventually results in job losses for someone. And often these are the people without the skills to help themselves--the people I've spent a lifetime trying to help.

In short, "one-size-fits-all" rules for business ignore the reality of the market place. And setting thresholds for regulatory guidelines at artificial levels--e.g., 50 employees or more, $500,000 in sales--takes no account of other realities, such as profit margins, labor intensive vs. capital intensive businesses, and local market economics. The problem we face as legislators is: **Where do we set the bar so that it is not too high to clear? I don't have the answer. I do know that we need to start raising these questions more often.**

So, there you have it, one of the more remarkable epiphanies in American politics: a paean to entrepreneurship and government restraint from one of its most progressive members. Public epiphanies like this are rare, but there have been others. Last year, Al Gore conceded that first-generation ethanol was "not good policy" given its low energy conversion ratios, and said he had supported ethanol out of "a certain fondness for the farmers in the state of Iowa because I was about to run for president" [f]. In 2008, former Fed Chair Greenspan conceded that his Ayn Rand philosophies regarding regulations and shareholder self-interest were flawed. Perhaps the most famous epiphany was from Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense and one of the principal architects of the Vietnam War. In 1995, he conceded that he was "wrong, terribly wrong" about the war. George McGovern was one of the war's fiercest opponents, saying on the floor of the Senate, "I'm tired of old men dreaming up wars for young men to fight".

There may be no magic elixir of policies to speed the adjustment the US faces. Look at it this way: the US is trying the mega-stimulus route, while the UK has accelerated its fiscal austerity program. Yet both countries are struggling with below-trend growth and employment. Perhaps after a debt binge, there are no easy answers, other than time. What to do next? McGovern's article suggests that an overly interventionist public sector may be the wrong answer, given the unintended consequences.

Michael Cembalest
Chief Investment Officer

Notes

[a] I like the idea of **extending the holding period for short term capital gains to 3-5 years, and cutting the long term capital gains rate closer to 5%-10%**. It could encourage more business formation, since more of what people create, they keep. If the cutoff year is properly set, it could be done on a deficit–neutral basis.

[b] According to methodology described by Keith Poole of the University of San Diego in the *American Journal of Political Science*, **McGovern ranks as the 99th most liberal politician out of 3,320** politicians serving from 1937 to 2002.

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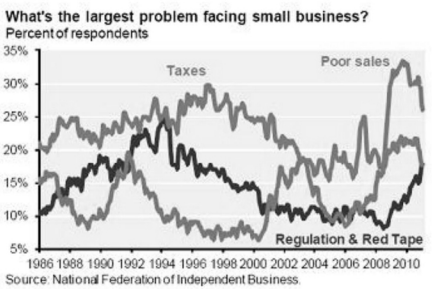
[d] This may not have been a permanent change. The National Taxpayers Union rated the Blue Dog Democrats as having a fiscal conservatism score of 52% in 1995; by 2009, it had fallen to 18%.

[e] Would McGovern's focus on red tape make sense today? **According to surveys conducted by the National Federation of Small Business, the answer would be yes.** The 3 issues most frequently mentioned as each respondent's "single most important problem" are Poor Sales, Regulation & Red Tape, and Taxes. Two things of note. First, Regulation & Red Tape concerns have been steadily rising over the last two years. Secondly, availability of credit does not show up as an issue. As the NFIB wrote in May 2011, "92 percent reported that all their credit needs were met or that they were not interested in borrowing. Eight percent reported that not all of their credit needs were satisfied. Three percent reported financing as their #1 business problem, so credit supply is not a problem for the overwhelming majority."



[f] As reported by Reuters, Gerald Wynn, November 22, 2010.

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Topics: On lessons learned running the Stratford Inn

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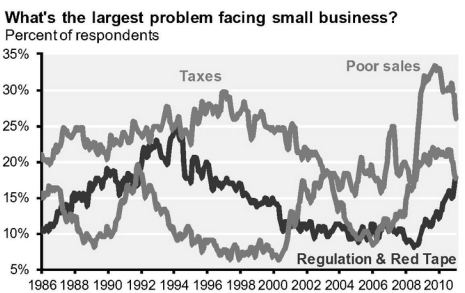

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_030011

Topics: On lessons learned running the Stratford Inn

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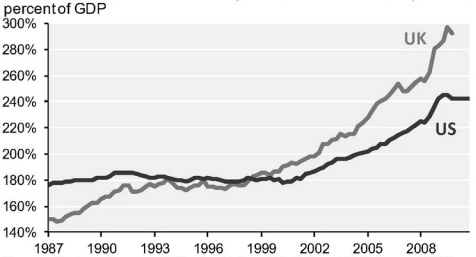
US and UK still searching for answers

Total household , non-financial corporate, federal and municipal debt, percent of GDP



Source: Federal Reserve, Office for National Statistics. UK Data as of 2009.

Michael Cembalest
Chief Investment Officer

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[8] As reported by Reuters, Gerald Wynn, November 22, 2010.

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completions & refurbs

speaking with a potential 787 customer who is a repeat client," said Jonas, "and the talks are pretty far along."

Greenpoint Technologies is currently modifying two 747-8s delivered from Boeing and installing the center's

StandardAero in Springfield, Ill. does major refurbishment on large- to small-cabin jets. "Anything that can be done with an interior, we do in Springfield," says StandardAero's Scott Taylor.

Aeroloft rest area in each before further delivery of the airplanes to other completion centers for outfitting.

The Aeroloft is located in the area above the main deck and aft of the upper-deck, forward lounge in the executive 747. It was designed, engineered and is built by Greenpoint. The center is licensed by Boeing to do the necessary modifications and installation. It will receive EASA certification this year and adds 393 additional sq ft to the 4,786 ft in the main deck and upper lounge.

Sloan Benson, executive v-p at Greenpoint, said interest is growing in the Aerolift elevator it designed for the 747-8. "We're expecting to book one later this year."

Greenpoint has contracts to modify three more 747-8s for the Aeroloft. Two of them, like the first two, will go on to other centers for installation of the Aeroloft kit and for the full interior completion. A fifth green 747-8 will arrive next year and remain at Greenpoint for full outfitting. It will be the Kirkland, Wash. center's first green completion of a twin-aisle airplane, an appropriate way to mark Greenpoint's 25th anniversary in the business.

Gore Design Completion delivered two twin-aisle airplanes in 2011: a 767 to a central Asian head of state and a 777.

Kathy Gore Walters, co-founder and president, said the company expects to deliver its first BBJ3 in June for a Middle East client, and in the same month to turn over an ACJ320 for a central Asian client. Later this year, Gore design expects also to deliver two ACJ340s.

Pats Aircraft Systems continues to install its FAA-certified auxiliary fuel systems in BBJs. "We've done more than 140 aux fuel systems installations on behalf of Boeing," said senior v-p of sales and marketing John Eichten.

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SKYTHEATER TAKES MOVIES TO THE MAX

Earlier this year, a flying theater rolled up to the Signature FBO on Teterboro Airport's south side in the form of a Global Express XRS equipped with an entertainment system called SkyTheater. With it came SkyTheater founder Gregg Launer, 52, a friendly bear of a man who tries for modesty but whose enthusiasm spills close to hubris when he describes the custom-built entertainment package as being to the average movie experience what Sofia Vergara is to simply being female. Launer is something of a likeable version of Steven Jobs. His knowledge in the world of sound is such that he frequently stops and searches his vocabulary for language that the average listener will understand. And frequently failing, he will offer an apology and start over. In his own circle, he is often described by clients as a genius. To lesser human beings, his thoughts seem to run like a pinball through the random light and sound of an arcade game, with a purpose difficult to recognize.

"I'm a true audiophile, and what I'm building is a sensory experience that will so completely absorb my clients that it becomes reality and they lose themselves in the world that the director or cameraman or composer

PHOTOS: JEREMY J. HARRISON

SkyTheater founder Gregg Launer put nearly 1,000 movies into a Global Express Avod.

created," he explains. "I build every system as if it were going into my own airplane. I want to impress even myself, and I'm my own worst critic."

His earliest memories are of music and theater and lying awake in bed and listening to legendary DJ Cousin Brucie lay down a cascade of rock and roll on New York's powerhouse WABC. Even decades later, one of his favorite toys at home is a Rock-Ola Jukebox. "When you listen to Dean Martin, or Elvis, or Chuck Berry on a jukebox, you're hearing rock and roll the way it was made to be heard," he avows.

And he recalls a summer when his parents took him on vacation to the Deauville Beach Resort in Miami Beach, where The Supremes were performing. "They were in the room across the hall from us, and Mary Wilson and Flo Ballard shared a cabana next to ours. I was too young to attend the show, but the resort manager had mercy on me, took me by the hand and put me in the front row."

By the age of 18, Launer held a first-class radiotelephone license from the FCC and by 19 was an audio engineer producing music tracks at NBC in Miami. And along the way, he also indulged what he describes as his alternative passion of flying, picking up his private license and going on to become a flight instructor.

At the age of 32, he and wife, Blanche, formed a company that two years later became SkyTheater. And as if life had determined to create a movie script for him, Launer's first customer and later friend was Alexander Zuyev, the pilot who defected in spectacular manner from the former Soviet Union in 1989, at the same time delivering a MiG-29 into western hands. "He loved America and would have the most incredible Fourth of July parties. But instead of beer and burgers, he would serve vodka and caviar. It was his belief in me that helped launch SkyTheater."

Getting Off the Ground

Launer's first theater in the sky was for businessman and entrepreneur Wayne Huizenga of Blockbuster and the airplane was a BAC 1-11. Then came a Boeing 727-200 and Launer was off and running.

It was a time when digital technology was in its infancy and the reliability was still in question. So Launer devised a way for all the soundtracks to play through a single system (either 7.1 or 5.1 surround sound), with 19-inch touchscreen, video monitor/controllers throughout the cabin and two 43-inch plasma monitors. "Ten years later," claims Launer, "that airplane was still state of the art."

In the late 1990s some of those working for producer/director George Lucas' Skywalker Ranch happened to listen to the SkyTheater system Launer had installed in the 727. He was immediately recruited and spent the next two years–off and on–there, working and learning. Launer remembers being "incredibly fortunate" to be part of a group that was "setting the standards that still exemplify visual film and movie soundtracks today."

In the meantime, Launer had formed a SkyTheater partnership in Fort Lauderdale with friend and fellow traveler Andrew Guenther, who owns Advanced Audio Design, a home-theater firm in Sarasota, Fla.

"He handles a lot of the equipment and designs the electronics that make everything work. Andrew does a guy's home theater, and if the guy owns an airplane, SkyTheater does the cabin entertainment," says Launer.

Guenther's talent and influence is such, claims Launer, "that high-end audiovisual electronics manufacturers will often come to him for his input before introducing some new technology at a major trade show."

Among Guenther's home theater customers are movie actor John Travolta, basketball coach Pat Riley, singer Gloria Estefan "and more who prefer not to be named," he says.

Though focused on two different theater markets, Guenther and Launer are involved together in a music project designed to "recruit and produce live venues for musicians

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Quick Takes

Goodrich Near Completion

Last year, United Technologies agreed to the acquisition of Goodrich in a deal that called for UT to shell out $16.5 billion cash and assume $1.9 billion in assumed debt. The acquisition by UT was to be finalized by the end of last month.

The acquisition would bring to UT Goodrich's rapidly growing interiors business, much of it acquired by Goodrich in 2010 from DeCrane Aerospace. Goodrich describes the seating, cabin management and entertainment systems and cabinetry as part of its "total cabin capability" for everything in business jet cabin components.

Leather and Lace Comes from Edelman

Edelman Leather has introduced a new Leather & Lace line, inspired by the work of artists from the studios of Belgium, Hungary and Slovakia and transferred through the use of laser etching and cutting technology.

Inspired by the die-cut felt work of Jasper Morrison, the Dutch designers have introduced to the Moooi, Broog and Vitra

Edelman's new Leather & Lace line is a new play on age-old craftsmanship from Belgium, Hungary and Slovakia.

lines hauntingly elegant chandeliers by Diller Scofidio & Renfro for Swarovski, and the collections of Prada, McQueen, Louis and Lanvin.

Edelman's artists describe the results of this new line on its Cavallini hair-on hides as "chic and fun." Other leathers appropriate for the Leather & Lace designs include Napoli and Royal Suede.

Metrica Aviation Makes Move at Nuremberg Airport

Maintenance, repair and overhaul specialist Aero-Dienst, in the process of increasing its usable space at Germany's Nuremberg Airport with another hangar, has added 27,000 sq ft and considerable refurbishment expertise through a partnership with Metrica Aviation Interior.

"We are now able to offer an operator interior repair and refurbishment simultaneous with other maintenance, all under one roof," said Aero-Dienst managing director Martin Bauer. The two companies began working together in January this year and Metrica has already completed several refurbishments.

Metrica is an established business, a subsidiary of Qatar's Ghanim bin Saad al Saad and Sons Group Holdings.

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completions & refurbs

Eichten said Pats did a nine-year maintenance check on a BBJ last year and included a major refurbishment at the same time. The center has also sent out "quite a number of bids" on BBJs due for the 12-year maintenance check, and all include "substantial refurbishment work."

King Aerospace is looking toward the bizliner business for a boost. "We're in discussions now with international customers for executive conversions and even a green airplane completion," said Jerry King. "And they're all widebodies."

According to David Edinger, CEO at Comlux America in Indianapolis, many of the early Airbus A319s and Boeing Business Jets have had minimal cabin

A technician in the Goodrich interior paint shop in Wichita applies finish to a piece of cabin cabinetry.

upgrades since they entered service some 12 years ago, and the cabin electronics are practically antique.

Edinger said Comlux America, part of The Comlux Group in Switzerland, is "really starting to roll."

He told **AIN** the first green airplane has been delivered–an ACJ319–and it came in 1,000 pounds below the completion allowance weight. It also tested with an average cabin noise level of 48 dB(SIL), "about what you might expect in a suburban living room, and it was under the projected noise level by 3 dB(SIL)."

Currently undergoing refurbishment is a Boeing 757 and a pair of Airbus ACJs. In the second quarter this year, a BBJ to be outfitted for Hyundai was scheduled to roll into the Comlux hangar. Comlux America is approved by both Airbus and Boeing for interior outfitting. "We want to focus on BBJs and ACJs and do this segment well and on time," said The Comlux Group president Richard Gaona.

Lufthansa Technik in Hamburg, Germany, is working on a Boeing 767 executive interior and is looking for two 747-8s to roll in by year-end.

Walter Heerdt, Lufthansa's senior v-p of marketing and sales, expects the

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A private lavatory in a narrow-body bizliner features liberal use of dark veneer and a marble countertop.

SkyTheater | Continued from preceding page

in unique multi-channel surround-sound, as well as to promote them to the film and television industries for soundtrack recordings."

In 2007, "an executive closely associated with the Internet industry came to Launer with his new Global Express XRS, and made it clear that what he wanted was far beyond anything off-the-shelf." In 2008 the airplane was delivered with a complete and custom-built SkyTheater that includes:

- 1080p high-bandwidth wiring throughout
- monitors and speakers
- audiovisual on-demand (Avod) with a library of more than 1,000 movies.
- a SkyTheater app to allow passengers to use personal iPhones and iPads to control all aspects of the entertainment system.
- a customized touch-screen control package.

"The owner can also customize the sound balance in the cabin by simply going through the field until he finds a 'flavor' he likes," explains Launer. "In this particular airplane," says Launer, "SkyTheater is pre-tuned for the owner's personal tastes to reproduce audio identical to what he would hear in the Hollywood Bowl or Lincoln Center or some other popular venue."

Totally Absorbed in the Moment

Putting SkyTheater through its paces on the Global, Launer selects surround sound and asks visitors to walk through the entire cabin, to sit anywhere they like, even lie on the floor and note any change in the audio. His grin broadens as not one individual professes to detect a difference.

Launer goes on to select *Star Wars Episode VI: Return of the Jedi*, picking the scene of the chase on Ewok speeder bikes through the forest of Endor. "Now listen closely," he advises. As the action roars across the screen, it is perfectly paced by the sound in that reality, "and if I hadn't told you to listen, you would have been totally absorbed by the experience without realizing why.

"What I aim for is not only a perfect audio system, but one that is perfectly synchronized with the film," he says.

But is it high-definition? Launer expresses mock surprise at the question. Then he admits that not everything in the Global's film bank is HD; however, he also points out that with the technology to tune the system properly, even a pre-digital recording will be rendered in sufficient high definition as to be almost unrecognizable as anything else. And he also explains that simply having a Blu-ray player or Avod and an HD monitor does not ensure an HD experience. "You have to have the bandwidth to carry the signal that will allow 1080p between the origin and the final destination."

While the system in the Global Express XRS is now almost four years old, and SkyTheater has since done several more airplanes, including Donald Trump's recently completed Boeing 757, the entertainment package in the XRS remains, he claims, "years ahead of anything else."

Warren Justice, chief pilot on the Global, chuckles when he remembers his first meeting with Launer, "a big guy dressed like a biker and wearing a black beret. But he knew what he was talking about and no one in this company has regretted listening," Justice continues. "I've never heard anything like what he put into this airplane. Even after it was installed, he insisted on going with us on a flight test to tune the sound for cruise at 41,000 feet. He personally programmed the individual controls. It was so well thought out that the owner went right into it on the first day and didn't need a single lesson."

Since installation, the airplane has been all over the world and not a single component of the entertainment system has needed to be changed, said Justice. However, he adds, on several occasions, when the airplane was passing through Florida with a stop-over, Launer has insisted on coming out to see if the system was still properly tuned.

The system is not inexpensive, allows Justice. Just a little north of a million dollars. But he adds, "If this is what you want, you'll definitely get what you pay for. I don't know how we could have done any better."

Theo Kalomirakis, president of Theo Kalomirakis Theaters of Brooklyn, N.Y., is one of the foremost designers of home theaters in the world and has consistently turned down requests to do an in-flight theater. "I have been skeptical of the ability of anyone to control sound in such an environment," he told **AIN**. "What Gregg designed and built on that Global Express is the first serious system I've heard. Gregg has tamed the beast."

But it isn't just a matter of being good at what you do, says Launer. "It's a matter of passion, and of loving what you do. Think of SkyTheater as a personal transporter [a la Star Trek]. You step into it in New York City and you step out of it in Los Angeles, and everything in between was just a moment in time." *–K.J.H.*

Quick Takes

Iacobucci Shines at EBACE

Iacobucci HF appeared at EBACE with a new espresso maker for the business jet galley and a galley cart that doesn't look out of place on a large private jet.

The 28V espresso machine does not work with the usual boiler but with patented heat exchangers to ensure instant and continuous operation without waiting for the water to reheat after each use. In addition, the heat exchanger makes for a much lighter machine, and its "open system" allows the use of all easy-serve espresso pods.

The serving cart, created by DesignworksUSA, features attachable "skins" or even transparent windows to allow passengers to see available items. For use in a private jet, the top surface can be modified for a more formal appearance.

"We brought the style, fit and finish that customers expect to find in premium environments at home to enhance their on-board experience," said Laurenz Schaffer, president of BMW Group DesignworksUSA.

An espresso maker and an executive galley cart are two new items from Italy's Iacobucci HF.

AirGlide Coatings Cut Fuel Burn

Aviation marketing consultancy Action Aviation has signed an exclusive distribution agreement with AirGlide, a UK company that claims that its new Aviation Shield nano-technology coating can result in fuel-burn savings of about 4 percent through a drag reduction of up to 40 percent.

According to Action Aviation's website, an ACJ318 on a two-hour flight might burn 9,500 pounds of fuel. With the AirGlide coating, the same aircraft would burn 200 pounds less fuel over that same route.

Other advantages include reducing the carbon footprint, reducing cleaning and maintenance costs and greater protection against corrosion and erosion. It also means, the company claims, that the exterior paint will last longer.

AkzoNobel Wins Airbus Approval

AkzoNobel Aerospace Coatings of the Netherlands has received approval of its Aerobase base coat and Aviox UVR clear-coat system from Airbus as an option.

The system allows selective removal of only the base coat/clear coat in preparation for repainting, leaving the original primer intact and thereby saving the aircraft owner time and money, according to the Amsterdam-based company.

Further, AkzoNobel said the system "was developed in line with one of Airbus's key objectives to produce aircraft that are friendlier to the environment and more eco-efficient." The base coat/clear coat system is ready for use in series production.

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From: Peter Attia [redacted]
Sent: 8/6/2015 12:41:53 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Bill Clinton Encouraged Donald Trump to Run

Importance: High

Funny article

Bill Clinton reportedly had an intriguing phone call with Donald Trump weeks before his campaign launch

Rudolph W. Giuliani, Donald Trump, and Bill Clinton attend the 2008 Joe Torre Safe at Home Foundation Golf Classic at Trump National Golf Club on July 14, 2008, in Briarcliff Manor, New York.

Former President Bill Clinton and real-estate magnate Donald Trump reportedly had a phone conversation in May, only weeks before Trump launched his campaign.

According to a new report from The Washington Post, Clinton called Trump in May and "encouraged Trump's efforts" to become more influential within the GOP, according to four "Trump allies" and one Clinton associate "familiar with the exchange."

From The Washington Post's Robert Costa and Anne Gearan:

"Four Trump allies and one Clinton associate familiar with the exchange said that Clinton encouraged Trump's efforts to play a larger role in the Republican Party and offered his own views of the political landscape."

"The tone of the call was informal and Clinton never urged Trump to run, the four people said. Rather, they said, Clinton sounded curious about Trump's moves toward a presidential bid and told Trump that he was striking a chord with frustrated conservatives and was a rising force on the right."

Hillary Clinton, Bill's wife, is the front-runner for the Democratic nomination for president in 2016.

The Clintons have long had ties with the real-estate magnate. As The Post notes, Hillary Clinton attended Trump's wedding in 2005, and the reality-television personality donated money to her past Senate campaigns, though he has also

donated to several of his own Republican presidential rivals. He has said those donations were transactional.

The former president has spoken positively of Trump in the past.

In a 2012 interview with CNN, Clinton said he liked Trump, despite the real-estate mogul's controversial campaign to get President Barack Obama to release his birth certificate.

"Donald Trump has been uncommonly nice to Hillary and me. We're all New Yorkers," Clinton said. "I like him. And I love playing golf with him."

Aides to both Bill Clinton and Trump did not comment on record to The Post. Hillary Clinton's campaign also didn't respond to a request for comment.

Bill Clinton has occasionally doled out advice to Republican presidential candidates.

In 2012, Clinton reportedly gave former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney (R) some tips before his successful debate with President Barack Obama, telling the governor how to appear in command onstage.

From: Flipboard 10 for Today [editorialstaff@flipboard.com]
Sent: 6/27/2019 7:35:06 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: A sperm donor family portrait

Flipboard

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29 March, 2011

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Article 1.

Foreign Policy

The Syrian Time Bomb

Patrick Seale

March 28, 2011 -- While one war rages in Libya, another rages in Washington as to the necessity of U.S. action there. Indeed, Defense Secretary Robert Gates said as much this weekend, noting that Libya was not a "vital national interest." But if Washington is looking for an Arab state in the throes of unrest, one that is key to its regional and national interests, planners might want to pay more attention to Syria, which is currently undergoing upheaval not seen since the early 1980s. Syria lies at the center of a dense network of Middle East relationships, and the crisis in that country -- which has now resulted in the deaths of well over 100 civilians, and possibly close to double that number -- is likely to have a major impact on the regional structure of power. The need to contain pressure from the United States and Israel, for decades the all-consuming concern of Syria's leadership, has suddenly been displaced by an explosion of popular protest highlighting urgent and long-neglected domestic issues.

If the regime fails to tame this domestic unrest, Syria's external influence will inevitably be enfeebled, with dramatic repercussions across the Middle East. As the crisis deepens, Syria's allies tremble. Meanwhile, its enemies rejoice, as a weakened Syria would remove an obstacle to their ambitions. But nature abhors a vacuum, and what will come will be unpredictable, at best.

The protests started in mid-March in Daraa, in southern Syria, a city that has suffered from drought and neglect by the government in Damascus. The heavy hand of the ruling Baath party was particularly resented. Because it lies on the border with Jordan, and therefore in a security zone, all land sales required the security services' approval, a

slow and often costly business. This is one of the particular grievances that have powered the protest movement, though certainly the ripples of the successful Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings played a hand. The government, to put it bluntly, responded poorly. Troops in Daraa fired live rounds against youthful demonstrators and virtually all communications -- Internet and telephone -- were shuttered to prevent the seepage of unrest.

To make matters worse, Damascus blamed Israeli provocateurs, rebel forces, and shady foreign agents for the bloodshed -- anyone but its own forces. Civilian deaths at the hands of security forces there, and more recently in the coastal city of Latakia, have outraged opinion across the country, setting alight long pent-up anger at the denial of basic freedoms, the monopolistic rule of the Baath party, and the abuses of a privileged elite. To these ills should be added severe youth unemployment, devastation of the countryside by a grave shortage of rainfall over the past four years, and the impoverishment of the middle and lower classes by low wages and high inflation.

In response to the public unrest, the regime has released some political prisoners and pledged to end the state of emergency in force since 1963. A government spokeswoman has hinted that coming reforms will include greater freedom for the press and the right to form political parties. President Bashar al-Assad is due to address the country in the next 48 hours. His speech is eagerly awaited, but it remains to be seen whether it will be enough to defuse the crisis and win time for the regime. If not, demonstrations could gather pace, triggering still more violent repression by the security services -- an escalation with unpredictable consequences.

The protesters have in fact challenged the fundamentals of Syria's security state, a harsh system of controls over every aspect of society, put in place by the late Hafez al-Assad, Bashar's father, who ruled for 30 years from 1970 to his death in 2000. By all accounts, the debate

about how to deal with the growing protests has led to increasingly violent confrontations inside the regime between would-be reformers and hard-liners. The outcome of this internal contest remains uncertain.

What is certain, however, is that what happens in Syria is of great concern to the whole region. Together with its two principal allies, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Lebanese Shiite resistance movement Hezbollah, Syria is viewed with great hostility by Israel and with wary suspicion by the United States. The Tehran-Damascus-Hezbollah axis -- of which Syria is the linchpin -- has long been seen by many leaders in the region as the lone bulwark against Israeli and American hegemony. With backing from Washington, Israel has sought to smash Hezbollah (notably through its 2006 invasion of Lebanon) and detach Syria from Iran, a country Israel views as its most dangerous regional rival. Neither objective has so far been realized. But now that Syria has been weakened by internal problems, the viability of the entire axis is in danger -- which could encourage dangerous risk-taking behavior by its allies as they seek to counter perceived gains by the United States and Israel.

If the Syrian regime were to be severely weakened by popular dissent, if only for a short while, Iran's influence in Arab affairs would almost certainly be reduced -- in both Lebanon and the Palestinian territories. In Lebanon, it would appear that Hezbollah has already been thrown on the defensive. Although it remains the most powerful single movement, both politically and on account of its armed militia, its local enemies sense a turning of the tide in their favor. This might explain a violent speech delivered earlier this month by the Sunni Muslim leader and former prime minister Saad Hariri, in which he blatantly played the sectarian card.

Cheered by his jubilant supporters, he charged that Hezbollah's weapons were not so much a threat to Israel as to Lebanon's own

freedom, independence, and sovereignty -- at the hand of a foreign power, namely Iran. The Syrian uprisings may have already deepened the sectarian divide in Lebanon, raising once more the specter of civil war and making more difficult the task of forming a new government, a job President Michel Suleiman has entrusted to the Tripoli notable, Najib Mikati. If Syria were overrun with internal strife, Hezbollah would be deprived of a valuable ally -- no doubt to Israel's great satisfaction.

Meanwhile, Turkey is deeply concerned by the Syrian disturbances: Damascus has been the cornerstone of Ankara's ambitious Arab policy. Turkey-Syria relations have flourished in recent years as Turkey-Israel relations have grown cold. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, have actively sought to mediate local conflicts and bring much-needed stability to the region by forging close economic links. One of their bold projects is the creation of an economic bloc comprising Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan -- already something of a reality by the removal of visa requirements as well as by an injection of Turkish investment and technological know-how. A power struggle in Syria could set back this project; and regime change in Damascus would likely put a serious dent in further Turkish initiatives.

Turkey's loss, however, may turn out to be Egypt's gain. Freed from the stagnant rule of former President Hosni Mubarak, Cairo is now expected to play a more active role in Arab affairs. Instead of continuing Mubarak's policy, conducted in complicity with Israel, of punishing Gaza and isolating its Hamas government, Egypt is reported to be pushing for a reconciliation of the rival Palestinian factions, Hamas and Fatah. If successful, this could help defuse the current dangerous escalation of violence between Israel on the one side and Hamas and still more extreme Gaza-based Palestinian

groups on the other. But Syria's internal troubles might just as easily have a negative effect.

Undoubtedly, the failed peace process has bred extreme frustration among Palestinian militants, some of whom may think that a sharp shock is needed to wrench international attention away from the Arab democratic wave and back to the Palestine problem. They are anxious to alert the United States and Europe to the danger of allowing the peace process to sink into a prolonged coma. Israeli hard-liners, too, may calculate that a short war could serve their purpose: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's far-right government may sense weakness and quietly dream of finishing off Hamas once and for all. Syria has been a strong supporter of Hamas and has given a base in Damascus to the head of its political bureau, Khaled Mashal. Turmoil in Damascus could deal Hamas a severe blow.

On all these fronts -- Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel -- Syria is a key player. But its internal problems now threaten to reshuffle the cards, adding to the general sense of insecurity and latent violence in the region. And of all the threats facing the Middle East, perhaps the greatest -- greater even than of another Arab-Israeli clash -- is that of rampant sectarianism, poisoning relationships between and within states, and breeding hate, intolerance, and mistrust.

Several of the modern states of the Middle East -- and Syria is no exception -- were built on a mosaic of ancient religions, sects, and ethnic groups held uneasily and sometimes uncomfortably together by central government. But governments have themselves been far from neutral, favoring one community over another in cynical power plays. Many Sunni Muslims in Syria and throughout the region feel that Assad's Syria has unduly favored the Alawites, a sect of Shiite Islam, who constitute some 12 percent of the population but control a vastly greater percentage of the country's wealth. Open conflict

between Sunnis and Alawites in Syria would profoundly disturb the whole region, creating a nightmare scenario for Washington and other Western capitals.

Meanwhile, Washington seems at a loss as to how to respond to the growing unrest in Syria. In tempered language, the administration has condemned the use of violence against civilians and encouraged political reform. But the undertones are evident: Stability in Syria may still preferable to yet another experiment in Arab governance. Assad will need to act quickly and decisively -- and one hopes not harshly -- to quell the rising current of dissent. Indeed, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton seemed to offer the regime some modest support this weekend, noting that she believed Bashar to be a "reformer." But reform has never been a primary goal of the Assad clan, which has long favored stability over change.

This edifice may now be crumbling, and the United States would be wise to spend a little less time thinking about Libya and a little more time thinking about a state that truly has implications on U.S. national interests. If things go south in Syria, blood-thirsty sectarian demons risk being unleashed, and the entire region could be consumed in an orgy of violence.

Patrick Seale is a British writer who specializes in Middle East affairs. His latest book is The Struggle for Arab Independence: Riad el-Solh and the Makers of the Modern Middle East.

Article 2.

Politico

Obama failing as commander in chief

Robert D. Blackwill

March 28, 2011 -- The Obama administration deserves credit for its foreign policy achievements.

There has been no successful terrorist attack on U.S. soil. President Barack Obama and his colleagues have, thus far, skillfully handled the popular eruptions in Tunisia and Egypt — though those crises are far from over. They strengthened sanctions against Iran regarding its nuclear weapons program; reset U.S.-Russia relations and completed the New START Treaty. They have begun to deal effectively with the rise of Chinese power; continued, after a slow start, the transformation of U.S.-India relations, and signed a bilateral trade accord with South Korea. They also modernized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with summit agreements on a new strategic concept and ballistic missile defense.

But the administration's record of failure is equally as long. It has not seriously tackled our deficit and debt problem, the single greatest threat to long-term U.S. power and influence. It is now mishandling relations with the Gulf Arab monarchs and made a mess of the Middle East peace process. It has allowed the U.S.-Turkey relationship to reach historic lows, just as Turkey is becoming a formidable actor in the Greater Middle East.

By concentrating on health care for its first two years, the administration, and the large majorities in Congress, missed a crucial opportunity to pass climate change legislation. With the Democratic party's internal constituencies, there also has been almost no movement on international trade.

Right now, nobody has a successful formula for helping Pakistan — with its 100-plus nuclear weapons — arrest its systemic decline; or for coercing North Korea to slow its growing nuclear weapons and missile capabilities. So the administration gets the benefit of the doubt on those two perplexing problems.

Obama has, however, failed in the most important presidential power: to act as a wise commander in chief. He is seriously mismanaging all three wars the U.S. is now engaged in.

In Iraq, over the past decade, the United States has lost 4,500 American lives, has had 33,000 wounded and has spent a trillion dollars to promote vital U.S. national interests. But we are in danger of losing that enormous sacrifice in blood and treasure to meet the president's deadline of withdrawing all U.S. troops by the end of this year.

That is a huge strategic mistake. It could, over time, plunge that pivotal nation back into civil war. We should keep roughly 40,000 combat troops in Iraq for the foreseeable future, to make an indispensable contribution to Iraq's stability and prevent Iranian dominance. We should now be lobbying the Iraqi government hard to accept this.

In Afghanistan, Obama has dramatically escalated U.S. troop commitment — now more than 100,000 — in a war that Bob Woodward says in his book, "Obama's Wars," that the president does not believe in. U.S. policy toward Afghanistan involves spending $100 billion and suffering several hundred allied deaths annually — 500 Americans dead last year, thousands more injured. All this to deal with 100 or so Al Qaeda fighters now in Afghanistan; and prevent the Afghan Taliban from controlling the Pashtun Afghan homeland — which was not the reason we went there after Sept. 11. Our mission was to eradicate Al Qaeda — now largely accomplished — not fight the Taliban.

In policy terms, this has been enormous mission creep far beyond our national interests. The current U.S. counterinsurgency strategy appears likely to fail. Washington and its allies will not defeat the Taliban militarily. President Hamid Karzai's corrupt government is unlikely to improve significantly. The Afghan National Army cannot take over combat missions from the U.S. in southern and eastern Afghanistan in any realistic time frame. And the Pakistan army will not move against Afghan Taliban sanctuaries in Pakistan.

De facto Afghan partition offers the Obama administration the best alternative to strategic defeat. The administration should stop setting withdrawal deadlines and instead commit the United States to a long-term combat role in Afghanistan, with roughly 35,000 to 50,000 troops, for the next seven to 10 years.

Washington should also accept that the Taliban are likely to control most of the Pashtun south and east. The price of forestalling that is far too high for Americans to continue paying. Washington and its partners should let the local correlation of forces take its course in the Pashtun homeland — while deploying U.S. air power and Special Forces to ensure that the north and west of Afghanistan do not succumb to the Taliban.

In Libya, the president has gotten us militarily into the middle of a civil war in a country of little importance to the United States. And he offers no clear strategy to reach his ambitious objectives. The administration's inconsistent, even incoherent, statements on the Libya war wrestle each other for dominance in the daily news cycle, while NATO predictably founders without robust U.S. leadership.

The U.S. should quickly end its military role in the Libyan civil war. We should leave that to the European allies — if they want to take it up — and return to issues of far greater importance to our country, like our fiscal problems.

We can only speculate why Obama has such difficulty in effectively using the U.S. military as an instrument of national purpose. Winston Churchill said, "In critical and baffling situations, it is always best to return to first principle and simple action."

What is Obama's first principle regarding the application of the use of force in the international arena? He seems to possess no abiding strategic framework about that preeminent presidential responsibility. He makes no clear connection between the use of force and vital U.S. national interests.

Thus, he recklessly withdraws from Iraq, imprudently escalates in Afghanistan and unwisely intervenes in Libya. One can only wonder and worry what he will do if and when he confronts the next crisis which could involve committing American men and women to combat.

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Article 3.

The Financial Times

Libya, a last hurrah for the west

Gideon Rachman

March 28 2011 -- The war in Libya is about a lot more than Muammer Gaddafi. Its outcome will reverberate around the Middle East and will affect international politics for decades. A vital principle is at stake.

The supporters of outside intervention believe that they are battling not just to stop atrocities in Libya itself, but to lay down a marker for the future. They want to show that the age when a dictator could massacre his own citizens is coming to a close. Bernard Henri-Lévy, a French philosopher who played an improbable role as a link between the Libyan rebels and President Nicolas Sarkozy, has said: "What is important in this affair is that the 'duty to intervene' has been recognised."

Nicholas Kristof, writing in The New York Times, makes a similar point – "World powers have the right and obligation to intervene when a dictator devours his people." This idea was approved by the UN in 2005 and, according to Mr Kristof, the Libyan intervention is "putting teeth into that fledgling concept."

It would be nice to believe that the doctrine of a "responsibility to protect", known colloquially as R2P, now has real bite. With rebel troops advancing swiftly along the Libyan coast, the supporters of the intervention will be feeling cheerful.

But the reality is that the Libyan war is more likely to mark a last hurrah for liberal interventionism than a new dawn. For the brutal truth is that the western powers that are the keenest promoters of the idea will not have the economic strength or the public backing to sustain many more overseas interventions. And the rising economic

powers – China, India, Brazil and others – are deeply sceptical about the whole concept. Britain, France and the US all voted in favour of the UN resolution authorising force in Libya. But the fashionable grouping known as the Brics – Brazil, Russia, India and China – all abstained. None of them have much time for Colonel Gaddafi. But countries like China, India and Brazil see little to gain, and much to lose, by risking money, men and influence in foreign interventions. Their instinct is to mind their own business and to concentrate on the long-term goal of building up their own economic strength. A massacre in Libya might be unfortunate, no doubt – but Benghazi is a long way from Beijing or Brasília.

There are some complications. Germany abstained but, in doing so, placed itself outside the western mainstream. South Africa, which has been invited to the next Brics summit, voted for the Libyan resolution, but then criticised the bombing campaign vociferously.

So the broad picture holds. The established western powers still have a missionary zeal to put the world to rights. The rising powers are much more cautious and egocentric.

But the western allies are fighting against a background of shrinking resources. The British have just announced big defence cuts and the French are also battling to contain their budget deficit and maintain their welfare state.

The reluctance of the American military establishment to take on this new commitment has also been palpable. President Barack Obama and his generals know that the age when a US president could simply say that America would do “whatever it takes” is over. Admiral Mike Mullen, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, has said that the biggest threat to US national security is the budget deficit. In the post-Iraq, post-Afghanistan era, public support for military operations overseas is also limited.

Of course, if there is a swift and successful conclusion to the Libyan intervention – Col Gaddafi deposed, cheering crowds in Tripoli – then liberal interventionism will get a boost. But success could be just as much of a snare as failure. Each successful intervention will prompt demand for the next one – and there will be no shortage of possible candidates. Indeed that question is already being raised by the sight of the Syrian government shooting its own citizens. Yet, the more demands that are placed on the western powers, the more it will be evident that there is a growing mismatch between ambition and resources. That gap could, one day, be filled if the Brics and other rising powers change their attitudes to liberal interventionism. But there is very little sign of that happening. The Chinese government, with memories of Tiananmen Square in 1989, is deeply wary of the idea that foreigners have the right to intervene to prevent human rights abuses in a sovereign nation. The same goes for the Russians, with their record in Chechnya. India, Brazil and South Africa are democratic countries with no need for a contingency plan to shoot their own citizens. But their colonial histories incline them to take a sceptical view of the motives of western powers that seek to use military power around the world. They are also all emerging powers that are not yet used to thinking globally. By contrast, Britain and France have maintained the instinct to think globally, without the resources to back it up. Even the US, by far the world's pre-eminent military power, is signalling strongly that it is losing the will to be the world's policeman. In the Victorian age, the British once sang – "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do/ We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too." The Libyan intervention feels like a last reprise of that old tune, rather than a bold statement for a new age.

Article 4.

NYT

President Obama on Libya

Editorial

March 28, 2011 -- President Obama made the right, albeit belated, decision to join with allies and try to stop Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi from slaughtering thousands of Libyans. But he has been far too slow to explain that decision, or his long-term strategy, to Congress and the American people. On Monday night, the president spoke to the nation and made a strong case for why America needed to intervene in this fight — and why that did not always mean it should intervene in others. Mr. Obama said that the United States had a moral responsibility to stop "violence on a horrific scale," as well as a unique international mandate and a broad coalition to act with. He said that failure to intervene could also have threatened the peaceful transitions in Egypt and Tunisia, as thousands of Libyan refugees poured across their borders, while other dictators would conclude that "violence is the best strategy to cling to power." Mr. Obama could report encouraging early progress on the military and diplomatic fronts. Washington and its allies have crippled or destroyed Colonel Qaddafi's anti-aircraft defenses, peeled his troops back from the city of Benghazi — saving potentially thousands of lives — and allowed rebel forces to retake the offensive. Just as encouragingly, this military effort that was galvanized internationally — the United Nations Security Council authorized "all necessary measures" to protect civilians in Libya — will soon be run internationally. Last weekend, the United States handed over responsibility for enforcing the no-flight zone to NATO. And the alliance is now preparing to take command of the entire mission, with the support of (still too few) Arab nations. To his credit, Mr. Obama did not sugarcoat the difficulties ahead. While he suggested that his goal, ultimately, is to

see Colonel Qaddafi gone, he also said that the air war was unlikely to accomplish that by itself. Most important, he vowed that there would be no American ground troops in this fight. “If we tried to overthrow Qaddafi by force,” he said, “our coalition would splinter.” He said “regime change” in Iraq took eight years and cost thousands of American and Iraqi lives. “That is not something we can afford to repeat in Libya.” Instead, he said the United States and its allies would work to increase the diplomatic and military pressure on Colonel Qaddafi and his cronies. A meeting on Tuesday with allies and members of the Libyan opposition is supposed to develop that strategy along with ways to help the rebels build alternate, and we hope humane and competent, governing structures. That needs to start quickly. To hold their ground and protect endangered civilians, let alone advance, the rebels will likely need air support for quite some time. Mr. Obama was right not to promise a swift end to the air campaign. At the same time, he should not overestimate the patience of the American people or the weariness of the overstretched military. And as Washington reduces its military role, others, inside and outside NATO, will need to increase theirs. Within NATO, unenthusiastic partners like Germany and Turkey need to at least stay out of the way even if they continue to stand aside from the fighting. The president made the right choice to act, but this is a war of choice, not necessity. Presidents should not commit the military to battle without consulting Congress and explaining their reasons to the American people. Fortunately, initial coalition military operations have gone well. Unfortunately, it is the nature of war that they will not always go well. Mr. Obama needs to work with Congress and keep the public fully informed. On Monday, he made an overdue start on that.

Article 5.

The Daily Star

Egypt's new Constitution: an update

Nathan Brown

March 29, 2011 -- The March 19 vote in favor of constitutional amendments in Egypt provides a boost to the military-led transition process and its vigorous electoral schedule.

The voter turnout was impressive by Egyptian standards – 41 percent of eligible voters, at least double the turnout in any previous national election or referendum – and the victory was overwhelming at 77 percent of voters. But opponents attracted enough votes to make the outcome seem less like the predictable landslides of the authoritarian order. Those who objected to the content of the amendments and, more forcefully, to the process by which they were written and the political sequence they implied marshaled forceful arguments, campaigned hard, and then lost.

As a consequence, Egypt's transition process will likely rush forward. What are the next steps? The basic sequence of events is clear, but the ruling Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) has not revealed many of the details. Nor has it shared decision-making power over the sequence and rules in any serious way.

The amended articles – most of them governing presidential and parliamentary elections – are now clearly in effect. But the rest of Egypt's Constitution remains suspended. Egypt's military rulers have suggested that they will very shortly issue a declaration indicating how authority will be exercised while Egypt's Parliament and president are elected, which parts of the 1971 Constitution will be brought back into effect, and what their own role will be.

The committee that drafted the amendments also prepared amendments to various laws in order to bring them into conformance

with the new provisions. However, announcement of the changes was postponed until after the referendum. The SCAF is expected to issue those laws, which will likely be designed to make elections freer and fairer, by decree. The SCAF has suggested that it will change the law on political parties, making it much easier for new parties to register. The Muslim Brotherhood is one of the many groups that would likely take advantage of such a change. The SCAF might also move from the current electoral system of individual parliamentary districts to a proportional representation system in which at least some of the seats would be allocated by a party's share of the national vote instead of giving all of them to the winning candidates in each district. But if the SCAF is planning on such a move, it has not tipped its hand.
The SCAF has also suggested that parliamentary elections will be held before presidential elections. Last week, one of its members argued forcefully that attempts to reverse the sequence and have the president elected first (as some have suggested would be preferable because parliamentary elections will be much more complicated than presidential elections) might simply deliver another dictator. But the generals have also suggested that they may push parliamentary elections back from May or June (when they originally suggested they might be held) until September. This is likely a response to those who claim that Egypt's party system is simply not sufficiently organized for elections in two or three months.
The SCAF initially suggested that it might hold the presidential election in the late summer or early fall; if parliamentary elections are postponed until September, then the presidential election might be pushed back until the end of the year.
Under new nomination procedures contained in the constitutional amendments, a party that gains at least a single seat in the upcoming parliamentary elections will be able to nominate a candidate. (If the Muslim Brotherhood is able to form a party and does gain seats, it

has said it will not run its own candidate this time but it might still throw its weight behind one of the candidates who is running.)
Independent candidates can get on the ballot either by getting a certain number of endorsements by parliamentary deputies or gathering signatures (30,000) from eligible voters.
Already some candidates have announced they will run. Most prominent include the following: Amr Moussa, the former foreign minister and current secretary-general of the Arab League. While popular for his Arab nationalist stances, he will have to overcome his association with the past regime, which has already emerged as a major issue in his campaign.
There is also Mohamed ElBaradei, the former director of the International Atomic Energy Agency and Nobel Prize winner. While respected for his clear articulation of liberal political stances and courage in openly criticizing the Mubarak regime, he will have to overcome a reputation for having an aloof and overly cerebral style. In addition, many Egyptians complain that he has spent (and continues to spend) too much time outside the country to be an appropriate candidate.
Another candidate is Hisham al-Bastawisi, the leader of a group of judges who confronted the Mubarak regime over the last decade. Al-Bastawisi is, like ElBaradei, widely respected but does not appear to be a natural politician.
There is also Ayman Nour, founder of Al-Ghad Party. Nour came in a distant second to former President Hosni Mubarak in 2005 and spent the subsequent four years in prison on politically motivated charges. Known as a born politician and an effective campaigner, and admired for his uncompromising opposition to Mubarak, Nour nonetheless enjoys less of a national reputation than Moussa and ElBaradei.
And there is Hamdeen Sabahi, the founder of the Karama Party, a breakaway from the Nasserist Party that has long sought official

licensing. Sabahi, like Nour, has been a key organizer within the opposition and is a gifted politician, but enjoys less widespread popularity than other candidates.

After the new Parliament and president are elected, the provisional Constitution allows (and, according to a reading endorsed by a SCAF member, actually requires) a constituent assembly to be selected to draft an entirely new Constitution. While the opponents to the amendments wished to have this done as the first rather than the last step, they will ultimately get their wish for an entirely new document.

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Article 6.

NYT

Arabs Will Be Free

Roger Cohen

March 28, 2011 -- Three Middle Eastern countries have been conspicuous for their stability in the storm. They are Turkey, Lebanon and Israel. An odd mix, you might say, but they have in common that they are places where people vote.

Democracy is a messy all-or-nothing business. That's why I love it. You can no more be a little bit democratic than a little bit pregnant. Yes, citizens go to the polls in Turkey, Lebanon and Israel and no dictator gets 99.3 percent of the vote. They are lands of opportunity where money is being made and where facile generalizations, for all their popularity, miss the point. Turkey has not turned Islamist, Lebanon is not in the hands of Hezbollah, and Israel is still an open society.

All three countries, of course, are also wracked by division and imperfection; but then two great merits of democracy are that it finesses division and does not aspire to perfection.

Speaking of Hezbollah, remember all that alarm a couple of months back when a Hezbollah-backed businessman, Najib Mikati, emerged as prime minister? After that, Lebanon introduced the Libyan no-fly-zone resolution at the United Nations — a rare, if little noted, example of the United States and a Hezbollah-supported government in sync.

Talk to Hezbollah: That's obvious. It's no terrorizing monolith. Mikati is struggling with the give-and-take of Lebanese politics. Life goes on in the freewheeling way that has long drawn repressed, frustrated Arabs to Beirut.

Hezbollah is a political party with a militia. That's a big problem. Israel's ultra-Orthodox Shas party has an outsized influence over Israel because of coalition politics. That's a problem. The Muslim Brotherhood will loom large in a free Egypt because it has an organizational head start. That may be a problem. Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party is a brilliant political machine with a ruthless bent. That's a problem, too.

These are problems of different sizes. But give me all these problems so long as they present themselves within open (or opening) systems. They are far preferable to the cowed conformity common to the terrorized societies of the now doomed Arab Jurassic Park, where despots do their worst.

It's over: Enough of the nameless graves that whisper of horror, enough of the 20th-century police states in the 21st-century. Yes, it's over for Ben Ali and for Mubarak. It's over for Qaddafi, yes it is. How far it's over for the other Arab despots and autocrats, whether of the oxymoronic "republics" or the royals, will depend on how far they can get out in front of their citizens' demand to be heard.

You see, you can't do Hama any more. You can't do the Iraqi marshes. Perhaps you can kill dozens, but not tens of thousands. These despots relied on the limitlessness of their terror. It had to be as absolute as their contempt for the law.

But now people know. They communicate through the clampdowns. They are Facebook-nimble. The despots gaze into their gilded mirrors and, to their horror, see not themselves but the people who will be silenced no longer. They wonder then if their own myriad agents can be trusted. They are caught in their own web. They flail; they have gone too far to turn back but cannot go forward.

Bashar al-Assad, the embattled Syrian president, was about to say something Sunday, before deciding not to. He was trained in west London as an eye doctor. He'd better stop thinking Hama — where

his father murdered at least 10,000 — and start thinking Hammersmith.

Questions swirl. Who are the Libyan rebels? Who are the angry of Latakia? The Arab transitions will be long and bumpy — like those that brought representative government to Latin America and Central Europe and wide swathes of Asia — but now that fear has been overcome, they are irreversible.

Here's who the protesters are: people like Asmaa Mahfouz, 26, the Egyptian woman who on Jan. 18 made a video urging citizens to go to Tahrir Square on Jan. 25 — the demonstration that would start the revolution. She said then: "We'll go down and demand our rights, our fundamental human rights. I won't even talk about any political rights. We just want our human rights and nothing else." And she said people "don't have to come to Tahrir Square, just go down anywhere and say it, that we are free human beings." And: "This is enough!"

People are being born throughout the Middle East. They are discovering their capacity to change things, their inner "Basta!" That's how the Arab spring began on Dec. 17 in the little town of Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia — with a fruit peddler's "enough" to humiliation. In my end is my beginning.

Three months later the genie is not only out of the bottle, it's shattered the bottle. I said of Libya in an earlier column: Be ruthless or stay out. So now the West is in, be ruthless. Arm the resurgent rebels. Incapacitate Qaddafi. Do everything short of putting troops on the ground. Qaddafi, as President Obama has said, "must leave." So that Libya can be an Arab country that is imperfect but open.

Article 7.

The Daily Star

The West still beats the rest, but it may no longer be best

Robert Skidelsky

March 29, 2011 -- History has no final verdicts. Major shifts in events and power bring about new subjects for discussion and new interpretations.

Fifty years ago, as decolonization accelerated, no one had a good word to say for imperialism. It was regarded as unambiguously bad, both by ex-imperialists and by their liberated subjects. Schoolchildren were taught about the horrors of colonialism, how it exploited conquered peoples. There was little mention, if any, of imperialism's benefits.

Then, in the 1980s, a revisionist history came along. It wasn't just that distance lends a certain enchantment to any view. The West – mainly the Anglo-American part of it – had recovered some of its pride and nerve under U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. And there was the growing evidence of post-colonial regimes' failure, violence and corruption, especially in Africa.

But the decisive event for the revisionists was the collapse of the Soviet empire, which not only left the United States top dog globally, but also seemed, to the more philosophically minded, to vindicate Western civilization and values against all other civilizations and values. With the European Union extending its frontiers to embrace many ex-communist states, the West became again, if briefly, the embodiment of universal reason, obliged and equipped to spread its values to the still-benighted parts of the world. Francis Fukuyama's

"The End of History and the Last Man" testified to this sense of triumph and historical duty.

Such a conjuncture set the stage for a new wave of imperialism (though the reluctance to use the word remained). In doing so, it was bound to affect interpretations of the old imperialism, which was now extolled for spreading economic progress, the rule of law, and science and technology to countries that would never have benefited from them otherwise.

Foremost among the new generation of revisionist historians was Niall Ferguson of Harvard University, whose television series, based on his new book "Civilization: The West and the Rest," has just started showing in Britain. In its first episode, Ferguson appears amid the splendid monuments of China's Ming Dynasty, which, in the 15th century, was undoubtedly the greatest civilization of the day, with its naval expeditions reaching the coasts of Africa. After that, it was all downhill for China (and "the rest") and all uphill for the West. Ferguson snazzily summarizes the reasons for this reversal in six "killer apps:" competition, science, property rights, medicine, the consumer society and the work ethic. Against such tools – unique products of Western civilization – the rest had no chance. From such a perspective, imperialism, old and new, has been a beneficent influence, because it has been the means of spreading these "apps" to the rest of the world, thereby enabling them to enjoy the fruits of progress hitherto confined to a few Western countries.

Understandably, this thesis has not met with universal approbation. The historian Alex von Tunzelmann accused Ferguson of leaving out all of imperialism's nasty bits: the Black War in Australia, the German genocide in Namibia, the Belgian exterminations in the Congo, the Amritsar Massacre, the Bengal Famine, the Irish potato famine, and much else.

But that is the weakest line of attack. Edward Gibbon once described history as being little better than a record of the "crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind." Imperialism certainly added its quota to these. But the question is whether it also provided, through Hegel's "cunning of reason," the means to escape from them. Even Marx justified British rule in India on these grounds. Ferguson, too, can make a sound argument for such a proposition.

The most serious weakness in Ferguson's presentation is his lack of sympathy for the civilizations dismissed as "the rest," which also points to the most serious limitation of the revisionist case. The "triumph of the West" that followed the collapse of communism in Europe was clearly not the "end of history." As Ferguson must know, the main topic of discussion in international affairs nowadays concerns the "rise" of China, and more generally Asia, as well as the stirring of Islam.

Of course, the Chinese may prefer to talk about "restoration" rather than "rise," and point to a "harmonious" pluralism of the future. But "rise" is how most people think of China's recent history, and in history the rise of some is usually associated with the decline of others. In other words, we may be reverting to that cyclical pattern that historians assumed to be axiomatic before the seemingly irreversible rise of the West implanted in them a view of linear progress toward greater reason and freedom.

Europe is plainly in decline, politically and culturally, though most Europeans, blinded by their high living standards and the pretensions of their impotent statesmen, are happy to dress this up as progress. Chinese savings are underwriting much of the American civilizing mission that Ferguson applauds. The pattern seems clear: the West is losing dynamism, and the rest are gaining it.

The remainder of this century will show how this shift plays out. For the moment, most of us have lost the historical plot. It is possible, for

example, to imagine a “Western world” (one that applies Ferguson’s “killer apps”) in which the actual West is no longer the dominant factor: America will simply pass the torch to China, as Britain once did to America.

But it seems to me extremely unlikely that China, India and “the rest” will simply take over Western values wholesale, for this would amount to renouncing any value in their own civilizations. Some syntheses and accommodations between the West and the rest will inevitably accompany the shift in power and wealth from the former to the latter. The only question is whether the process will be peaceful.

Robert Skidelsky, a member of the British House of Lords, is a professor emeritus of political economy at Warwick University.

Article 8.

Wall Street Journal

Norway to Jews: You're Not Welcome Here

Alan M. Dershowitz

MARCH 29, 2011 -- I recently completed a tour of Norwegian universities, where I spoke about international law as applied to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But the tour nearly never happened.

Its sponsor, a Norwegian pro-Israel group, offered to have me lecture without any charge to the three major universities. Norwegian universities generally jump at any opportunity to invite lecturers from elsewhere. When my Harvard colleague Stephen Walt, co-author of "The Israel Lobby," came to Norway, he was immediately invited to present a lecture at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim. Likewise with Ilan Pappe, a demonizer of Israel who teaches at Oxford.

My hosts expected, therefore, that their offer to have me present a different academic perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be eagerly accepted. I have written half a dozen books on the subject presenting a centrist view in support of the two-state solution. But the universities refused.

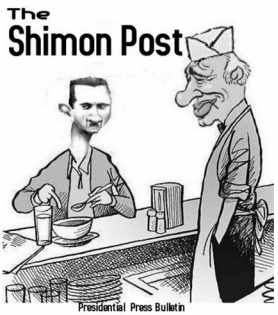
The dean of the law faculty at Bergen University said he would be "honored" to have me present a lecture "on the O.J. Simpson case," as long as I was willing to promise not to mention Israel. An administrator at the Trondheim school said that Israel was too "controversial."

The University of Oslo simply said "no" without offering an excuse. That led one journalist to wonder whether the Norwegian universities believe that I am "not entirely house-trained."

Only once before have I been prevented from lecturing at universities in a country. The other country was Apartheid South Africa.
Despite the faculties' refusals to invite me, I delivered three lectures to packed auditoriums at the invitation of student groups. I received sustained applause both before and after the talks.
It was then that I realized why all this happened. At all of the Norwegian universities, there have been efforts to enact academic and cultural boycotts of Jewish Israeli academics. This boycott is directed against Israel's "occupation" of Palestinian land—but the occupation that the boycott supporters have in mind is not of the West Bank but rather of Israel itself. Here is the first line of their petition: "Since 1948 the state of Israel has occupied Palestinian land . . ."
The administrations of the universities have refused to go along with this form of collective punishment of all Israeli academics, so the formal demand for a boycott failed. But in practice it exists. Jewish pro-Israel speakers are subject to a de facto boycott.
The first boycott signatory was Trond Adresen, a professor at Trondheim. About Jews, he has written: "There is something immensely self-satisfied and self-centered at the tribal mentality that is so prevalent among Jews. . . . [They] as a whole, are characterized by this mentality. . . . It is no less legitimate to say such a thing about Jews in 2008-2009 than it was to make the same point about the Germans around 1938."
This line of talk—directed at Jews, not Israel—is apparently acceptable among many in Norway's elite. Consider former Prime Minister Kare Willock's reaction to President Obama's selection of Rahm Emanuel as his first chief of staff: "It does not look too promising, he has chosen a chief of staff who is Jewish." Mr. Willock didn't know anything about Mr. Emanuel's views—he based his criticism on the sole fact that Mr. Emanuel is a Jew. Perhaps unsurprisingly, fewer than 1,000 Jews live in Norway today.

The country's foreign minister recently wrote an article justifying his contacts with Hamas. He said that the essential philosophy of Norway is "dialogue." That dialogue, it turns out, is one-sided. Hamas and its supporters are invited into the dialogue, but supporters of Israel are excluded by an implicit, yet very real, boycott against pro-Israel views.

Mr. Dershowitz is a law professor at Harvard. His latest novel is "The Trials of Zion" (Grand Central Publishing, 2010).



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Article 1.

NYT

The Tony Awards

Roger Cohen

May 12, 2011— Every few years along comes a brilliant Jewish writer called Tony with challenging views on Israel, and this great city — on all other matters the most open in the world — gets tied in knots over what can or cannot be said. After "L'Affaire Judt" we have "L'Affaire Kushner," but with different outcomes that suggest a shifting American Jewish discourse.

The late Tony Judt, author of the brilliant study of late 20th-century Europe called "Postwar," saw his New York persona changed with the appearance in 2003 in The New York Review of Books of an article called "Israel: The Alternative." It posited the creation of a single binational state of Jews and Palestinians and suggested a Jewish state was anachronistic.

The calls to his office began — "Tell Tony Judt this is Hitler calling and he says, 'Congratulations.'" Years later, an event featuring Judt at the Polish Consulate got canceled at the last minute after its organizers apparently came under pressure from prominent New York Jewish groups.

To this day, in the city this British-born Jew came to love for its clamorous diversity, Judt's luminous oeuvre sometimes seems overshadowed by a single polemical piece.

I disagreed with Judt: No alternative binational state of Palestinians and Jews is imaginable in the Holy Land, at least not this side of utopia. History demonstrates that Jews need a homeland called Israel. Amos Oz, the Israeli author, has noted that, "When my father was a young man in Vilna, every wall in Europe said, 'Jews go home to Palestine.' Fifty years later when he went back to Europe on a visit,

the walls all screamed, 'Jews get out of Palestine.'" A Jewish refuge is just and necessary.

But the imperative, inescapable accompaniment to Israel is Palestine. A two-state solution is the only strategic and moral answer to the wars since 1948 that have left countless Palestinians bereft of home and dignity, living under an Israeli dominion as corrosive of its masters as it is punishing to its victims.

Judt, who later suggested the binational idea was utopian, penned a provocation. Its spark was that the current impasse is untenable: Israel cannot be at once Jewish and democratic if it permanently disenfranchises millions of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank. While I disagreed with his proposed resolution, I agree that the occupation is untenable and I found the hounding of Judt, who died last year of Lou Gehrig's disease, an appalling instance of the methods of the relentless Israel-right-or-wrong bullies.

Enter the second Tony of this saga, Tony Kushner, the Pulitzer-prize winning author of "Angels in America." His honorary degree from the City University of New York gets blocked on May 2 after a trustee called Jeffrey Wiesenfeld — like Judt from a family of Holocaust survivors — suggests Kushner is an "extremist" opponent of Israel.

Wiesenfeld, by the way, is not sure Palestinians are human given that they "worship death for their children."

For anyone familiar with the Judt saga, Kushner's travails have a familiar ring. He's interested in historical facts, which include Palestinians being driven from their homes in 1948; he's appalled by the ongoing Israeli settlement policy and is a board member of an organization that has supported boycotting West Bank settlements (although Kushner told me he's against a boycott); he's mused about one state.

That's heresy enough for Wiesenfeld. This time, however, the counter-wave was powerful. J Street, an organization not around in 2003 that supports Israel but opposes the settlements, issued a statement calling CUNY's action "unacceptable." Former mayor Ed Koch, of impeccable pro-Israel credentials, weighed in. Within days CUNY reversed itself and approved Kushner's degree.

Now Wiesenfeld is under pressure to resign. He should: No university is well served by a trustee who values taboo over debate and doubts an entire people's humanity.

Kushner told me he believes "there is a very significant change underway." Americans are realizing there is "a terrible need for a dose of debate" on Israel and that "silent acquiescence" to those "whose politics are based substantially on fantasy and theological wishes" is dangerous.

Criticism of Israel is not betrayal of Israel. The Kushner affair, like the Judt affair before it, is important in that Israel's political compass is guided to some degree by its sense of the American mood. That mood, beginning in the White House, is of growing impatience.

Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister, will address Congress this month. He has responded to tumultuous events in the Middle East with vapid tactical sound bites. The speech to Congress is his chance to lay out a strategy for two states. I doubt he'll ever locate his inner statesman — in which case the world's irritation and futile Palestinian unilateralism will harden.

Yitzhak Rabin did not stand on the White House lawn with Yasser Arafat for a photo-op. The Israeli warrior understood the necessity of a two-state peace. To get there at last, "It's essential that we become more sophisticated and braver in what we're willing to say and think," Kushner said.

Amen to that — and Tony Judt, great man, requiescat in pace.

Article 2.

Project Syndicate

Democracy's Dawn in Tunisia and Egypt?

Alfred Stepan

2011-05-12 -- CAIRO – With protests fading in Tunis and seeming to have peaked in Cairo, it is time to ask whether Tunisia and Egypt will complete democratic transitions. I have been visiting both countries, where many democratic activists have been comparing their situation with the more than 20 successful and failed democratic-transition attempts throughout the world that I have observed and analyzed.

One fear should be dismissed immediately: despite worries about the incompatibility of Islam and democracy, more than 500 million Muslims now live in Muslim-majority countries that are commonly classified as democracies – Indonesia, Turkey, Bangladesh, Senegal, Mali, and Albania. But, for almost 40 years, not a single Arab-majority country has been classified as a democracy, so a democratic transition in either Tunisia or Egypt (or elsewhere in the region) would be of immense importance for the entire Arab world.

Tunisia's chances of becoming a democracy before the year ends are, I believe, surprisingly good. A key factor here is that the military is not complicating the transition to democracy. Tunisia has a small military (only about 36,000 soldiers), and, since independence in 1956, it had been led by two party-based non-democratic leaders who strove to keep the military out of politics.

Moreover, the current civilian-led interim government engages in at least some negotiations about the new democratic rules of the game

with virtually all of the major political actors who generated the revolution and who will contest the elections.

Tunisia's interim government has announced that elections to a Constituent Assembly will be held on July 24, 2011, and, crucially, that as soon as the votes are counted, it will step down. As in the classic democratic transitions in Spain and India, the newly elected Constituent Assembly will immediately have the responsibility of forming the government.

The Constituent Assembly will be free to choose a presidential, semi-presidential, or parliamentary system. A consensus is emerging among political leaders to choose the same system as the ten post-communist countries that have been admitted to the European Union: parliamentarianism.

Finally, Rachid al-Ghannouchi, who leads the largest Islamic-inspired political party, Al Nahda, went out of his way to tell me that he has signed an agreement with some secular parties that he will not try to change Tunisia's women-friendly family code, the most liberal in the Arab world. While many party leaders do not fully trust Ghannouchi, they believe that in the new democratic environment, the political costs to Al Nahda would be too great for it to risk trying to impose Islamic rule. They also increasingly believe that the most democratically effective policy toward Al Nahda for secular parties is accommodation, not exclusion.

Democratization in Egypt in the long term is probable, but it does not share the more favorable conditions found in Tunisia. One of the biggest differences between the two countries is that every Egyptian president since 1952 has been a military officer. Eighteen generals lead the Post-Mubarak interim government, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). They unilaterally issue statements about what they see as the rules of the game for future elections. Key civil-society and political actors repeatedly told me that they had little

access to, and almost no politically serious negotiations with, the SCAF.

The clashes in Tahrir Square on April 9-10, which led to the deaths of two protesters, were the most serious to date between activists and the Army. The distance between the Army and young democratic activists grew further on April 11, when a military court sentenced the first blogger since the fall of Mubarak to prison for criticizing the military.

In the SCAF's March 30 "Constitutional Declaration," it became absolutely clear that, unlike Tunisia, the parliament to be elected in September will not form a government. Articles 56 and 61 stipulate that the SCAF will retain a broad range of executive powers until a president is elected. Instead of Parliament acting as the sovereign body that will write a constitution, Article 60 mandates that it is to "elect a 100-member constituent assembly." The big question now is how many non-elected outside experts will end up in this "constituent assembly" and how they will arrive there.

Of course, many still fear that Islamic fundamentalists will hijack Egypt's revolution. But I see that as an improbable outcome, given the growing diversification of Muslim identities in the new context of political freedoms, secular parties' efforts to keep the Muslim Brotherhood within electoral politics, and the profiles of the three leading presidential candidates, none of whom want the Egyptian Revolution to be captured.

In short, a successful democratic transition is possible in Tunisia, and not impossible in Egypt. That fact, alone, should bolster the hopes of Arab democratic activists elsewhere as well.

Alfred Stepan is Professor of Government at Columbia University and the author, with Juan J. Linz and Yogendra Yadav, of the recently published Crafting State Nations.

Article 3.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

A Decade of Struggling Reform Efforts in Jordan: The Resilience of the Rentier System

Summary + Conclusion

(The full text: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/jordan_reform.pdf)

Marwan Muasher

May 2011 – On February 1, 2011, after weeks of protests that preceded the uprisings in both Tunisia and Egypt, King Abdullah II dismissed the unpopular government of Samir Rifai and entrusted Marouf Al Bakhit, an ex-army general and former prime minister, with forming a new government. Bakhit's major task would be "to take speedy practical and tangible steps to unleash a real political reform process that reflects [Jordan's] vision of comprehensive reform, modernization and development." While the references to political reform abounded in this newest letter, they were far from new.

Since acceding to the throne in 1999, the king has entrusted almost every appointed government with some aspect of political reform. What was novel about this particular letter was his candid admission that "the process has been marred by gaps and imbalances" and that these were the result of "fear of change by some who resisted it to protect their own interests . . . costing the country dearly and denying it many opportunities for achievement."

In several speeches and press interviews over the last few years, the king has hinted at his frustration with those who did not wish to embrace change. The words in this letter, however, marked the clearest attack yet on those who resisted reform. The accusation was explicit: the motives behind resistance to change from such groups, which had in fact been created and sustained by the system over

many decades, stemmed from their desire to protect their own private interests—even at the expense of the state.

Could reform efforts have taken a different course in Jordan? In a country where the king has broad powers over all branches of government, his expressed frustration over the struggling reform efforts begs the question of why the status quo remains intact. This decade-long process, initiated by the king, has been largely ignored by an ossified layer of elites seeking to protect their own interests. The clear discrepancy between the king's directives to the seven prime ministers he had entrusted to form governments in his twelve years of power—and the actual record of reform completed by these respective governments—points to a structural problem that is all too often ignored.

Much research has been done on the creation of rentier and semi-rentier systems in the Arab world, whereby the state relies on rents from such nonproductive sources as oil or external assistance. Such rents, however, are also specifically utilized to provide privileges to the political elite in exchange for its loyalty. These groups, developed by many Arab systems over decades, support the existing order because it occupies a privileged position that would be compromised by merit-based systems, rather than ones based on clientelism and patronage.

In the case of Jordan, this group has become so entrenched, powerful, and ossified that it is now not only resisting such reform from below but—more dangerously—from above. In other words, these elites have become recalcitrant, self-appointed guardians of the state who believe they alone should decide how the country ought to evolve. They have no qualms about opposing the directives of the leaders or systems that created them in the first place if those leaders are seen as adopting policies that threaten their interests.

An examination of the political reforms conducted by successive governments in Jordan over the last decade suggests that, in most cases, the king's directives were ignored, diluted, and, at times, directly opposed. This does not imply that the objectives of this class and the monarch were always in contradiction, but suggests that the rentier system has, over time and through entrenchment, created monsters who will only acquiesce as long as the system perpetuates the old policy of favors.

These groups are therefore more likely to pursue policies that are antithetical to political reform, thus resulting in the gaps and imbalances lamented by the king's latest letter. These rentier systems have already proven to be difficult to maintain and, in an Arab world that is increasingly demanding better governance and greater accountability, such ossified systems will come to pose significant threats to stability, particularly in resource-poor countries such as Jordan

Conclusion

After a decade of political reform efforts in Jordan, it does not appear that the process has made any significant advances. In fact, as is clear from some of the key indicators above, the process seems not only to have stalled, but regressed as well. Reversals in civil liberties and political rights caused Jordan to lose significant international standing. In the annual Freedom House rankings, Jordan declined from a rank of 4 in 2001 (partly free) on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 being most free) to a rank of 6 (not free) in 2010. Corruption has also become a major issue in the country in the last few years. From 2003 to 2007, the Jordanian Center for Strategic Studies asked citizens in its annual poll to rate their priorities for the country. Over the four year period, they consistently ranked corruption among their top priorities; it came in a close second to poverty and unemployment.

Jordan also fell in the rankings of the highly respected Transparency International Corruptions Perceptions Index from 37 (1 being the least corrupt in about 180 countries studied) in 2003 to 50 in 2010. It is clear that Jordan's political establishment has no interest in implementing the king's explicit orders to move ahead on political reform and, in most cases, took measures that set the process back. The uprisings that Jordan is A Decade of Struggling Reform Efforts in Jordan: The Resilience of the Rentier System witnessing today are not all instigated by groups that are seeking reform in the traditional liberal sense. Some are led by groups that support the rentier-system model-the source of many of their livelihoods-and are concerned that the state may move away from such a system. The king's own policies on political reform-often aimed at striking a balance between the traditional elements and the reformers-have not borne fruit, and almost always resulted in appeasing traditional elements at the expense of reform. Reform needs reformers who are cognizant of the need for an orderly, gradual process but are also committed to a serious roadmap that would lead to true power-sharing through strong legislative and judicial bodies. The selection of several prime ministers did not lead to serious progress on reform, precisely because they were neither true believers in its value, nor did they have a critical mass of reformers inside their governments able to counterbalance the traditional elements who wanted to preserve the status quo at all costs. Thus, instead of holistically addressing all needed areas of reform, reform programs were instead reduced to ad-hoc initiatives that did not add up to any serious and structural changes in governance systems. The king's practice of handing a prime minister a plan for reform that the latter does not believe in and expecting him to deliver on it regardless has simply failed. The National Agenda, an example of such a holistic and gradual program to move toward a more inclusive and democratic system, was never

implemented; now, current demands have gone beyond it. The king himself has expressed frustration many times over this, both in domestic speeches and in international appearances. When Fareed Zakaria asked him about the future of reform in Jordan in a World Economic Forum debate aired on CNN on February 7, 2010, the king volunteered the following answer regarding the reform process over the last ten years: "Sometimes you take two steps forward, one step back. There is resistance to change. There is a resistance to ideas. When we try to push the envelope, there are certain sectors of society that say this is a Zionist plot to sort of destabilize our country, or this is an American agenda. So, it's very difficult to convince people to move forward." The king faces a formidable task any time a reform process is initiated, as he must confront, address, or co-opt the traditional constituency of the regime. Finding a way of doing this-whether through attempting to arrive at a consensus among the different societal forces, changing the make-up of his coalition, substituting certain benefits to the traditional constituency with others, or convincing the political elite that the status quo is unsustainable-will determine to a large degree whether a serious reform process will ever gain traction. The various attempts to put economic liberalization in the country ahead of political reform did not succeed either. While it is easy to argue that citizens want bread before freedom, economic liberalization took place without the development of a system of checks and balances and resulted in the benefits of economic reform being usurped by an elite few. To the average citizen, neither bread nor freedom was attained. As a result, the public has come to view liberalization and globalization negatively. Economic reform must be accompanied by political reform, such that institutional mechanisms of accountability are developed to monitor excesses and ensure benefits are made available to all. Finally, no reform process can be effective without sustained

implementation. Frequent changes in governments, plans, and priorities have all contributed to the failure of the reform process in Jordan over the past decade. In view of the recent uprisings in the Arab world, the political elite must recognize that the only way they can retain power is by sharing it, and governments will have to acknowledge that substituting serious implementation with reform rhetoric fools no one. Given that Jordan enjoys a rather distinctive position-its monarchy enjoys widespread legitimacy and plays a role in stability that is acknowledged by all sectors of society, including the opposition-the king is in a unique position to lead a serious reform process. The choice in Jordan seems to be similar to that of other countries around it: either lead a reform process from above in a gradual, orderly, and serious way, or watch it take place in the streets below with uncontrolled consequences.

Marwan Muasher is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment, where he oversees the Endowment's research in Washington and Beirut on the Middle East. Muasher served as foreign minister (2002–2004) and deputy prime minister (2004–2005) of Jordan, and his career has spanned the areas of diplomacy, development, civil society, and communications. He is also a senior fellow at Yale University.

Article 4.

Foreign Policy

Syria: Too Big to Fail?

Aaron David Miller

MAY 12, 2011 -- If you're a bit confused about U.S. President Barack Obama's passivity in the face of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's brutal repression of domestic opposition, don't be. Syria isn't Libya. The Assad regime is just too consequential to risk undermining.

Although the fall of the House of Assad might actually benefit U.S. interests, the president isn't going to encourage it. For realists in the White House, Assad's demise carries more risks than opportunities.

Great powers behave inconsistently -- even hypocritically -- depending on their interests. That's not unusual; it's part of the job description. In fact, in responding to the forces of change and repression loosed throughout the Arab world, flexibility is more important than ideological rigidity.

The last thing America needs is a doctrine or ideological template to govern how it responds to fast-breaking changes in a dozen Arab countries, all of which are strikingly different in their respective circumstances.

That the administration's response often seemed like a giant game of whack-a-mole, with a new problem popping up daily, was inevitable. And so was the variety of U.S. responses. In Bahrain, where the United States had established the headquarters of the U.S. Navy's 5th Fleet, and in Yemen, where counterterrorism is king, interests trumped values. You didn't hear Obama make any "Qaddafi must go"-style speeches directed against Bahrain's ruling Khalifa family or Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh.

The contradictions and anomalies of U.S. foreign policy have also been on stark display in the Obama administration's differing responses to Qaddafi's and Assad's repression of their own people. Beating up Qaddafi proved doable and necessary to prevent what was viewed as potential atrocities by his forces in Benghazi. Libya had few significant air defense systems and no friends; it was relatively easy to construct a coalition of the (semi-)willing in the United Nations, NATO and the Arab League to oppose the man President Ronald Reagan once dubbed the "mad dog of the Middle East" -- a tin pot and often bizarre dictator who opposed reform and political change. If you wanted to construct a more vulnerable target in a laboratory, you couldn't have done much better.

Syria presents a profoundly different situation. U.S. policy has always been driven by the hope that the Assads would change and the fear of what might replace them if they fell. Three additional realities ensured a U.S. response quite different from the one for Libya.

First, Syria was hard. It's a country with a sophisticated air defense system, chemical and biological weapons, and a great many friends -- including Iran and Hezbollah, which are capable of striking back. Marshaling support at the United Nations, mobilizing NATO, and getting buy-in from the Arab League in the way that made the Libya intervention possible are not in the cards. Some of America's closest friends, including Israel and Saudi Arabia, are also not at all sure that Syria without Assad would be better than with him.

Second, for most U.S. presidents -- Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush being the exceptions -- Syria has served as a kind of unholy diplomatic grail. Since Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, U.S. policymakers had viewed the Assads as pragmatists capable of facilitating or blocking U.S. policy in Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli peace process.

If only the Syrians could be brought around, presidents have believed for generations, life would be so much easier. The United States wasn't alone in this illusion -- the Israelis, Arabs, Europeans, and Russians felt the same way. Like the Wall Street banks, Syria was then, as it is now, judged as simply too big to fail. There was something perversely comforting about having the Assads around.
I had my own fair share of illusions during my government career, but the Assads were never one of them. I could never quite understand my colleagues' fascination with the brutal Syrian regime. To me, Bashar al-Assad was a brutal dictator who wanted to be the Frank Sinatra of the Middle East -- obsessed with doing things his own way to the point that he priced himself out of peace with Israel and a relationship with the United States. It's striking that every other Arab state, with the possible exception of Libya, managed to establish a close relationship with the United States. Not Assad.
Third, Obama's approach toward Syria has been managed by the realists. This stands in contrast with his Libya policy, where liberal interventionists in the administration and neocons outside clamored for action. This group of realists includes the president, who knows his options on Syria aren't great. He's being told that American leverage isn't great and that if he calls for Assad's head and the Syrian despot survives, he'll have lost access to a key player in the region. And after all, what could he do that would deter a regime in a fight for its life? Pull U.S. Ambassador Robert Ford from Damascus? Impose a travel ban on Assad and his family? Press the Europeans to freeze Assad's money?
In a world of symbols, these steps may make an important point about American values. However, none of them will make a difference in how events play out in Syria.
Simply put, the Obama administration is worried about creating a worse situation if Assad falls. Take your pick of scary scenarios:

civil war, a Sunni fundamentalist takeover, or a new base for al Qaeda.

Of course, there would also be an upside to Assad's demise. A brutal regime would have fallen; Iran would be denied an Arab patron and a critical window into Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli arena; Hamas would likely drift further into the orbit of Egypt and Saudi Arabia; and Hezbollah -- though hardly defanged in Lebanon -- would lose a critical patron. At this point, however, the administration clearly judges that the risks of U.S. action outweigh the potential benefits. Bad options, bad outcomes. So, for now, we watch and wait to see where the arc on the Assads is headed -- north or south. But if the Assads do survive, it wouldn't surprise me in the least if Washington at some point resumes a business-as-usual posture with the only surviving repressive Arab dictator that's too big to fail.

Aaron David Miller is a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. His book, Can America Have Another Great President?, will be published in 2012.

Article 5.

The Daily Star

Syria fortifies Obama in his indecision

Michael Young

12 May -- The New York Times gave readers a double-whammy of Syrian statements on Tuesday. Its correspondent in Beirut, Anthony Shadid, landed interviews with presidential adviser Bouthaina Shaaban and with Rami Makhlouf, the powerful maternal cousin of President Bashar Assad, who represents the financial front of the regime.

Shadid was allowed into Syria for only a few hours to conduct the interviews. You have to wonder whether this provoked much debate in the newspaper's offices. The condition transformed the correspondent into a stenographer, and the New York Times into a platform, for the dual messages emanating from Damascus. This irked quite a few people. However, it's also fair to say that Shadid has kept the Syria story on the front pages of his daily, at a moment when the attention in the United States has been drifting elsewhere.

What did Shaaban and Makhlouf say? The essence of Shaaban's remarks was that the Syrian regime had gained the upper hand against the uprising. "I think now we've passed the most dangerous moment. I hope so, I think so," she said. Shaaban repeated the government line that Syria faced an armed rebellion, and disclosed that she had been tasked with initiating a dialogue with dissidents. "We see [the Syrian events] as an opportunity to try to move forward on many levels, especially the political level," she added.

Makhlouf's comments sounded more ominous. "If there is no stability [in Syria], there's no way there will be stability in Israel," he warned. "No way, and nobody can guarantee what will happen after, God forbid, anything happens to this regime." He observed that the

regime had opted to fight, insisting that all its members were united: "We will sit here. We call it a fight until the end." He also issued a transparent threat: "They should know when we suffer, we will not suffer alone."

Some have suggested that the two messages reveal a split in the Syrian regime. That's not convincing. The messages were not that different, and to put Shaaban on the same level as Makhlouf is absurd. Shaaban is viewed as a spokesman for the president, but she plays no central role in the Assad-Makhlouf constellation. She doubtless needed a green light to go ahead with the interview, one that required some measure of approval by Makhlouf and Assad's younger brother Maher, both of whom have taken an eradication approach to the protests. Makhlouf, in turn, needed no authorization whatsoever.

What Shaaban said was likely intended to be interpreted in the United States as a marginally soft statement by Bashar Assad. In contrast, Makhlouf offered the harsher alternative if the president's approach was rejected by the international community. It was a classic good cop, bad cop routine, and those familiar with Syrian manners will be little surprised by the ploy. That's why it seems far-fetched to assume that we are witnessing a fundamental rift in Syria's ruling family.

The reason for this is that there is no serious alternative to what the Assads and the Makhloufs are doing today. They can either stand together behind repression, or fall apart. That's hardly to justify the regime's butchery of hundreds of unarmed civilians. Rather, it's to affirm that the Syrian leadership is incapable of undertaking anything different. There simply is no reform option, and there never was. Genuine reform means dislodging the bricks holding up Assad-Makhlouf authority. Bashar Assad's open-ended presidency, the crony capitalism practiced by his cousin and other members of Syria's elite, the abuse practiced by the all-powerful security services,

even Alawite predominance, would never survive a system shaped by free elections, the rule of law, and the existence of independent media.

The New York Times interviews were made possible by the deep uneasiness in the Obama administration with moves that might destabilize the Assad regime. The Syrians are good judges of their adversaries' weaknesses, and what they see in Washington is a president who prefers the Assads to the possibility of chaos. They realize that the measures taken until now by the United States and Europe have been relatively gentle, therefore wholly ineffective. Add to that the U.N. Security Council's recent failure to condemn Syria and official Arab support for Syrian stability, and you will grasp why the Assad regime saw an opening to reinforce American paralysis.

Nor can the Obama administration ignore that the Syrian leadership regards American dithering as a sign of implicit approval of its actions. Indeed, Shaaban described the recent statements of President Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on Syria as "not too bad," and the sanctions against Syria as manageable. That can only mean one thing: If Washington fails to clarify its views on the carnage in Syria through effective policies, the killing and the arrests there will continue, with the U.S. bearing partial responsibility. The White House's uncertainty can be measured in human lives.

The Syrian protesters are right in not pursuing their salvation in Washington, let alone Brussels, Paris, or London. This is not an American administration overly outraged by the viciousness of dictatorships. Even in Egypt, Obama only turned against Hosni Mubarak when he was left with no other choice – although doing so against an old ally while sparing Assad suggests that Obama is like the coward who will yell at his wife to avoid a brawl with the neighbor.

What all this could also mean, however, is that the Syrian regime is wrong in pursuing its salvation in foreign capitals. Ultimately, Assad, his legitimacy in tatters, will have to win out against his own people. That will not be easy, not when the president has had to order the military occupation of several of his major cities. The regime's behavior is a daily insult to Syrians, one they will not readily forget.

Michael Young is opinion editor of THE DAILY STAR and author of "The Ghosts of Martyrs Square: An Eyewitness Account of Lebanon's Life Struggle" (Simon & Schuster), listed as one of the 10 notable books of 2010 by the Wall Street Journal.

Article 6.

New York Review of Books

Storm Over Syria

Malise Ruthven

The Other Side of the Mirror: An American Travels Through Syria by Brooke Allen

Paul Dry, 259 pp., $16.95 (paper)

June 9, 2011 -- "Damascus has seen all that has ever occurred on earth, and still she lives," wrote Mark Twain after visiting Syria's capital in the 1860s. "She has looked upon the dry bones of a thousand empires, and will see the tombs of a thousand more before she dies."

The turmoil in Syria, where hundreds of unarmed protesters have been mown down by the forces of President Bashar al-Assad, who comes from the country's Alawi minority, is much more menacing than the generally peaceful revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, from which the Syrian protesters drew their initial inspiration. The regime of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia capitulated in the face of spontaneous demonstrations sparked by the self-immolation of a twenty-six-year-old man who had been reduced to scratching out a living as a humble street vendor. Ben Ali, along with his hated wife and family, chose to go into exile before a single shot had been fired. In Egypt, if press reports are to be believed, the generals unseated President Hosni Mubarak after tank commanders refused his orders to fire on civilians. The Egyptian revolution, which has seen some resistance from the military and police, has now taken a constitutional turn, with the country approving a series of amendments that could lead to the emergence of a parliamentary democracy. Much will

depend on the willingness of the military to allow an open political process to take place.

The Syrian government's response to the Arab world's turbulent spring, by contrast, has been both violent and vacillating. Its initial response was to characterize the protests across the country as the result of a global conspiracy fomented by a clutch of unlikely allies, including the US, Israel, and Arab enemies in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, working with former regime officials and homegrown Salafists, or fundamentalists. Then President Assad tried to defuse the opposition by receiving protest delegations and announcing the lifting of long-standing emergency laws, apparently acknowledging the existence of legitimate grievances. But this proved no more than a gesture. In effect the government's response has been contradictory to the point of incoherence: as the Brussels-based International Crisis Group points out in a report released on May 3:

The regime has lifted the emergency law but has since allowed the security services to conduct business as usual, thereby illustrating just how meaningless the concept of legality was in the first place. It authorises demonstrations even as it claims they no longer are justified and then labels them as treasonous. It speaks of reforming the media and, in the same breath, dismisses those who stray from the official line. It insists on ignoring the most outrageous symbols of corruption. Finally, and although it has engaged in numerous bilateral talks with local representatives, it resists convening a national dialogue, which might represent the last, slim chance for a peaceful way forward.

Over seven hundred people have been killed so far, more than a hundred of them in the southwestern city of Deraa, near the Jordanian border, where the Omari mosque—a center of resistance—has been closed to worshipers after being shelled by tanks and taken over by snipers. Some ten thousand people are now said to have been

detained by elite security forces backed by the army. According to Amnesty International, detainees have been beaten with sticks and cables, and sometimes deprived of food. Unlike in Libya there are no NATO forces to protect Syria's cities or parts of the country from the murderous attacks inflicted by a regime that is now losing the last threads of international legitimacy. Assad has a more effective army than Qaddafi and powerful friends in Iran, Lebanon, and Iraq.

In contrast to Libya, military action in defense of Syria's beleaguered population would barely attract a shred of international support. While the Arab League voted unanimously for the no-fly zone to protect the people of Benghazi, in the case of Syria it has not even mentioned the country by name, merely declaring that pro-democracy protesters "deserve support, not bullets."

As The New York Times pointed out in an editorial, the UN Security Council "hasn't even been able to muster a press statement. Russia and China, as ever, are determined to protect autocrats." Israel has been watching and waiting with alarm as the outcome of the unrest in Syria becomes more and more uncertain. Despite his alliance with Iran and refusal to recognize the Jewish state, Assad is the devil it knows best. Prolonged instability or a Salafist regime could only make matters worse.

On the ground it is far from clear what is happening, since foreign reporters have been banned from entering the country, Internet service has been shut down, and cell-phone coverage limited to satellites or systems outside government control. Nevertheless the protests—spurred by funerals of victims and gatherings at Friday prayers, the only occasions on which large numbers of people are permitted to assemble—have spread from Deraa to at least a dozen other cities including Baniyas and Latakia on the Mediterranean coast, as well as to the northern city of Homs and some suburbs of Damascus.* With the Alawi-dominated regime under threat, the

struggle is showing ominous sectarian overtones. At Baniyas, where the army moved scores of tanks and armored vehicles into the city's southern outskirts, paramilitary groups were said to have massed in Alawi-populated northern suburbs. The city centers of Damascus and Aleppo, however, remained relatively quiet, as the government appeared to be organizing rallies of its own supporters, with activists claiming that efforts were being made to bus pro-government demonstrators from Alawi-dominated regions. Grainy cell-phone images sent in clandestinely from Homs to the al-Jazeera TV network showed a speech by a senior defector from the ruling Baath party being greeted with shouts of Allahu Akbar (God Is Greater), often regarded as the jihadist war cry.

At first sight the defection of more than three hundred members of the ruling Baath party in protest at the crackdown would suggest that Syria's one-party state, in place since 1963, is beginning to unravel. What some people are calling the Facebook Revolution, an unprecedented wave of visible public protest, is led by a generation of media-savvy young people, more aware of the outside world than their parents were, who are demanding an end to the system of repression, corruption, and privilege that has been the hallmark of the authoritarian Arab regimes lying between the Atlas Mountains and the Persian Gulf.

Yet unlike the Muslim Brotherhood's rebellion in Hama, which shook the government of Bashar al-Assad's father Hafez in 1982, the Facebook rebellion seems curiously faceless. There are some signs of opposition violence with "plausible reports of security forces being ambushed by unidentified armed groups, as well as of protesters firing back when attacked," according to the International Crisis Group. But these appear to be small and random incidents. The vast majority of casualties are the consequence of the regime's brutality. The protests are largely spontaneous. There seem to be no controlling

organizations or identifiable leaders, and the opposition's ideological focus is unclear, beyond slogans calling for an end to corruption and repression.

Optimists see this as an implicit acceptance of democratic values and assumptions. Despite the increasingly desperate efforts of the region's authoritarian governments to keep their people in the dark about the realities of the outside world by restricting information, the younger generation identifies with its peers in the liberal West and it knows what it is missing in access to material and educational benefits as well as civil and democratic rights. The problem is that while the Facebook generation knows what it doesn't like, it is far from clear that there are structures in place, or being planned, that could provide the basis for an alternative political system if the regime collapses. Pessimists envisage a scenario encapsulated in the phrase "one man, one vote, one time" leading to a Salafist takeover and a settling of scores against minorities (including Christians) who were protected by the regime or benefited from its pluralist approach. More than 70 percent of the Syrian population are Sunni.

How did Syria come to this pass? While some observers see in recent events a parallel with 1989, with the break-up of the East European–style system introduced by the Baathists in the 1960s, this is no velvet revolution, nor is Syria like Jaruzelski's Poland. The regime's violence is not ideological. It is far from being the result of an emotional or philosophical commitment to a party that long ago abandoned its agenda of promoting secular Arab republican values and aspirations. The regime's ruthless attachment to power lies in a complex web of tribal loyalties and networks of patronage underpinned by a uniquely powerful religious bond.

The Alawis of Syria, who make up only 12 percent of its population, split from the main branch of Shiism more than a thousand years ago. Before the twentieth century they were usually referred to as

Nusayris, after their eponymous founder Ibn Nusayr, who lived in Iraq during the ninth century. Taking refuge in the mountains above the port of Latakia, on the coastal strip between modern Lebanon and Turkey, they evolved a highly secretive syncretistic theology containing an amalgam of Neoplatonic, Gnostic, Christian, Muslim, and Zoroastrian elements. Their leading theologian, Abdullah al-Khasibi, who died in 957, proclaimed the divinity of Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, whom other Shiites revere but do not worship. Like many Shiites influenced by ancient Gnostic teachings that predate Islam, they believe that the way to salvation and knowledge lies through a succession of divine emanations. Acknowledging a line of prophets or avatars beginning with Adam and culminating in Christ and Muhammad, they include several figures from classical antiquity in their list, such as Socrates, Plato, Galen, and some of the pre-Islamic Persian masters.

Nusayrism could be described as a folk religion that absorbed many of the spiritual and intellectual currents of late antiquity and early Islam, packaged into a body of teachings that placed its followers beyond the boundaries of orthodoxy. Mainstream Muslims, both Sunni and Shia, regarded them as ghulta, "exaggerators." Like other sectarian groups they protected their tradition by a strategy known as taqiyya—the right to hide one's true beliefs from outsiders in order to avoid persecution. Taqiyya makes a perfect qualification for membership in the mukhabarat—the ubiquitous intelligence/security apparatus that has dominated Syria's government for more than four decades.

Secrecy was also observed by means of a complex system of initiation, in which insiders recognized each other by using special phrases or passwords and neophytes underwent a form of spiritual marriage with the naqibs, or spiritual guides. At this ceremony three superior dignitaries represent a kind of holy trinity of the figures who

feature in other Nusayri rituals, namely Ali, Muhammad, and Salman al-Farisi (the Persian companion of Muhammad who in several Islamic traditions forms a link between the Arabs and the wisdom of ancient Persia). Nusayri rituals, performed in private homes or out-of-the-way places, include a ceremony known as Qurban—almost identical to the mass—where wine is consecrated and imbibed in the Christian manner. As Matti Moosa, a leading scholar of the Nusayris, states in his seminal study Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects (1988):

The Christian elements in the Nusayri religion are unmistakable. They include the concept of trinity; the celebration of Christmas, the consecration of the Qurban, that is, the sacrament of the flesh and blood which Christ offered to His disciples, and, most important, the celebration of the Quddas [a lengthy prayer proclaiming the divine attributes of Ali and the personification of all the biblical patriarchs from Adam to Simon Peter, founder of the Church, who is seen, paradoxically, as the embodiment of true Islam].

Moosa suggests that like other schismatic groups residing in Syria, such as the Druzes and Ismailis, the Nusayris do not take their beliefs literally, but understand them as allegorical ways of reaching out to the divine. While this may be true of the educated naqibs, or spiritual elders, such belief systems may have different ramifications for semiliterate peasants, reinforcing a contempt or disdain for outsiders who do not share these beliefs. Like the Druzes and some Ismailis, Nusayris believe in metempsychosis or transmigration. The souls of the wicked pass into unclean animals such as dogs and pigs, while the souls of the righteous enter human bodies more perfect than their present ones. The howls of jackals that can be heard at night are the souls of Sunni Muslims calling their misguided co-religionists to prayer.

It does not take much imagination to see how such beliefs, programmed into the community's values for more than a millennium, and reinforced by customs such as endogamous marriage—according to which the children of unions between Nusayris and non-Nusayris cannot be initiated into the sect—create very strong notions of apartness and disdain for the "Other."

The great Arab philosopher of history Ibn Khaldun, who died in 1406, elaborated the concept of 'asabiyya—variously translated as clannism or group solidarity—that provides a more adequate explanation of the political systems operating in many Arab countries than notions based on imported ideologies such as communism, nationalism, and socialism. Ibn Khaldun's analysis was based on his native North Africa, but it can be adapted to the conditions of the Mashreq, or Levant—where similar historical conditions prevailed. As Albert Hourani explained in his magisterial History of the Arab Peoples (1991), 'asabiyya is a force that informs the patriarchal family order that still underpins the structure of power in many Arab societies.

In the past, as Hourani pointed out, a ruler with 'asabiyya was well placed to found a dynasty, since the merchant classes of the cities, untrained in the military arts and without powerful corporate structures, tended to lack this quality. Moreover, when dynastic rule achieved in this way was stable and prosperous, city life flourished. But in Ibn Khaldun's time every dynasty bore within itself the seeds of decline, as rulers degenerated into tyrants or became corrupted by luxurious living. In due course power would pass to a new group of hardy rulers from the margins after a period of turbulence often described as fitna, or disorder (a term with overtones of sexual disharmony, for in the family context, fitna is seen as the outcome of sexual misconduct).

The rise and possible fall of the Assad dynasty would provide a perfect illustration of the Khaldunian paradigm under recent postcolonial conditions. Under Ottoman rule the Nusayris were impoverished outsiders struggling on the social margins. In addition to feuding among themselves, they were fierce rivals of the Ismailis, whom they expelled from their highland refuges and castles, forcing them to settle in the more arid lands east of Homs. The Ottoman governors regarded them as nonbelievers and tools of the Shiite Persians: they were not even accorded the dignity of a millet, or recognized religious community.

When the French took over Greater Syria after World War I (including modern Lebanon and parts of modern Turkey), they flirted briefly with the idea of creating a highland Alawi state of 300,000 people separate from the cities of the plains—Homs, Hama, Damascus, and Aleppo—with their dominant Sunni majorities. The French rightly believed that the Sunni majority would be most resistant to their rule. Like other minorities the Alawis, as they preferred to be called, saw the French as protectors. In 1936, six Alawi notables sent a memorandum to Leon Blum, head of France's Popular Front government, expressing their loyalty to France and their concern at negotiations leading to independence in a parliamentary system dominated by the Sunni majority. The memorandum includes the following points:

• The Alawi people, who have preserved their independence year after year with great zeal and sacrifices, are different from the Sunni Muslims. They were never subject to the authority of the cities of the interior.

• The Alawis refuse to be annexed to Muslim Syria because in Syria the official religion of the state is Islam, and according to Islam the Alawis are considered infidels.

• The granting of independence to Syria…constitutes a good example of the socialist principles in Syria…. [But] as to the presence of a parliament and a constitutional government, that does not represent individual freedom. This parliamentary rule is no more than false appearances without any value. In truth, it covers up a regime dominated by religious fanaticism against the minorities. Do French leaders want the Muslims to have control over the Alawi people in order to throw them into misery?
• We can sense today how the Muslim citizens of Damascus force the Jews who live among them to sign a document pledging that they will not send provisions to their ill-fated brethren in Palestine. The condition of the Jews in Palestine is the strongest and most explicit evidence of the militancy of the Islamic issue vis-à-vis those who do not belong to Islam. These good Jews contributed to the Arabs with civilization and peace, scattered gold, and established prosperity in Palestine without harming anyone or taking anything by force, yet the Muslims declare holy war against them and never hesitated in slaughtering their women and children, despite the presence of England in Palestine and France in Syria. Therefore a dark fate awaits the Jews and other minorities in case the Mandate is abolished and Muslim Syria is united with Muslim Palestine…the ultimate goal of the Muslim Arabs.

One of the signatories to this document was Sulayman al-Assad, a minor chief of the Kalbiya clan and father of Hafez al-Assad.

The ‘asabiyya of the Alawis was carefully exploited by the French, who polished the Khaldunian model by giving them military training as members of the Troupes Spéciales du Levant. In the turbulent years that followed full independence in 1946, their military know-how proved valuable. Bright members of the sect such as Hafez al-Assad, whose families could not afford to send them to university, joined the armed forces and were drawn to secular parties, such as the

Baath (renaissance) party jointly founded by two intellectuals, Michel Aflaq and Salah al-Din Bitar, with an agenda explicitly aimed at overcoming sectarian divisions.

It would be wrong to suppose that the Alawis deliberately sought to subvert or take over the Baath or the armed forces. Their primary impulse was their own security. After independence the Syrian parliament abolished the separate representation for minorities instituted by the French, along with certain judicial rights. Nusayri sheikhs and notables encouraged young men to join the Baath because they believed its secular outlook would protect them from Sunni hegemony and persecution. Other minorities, including Christians, Druzes, and Ismailis, tended to join the Baath (or in some cases the Communist Party and Syrian Socialist National Party) for similar reasons. The eventual dominance achieved by the Alawis may be attributed to their highland military background and the default logic by which ‘asabiyya tends to assert itself in the absence of other, more durable structures.

The first three military coups that followed Syrian independence were engineered by Sunni officers. This was followed by the disastrous union with Nasser’s Egypt in 1958 when Baath party leaders, following their pan-Arabist nationalist logic, merged their country’s identity into that of their more powerful Sunni neighbor. After Syria formally united with Egypt, Nusayri officers who had joined the Baath party became increasingly alarmed that Arab nationalism, for all its secular rhetoric, was really a veil concealing Arab Sunni supremacy. They formed a clandestine military committee led by Salah Jadid, an Alawi, which took power in a military coup in 1963. Hafez al-Assad, trained as a fighter pilot, became air force commander. Some seven hundred officers were purged, and most of their positions were filled with Nusayris. A further coup against the Baathist old guard brought Assad into the cabinet as defense minister

in 1966, a position he cleverly exploited after Syria's defeat by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967, after which it was alleged that the regime had had secret dealings with the Jewish state. A "palace coup" inside the leadership brought Assad to power as president in 1970. Thereafter the power of the state was firmly concentrated in Alawi hands. Of the officers commanding the 47th Syrian Tank Brigade, which was responsible for suppressing the Muslim Brotherhood's rebellion in the city of Hama in 1982 at a cost of some 20,000 lives, 70 percent are reported to have been Alawis. When Hafez al-Assad died in June 2000, the constitutional niceties were rapidly dispensed with to ensure the succession of his son Bashar, who had studied ophthalmology in England. Fearful that Hafez's exiled younger brother Rifaat al-Assad, who had commanded the Hama operation, would try to take over, a hastily convened session of the People's Assembly voted to lower the minimum age for a president from forty to thirty-four, the exact age of Bashar al-Assad.

In the welter of violence now accompanying the regime's determined efforts to suppress the demonstrations, its achievements should not be forgotten or ignored. While its massacre in Hama was horrendous and it has an abysmal record on human rights, engaging in torture and severe political repression, it had a good, even excellent one when it came to protecting the pluralism of the religious culture that is one of Syria's most enduring and attractive qualities. Some of these virtues are captured in Brooke Allen's engaging account of her travels in Syria, The Other Side of the Mirror, where she meets ordinary people from different backgrounds and rejoices in the natural friendliness of Syria's people and the extraordinary richness of its past. Instead of the Soviet-style grayness she expected to find from accounts in the US media, she discovers a sophisticated cosmopolitan society where life is being lived in many different styles and varieties, "totally unselfconsciously, just as it has been for thousands of years."

In Aleppo, a jewel among cities, with its commanding citadel and labyrinthine, covered souk, she sees fully veiled ladies, exotic bedouin women displaying bright spots of color, and wealthy Gulf Arabs wearing white robes rubbing shoulders with men riding donkeys and mixing with "trophy girlfriends" in miniskirts teetering perilously on the ultra-high-heeled shoes that Aleppans evidently consider to be the height of fashion.

Having been in Aleppo recently, I can vouch for the accuracy of her descriptions. Visiting several mosques, churches, and shrines, she provides impressive testimony of the country's religious diversity and the regime's commitment to religious freedom. It would be tragic if the pursuit of democracy led to the shredding of this bright human canopy, where religious and cultural differences seem to have flourished under the iron grip of a minority sectarian regime.

—Rome, May 11, 2011

Malise Ruthven is the author of Islam: A Very Short Introduction, Islam in the World: The Divine Supermarket (a study of Christian fundamentalism), A Fury for God: The Islamist Attack on America, and A Satanic Affair: Salman Rushdie and the Wrath of Islam.

Where are the Epstein records?

By JULIE K. BROWN
Miami Herald

Three months have passed since a judicial panel in New York heard arguments to unseal documents that could reveal whether federal prosecutors covered up evidence that New York financier Jeffrey Epstein and others were running an underage sex trafficking operation.

In March, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit seemed poised to release some documents in the case. The records involve Epstein's one-time partner, Ghislaine Maxwell, who has been accused of helping him recruit and sexually exploit girls and young women in various locations around the United States and abroad in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Jeffrey Epstein

The appeals panel gave all parties in the case until March 29 to file additional pleadings. Several challenges were subsequently filed, but the court has yet to make a final ruling.

The Miami Herald — one of the interveners in the case — has submitted a letter to the court urging the judges to follow through on the case in the wake of a controversial Justice Department decision last week. In a 35-page motion, filed June 24, federal prosecutors in Georgia declared that they would not set aside Epstein's federal non-prosecution agreement.

The Georgia decision dealt another blow to Epstein's victims who have been fighting for a decade to have the deal thrown out and to pressure the Justice Department to prosecute the 66-year-old multimillionaire on sex trafficking charges. It also means that the Justice Department has no intention of allowing Epstein's victims and the public to examine the facts of Epstein's case and reach their own conclusions, the Herald argues in the letter.

In February, a federal judge in Florida, Kenneth A. Marra, ruled in the victims' favor, saying that the government violated the Crime Victims' Right Act when it failed to inform Epstein's victims that prosecutors had secretly disposed of the case.

Marra ordered the government and attorneys for the victims to come up with remedies to address the federal violation.

U.S. Attorney Byung Pak responded last week, saying that Epstein's victims are free to express their displeasure about what prosecutors did, but they have no right under the law to demand anything from the government — not even an apology.

Sanford L. Bohrer, the Miami Herald's attorney, said that Pak's decision highlights the pressing need for the New York appeals court to expedite unsealing the documents in Maxwell's case.

That case is a 2015 defamation lawsuit filed against Maxwell, the daughter of the late British media mogul Robert Maxwell. Maxwell, now 57 and an environmentalist, has been accused of assisting Epstein in the trafficking of underage girls and young women to powerful and wealthy politicians, lawyers, scientists and businessmen.

She has denied the allegations and has never been charged with any crimes.

The Herald's lawyer contends that the Justice Department's decision last week shows that the government continues to evade public accountability and, therefore, it's more urgent than ever that the Maxwell case be made public.

"[Pak's] submission makes clear that access to the documents that [the Herald and other parties] seek in [the Maxwell] matter remains an issue of critical public concern," Bohrer wrote in a letter to Catherine O'Hagan Wolfe, clerk of the court for the appeals panel. He said the government "essentially argues that Epstein's victims are not entitled to any meaningful redress, including partial rescission, declaratory relief and specific injunctive relief requested."

In 2008, the FBI had identified nearly three dozen underage victims who were allegedly lured to Epstein's mansion in Palm Beach under the pretext that he would pay them for massages. The girls, mostly 13 to 16 years old, were groomed by Epstein and others who worked for him to engage in sex acts with him and others, the evidence showed.

In November, the Miami Herald published an investigation that examined how then-Miami U.S. Attorney Alexander Acosta negotiated a secret non-prosecution agreement that resulted in Epstein receiving an extraordinarily light sentence.

Acosta, who is now President Donald Trump's labor secretary, ensured that the agreement was sealed so that no one — not even the victims — would know the scope of Epstein's crimes or who was involved. Epstein's lawyers worked together with prosecutors to limit public scrutiny of the case, and arranged for Epstein to quietly plead guilty to lesser charges in state court, the Herald series revealed.

The handling of the case is now under investigation by the Department of Justice.

As part of the Herald's series, the newspaper went to court in 2018 to unseal the Maxwell case, which was settled in 2017. A contingent of other media companies, a conservative social media blogger and Epstein's lawyer, Alan Dershowitz, are also seeking to have the Maxwell case made public.

The defamation case was filed against Maxwell by Virginia Roberts Giuffre, who claims she was recruited by Maxwell when she was 16 and working as a spa attendant at Mar-a-Lago, Trump's lavish country club in Palm Beach. In court papers, she claimed that Epstein and Maxwell directed her to have sex with public figures. In a sworn affidavit, she has named Prince Andrew and Dershowitz as among those she had sex with when she was underage. Both the prince and the famed lawyer have denied her claims.

Dershowitz wants the Maxwell case made public because he says that the documents will exonerate him. Also party to the appeal is social media blogger Michael Cernovich.

Based on the court filings, the case is believed to contain a range of evidence, including testimony from other possible underage victims who were trafficked. All parties in the case, including the Herald, have agreed to redact the names of minors and other details that would identify victims.

Maxwell is the sole party fighting to keep the entire record sealed. Two other currently unidentified people, labeling themselves as John Does, have filed legal briefs in an attempt to conceal personal information that could connect them to the alleged underage sex trafficking operation.

Epstein, who was not party to the Maxwell suit, has denied that he ran a sex trafficking operation, and his attorneys say that the number of victims involved has been "vastly exaggerated" by the media.

In addition to Florida and N.Y., Epstein lives on Little St. James Island off St. Thomas.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/17/2009 5:54:29 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump Soho

I spoke to henri and bob,, henri tried hard to bullshit me, telling me he had talked to the studios and felt comfortable he could raise over 100 million in guaranteed distribution, I checked , and of course , it turned out to be smoke. I like bob, and would have hope your friend would have more respect for. him. I will look in to trump.

On Wed, Dec 16, 2009 at 10:54 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:

> Just heard from an insider that they will probably go into foreclosure ...the deal is done and dead....building is complete ready to open in Feb
> Only 30%/ 35% sold...hardly any can actually close.
> Not sure if this is interesting....can have you talk to the developer (Sapir)
> Hope all is well....

--

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The information contained in this communication is confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may constitute inside information, and is intended only for the use of the addressee. It is the property of
Jeffrey Epstein
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/19/2009 8:06:51 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re:

no but as bonuses get paid in jan , the fear is a renewal of the bonus tax.

On Fri, Dec 18, 2009 at 10:30 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:

On way to Delhi from Bangalore. Do you think Obama persuadable to introduce a (Tobin) fin transaction tax ?

Sent from my BlackBerry® wireless device

From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, 18 Dec 2009 06:39:00 -0500
To: PETER MANDELSON<[redacted]>
Subject:

feel better?

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and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/19/2009 8:25:45 AM
To: Peggy Siegal [redacted]
Subject: Re: Kenya

you will be amazed by the aroma

On Sat, Dec 19, 2009 at 3:24 AM, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]> wrote:

> We are sitting in the Amsterdam airport about to take off for Nair. Headed to Cottar's Camp in the Masai Mara....got Mattie in tow...she is dressed as a runaway in ripped jeans and a hoodie and sits on the floor of every airport repacking her knapsack. She is now passed out, like the homeless. Will take photos and send.
>
> We are going to photograph ourselves with the Masai in the mud huts and say we crashed the winter White house and are posing with Obama's relatives. Miss you. Keep you posted.
> Did you see Sarah, the D on tv or speak to her?
> xoxo Peg

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Jeffrey Epstein
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 8/12/2016 2:54:25 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur
Attachments: image002.jpg

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: [redacted]
Date: August 11, 2016 at 7:52:12 PM PDT
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: FW: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

From: Pizzurro, Frank (LA) <[redacted]>>
Date: Thursday, Aug 11, 2016, 7:41 PM
To: Dunlavey, Dean (OC) <[redacted]>>, Schecter, Daniel (CC) <[redacted]>, Mohebbi, Nima (LA) <[redacted]>>, Ruemmler, Kathy (DC) <[redacted]>>
Cc: #L&W BD PR (US) <#[redacted]<mailto:#[redacted]>>, Wine, Jamie (NY) <[redacted]>>, Bruno, Nicole (NY) <[redacted]>>, Harris, Nicole (CH) <[redacted]>>, Greenberg, Jeffrey (LA-NY) <[redacted]>>, Bauer, Steve (SF-BR) <[redacted]>>, Moore, Wendy (OC) <[redacted]>>, Jennings, Alex (LA) <[redacted]>>, Robins, Greg (LA) <[redacted]n>>
Subject: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

The LA Times appears to be the first media to report on the verdict. Latham references are highlighted:

BUSINESS

Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur<http://fw.to/aXv1QHI>

[Farooq Bajwa]
Farooq Bajwa

By Andrew Khouri
August 11, 2016

A federal jury decided Thursday that one of the Middle East's most prominent banks did not commit fraud and steal technology from an Irvine firm that sued it for half a billion dollars in damages after their partnership collapsed.
Orange County company InfoSpan had alleged that Emirates NBD ended a partnership for a mobile payment system because it didn't want to share revenue and stole InfoSpan's technology to launch its own service.
The Dubai-based bank, in turn, denied it stole or ever used InfoSpan's technology. It argued that it cancelled the partnership because InfoSpan couldn't produce a working product and misled it into thinking it was an established company, not one with little to no track record.
After deliberating for a day, the jury unanimously decided that InfoSpan did not prove its case of fraud and theft of trade secrets.
InfoSpan had asked for $540 million in damages. An attorney for InfoSpan declined to comment on the possibility of an appeal.
The verdict capped a two-week trial that involved dueling accusations of fraud levied by high-profile attorneys on both sides, including the former White House counsel to President Obama.
At the center of the high-stakes battle was San Juan Capistrano resident and entrepreneur Farooq Bajwa and a mobile payment system that he said would allow migrant workers in the Middle East to send remittances back home through text messages.
Bajwa contended that InfoSpan, with support from outside investors, spent $87 million developing the business and technology.
To launch the system, known as SpanCash, Bajwa partnered in 2007 with Emirates Bank, which is controlled by the United Arab Emirates' sovereign wealth fund.
It seemed the ideal collaboration for the Pakistani immigrant, who earned millions operating another Irvine company that manufactured computer components in the 1980s and 1990s
The Gulf States rely heavily on migrants to work construction and other low-wage jobs, offering a ready-made market for SpanCash. InfoSpan aimed to allow migrants to transfer money back home far more cheaply than Western Union or hawala, a traditional Middle Eastern broker-to-broker money transfer system.
A study from McKinsey & Co., cited in court records, projected annual revenue of $3.5 billion by the deal's fifth year, with InfoSpan receiving more than $2.8 billion in fees.
But the relationship between InfoSpan and Emirates Bank soured and the bank cancelled the deal in 2009.
A few days later, Emirates filed a criminal complaint in Dubai against Bajwa and a partner alleging that they defrauded the bank and misrepresented InfoSpan as an established business with a working technology.
Two years later, InfoSpan sued in U.S. District Court in Santa Ana and alleged that its technology was working and that it delivered its source code to the bank on servers. Emirates ended the deal, InfoSpan said, to launch its own mobile payment system after stealing InfoSpan's technology.
In court, an attorney for InfoSpan argued that Emirates torpedoed the InfoSpan relationship because it abhorred how much money it would have to share with the Irvine firm.
"They wanted SpanCash and they wanted the money," attorney William A. Isaacson said in his closing arguments Wednesday.
Isaacson – a partner with powerhouse law firm Boies Schiller & Flexner, chaired by high-profile litigator David Boies – argued that the bank resorted to "pure extortion" in an attempt to get its way.
As a result of the bank's criminal complaint, InfoSpan alleged Bajwa's partner, Larry Scudder, was detained at the Dubai International Airport and taken to a cell where he was locked in with 30 other men for 19 hours until he secured his release by turning over his passport.
According to the lawsuit, Bajwa tried to resolve the situation but was told Scudder's passport would be released and he could leave the country only if InfoSpan gave up ownership and control of SpanCash to the bank.
Six months later, the bank withdrew the fraud accusations and Scudder got his passport back, but SpanCash's reputation was tarnished and it collapsed, Bajwa previously told The Times.
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"I am just beat up," he said.
Phil Hirschkorn contributed to this report.
[redacted]
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Frank Pizzurro
Public Relations Senior Manager

LATHAM & WATKINS LLP
355 South Grand Avenue | Los Angeles, CA 90071-1560
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From: Kathy Ruemmler[redacted]
Sent: 8/12/2016 12:38:13 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

Importance: High

Yes

On Aug 12, 2016, at 7:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Awake?

On Thursday, August 11, 2016, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Cool

On Thursday, 11 August 2016, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]>
Date: August 11, 2016 at 7:52:12 PM PDT
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: FW: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

From: Pizzurro, Frank (LA) <[redacted]>>
Date: Thursday, Aug 11, 2016, 7:41 PM
To: Dunlavey, Dean (OC) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, Schecter, Daniel (CC) <[redacted]m<mailto:[redacted]>>, Mohebbi, Nima (LA) <[redacted]<mailto[redacted]>>, Ruemmler, Kathy (DC) <[redacted]<mailto[redacted]>>
Cc: #L&W BD PR (US) <#[redacted]<mailto:#L&WBDPRUS@LW.com>>, Wine, Jamie (NY) <[redacted]mailto:.[redacted]>>, Bruno, Nicole (NY) <[redacted]<mailto[redacted]>>, Harris, Nicole (CH) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]n>>, Greenberg, Jeffrey (LA-NY) <[redacted]n<mailto:[redacted]>>, Bauer, Steve (SF-BR) <[redacted]<mailto:s[redacted]>>, Moore, Wendy (OC) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]n>>, Jennings, Alex (LA) <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]n>>, Robins, Greg (LA) <[redacted]n<mailto:[redacted]n>>
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The Dubai-based bank, in turn, denied it stole or ever used InfoSpan's technology. It argued that it cancelled the partnership because InfoSpan couldn't produce a working product and misled it into thinking it was an established company, not one with little to no track record.
After deliberating for a day, the jury unanimously decided that InfoSpan did not prove its case of fraud and theft of trade secrets.
InfoSpan had asked for $540 million in damages. An attorney for InfoSpan declined to comment on the possibility of an appeal.
The verdict capped a two-week trial that involved dueling accusations of fraud levied by high-profile attorneys on both sides, including the former White House counsel to President Obama.
At the center of the high-stakes battle was San Juan Capistrano resident and entrepreneur Farooq Bajwa and a mobile payment system that he said would allow migrant workers in the Middle East to send remittances back home through text messages.
Bajwa contended that InfoSpan, with support from outside investors, spent $87 million developing the business and technology.
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It seemed the ideal collaboration for the Pakistani immigrant, who earned millions operating another Irvine company that manufactured computer components in the 1980s and 1990s
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But the relationship between InfoSpan and Emirates Bank soured and the bank cancelled the deal in 2009.
A few days later, Emirates filed a criminal complaint in Dubai against Bajwa and a partner alleging that they defrauded the bank and misrepresented InfoSpan as an established business with a working technology.
Two years later, InfoSpan sued in U.S. District Court in Santa Ana and alleged that its technology was working and that it delivered its source code to the bank on servers. Emirates ended the deal, InfoSpan said, to launch its own mobile payment system after stealing InfoSpan's technology.
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As a result of the bank's criminal complaint, InfoSpan alleged Bajwa's partner, Larry Scudder, was detained at the Dubai International Airport and taken to a cell where he was locked in with 30 other men for 19 hours

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"I am just beat up," he said.
Phil Hirschkorn contributed to this report.
andrew.khouri@latimes.com<mailto:andrew.khouri@latimes.com>
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/12/2016 4:15:15 AM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Re: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

Importance: High
Flag: Follow up

Cool

On Thursday, 11 August 2016, Kathy Ruemmler [redacted] wrote:

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]>
Date: August 11, 2016 at 7:52:12 PM PDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: FW: Press: LA Times - Federal jury decides Middle East bank did not defraud Orange County entrepreneur

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Cc: #L&W BD PR (US) [redacted], Wine, Jamie (NY) <[redacted]>, Bruno, Nicole (NY) <[redacted]>>, Harris, Nicole (CH) <[redacted]>>, Greenberg, Jeffrey (LA-NY) <[redacted]>>, Bauer, Steve (SF-BR) <[redacted]>>, Moore, Wendy (OC) <[redacted]>>, Jennings, Alex (LA) <[redacted]>>, Robins, Greg (LA) <[redacted]>
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Public Relations Senior Manager

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/20/2014 10:41:12 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

I signed the lease in my name for a year, so I think I am pretty stuck. It is $11,000 a month and Latham reimburses me $8000 a month.

On Sep 20, 2014 6:35 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
whose name is the apt in , does it have to be this one? or would another be ok.

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:54 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
It appears that way. I have advised that him staying through the end is the clearly preferable alternative.

On Sep 20, 2014 3:52 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
so is he the alternate in essence

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:49 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Mid-October, but there will be another run at him to reconsider.

On Sep 20, 2014 3:42 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
date certain? hamlet. ?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 2:25 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Date?

On Sep 20, 2014 2:22 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
eric?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 12:59 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
You are on the move. I went out for some retail therapy.

On Sep 20, 2014 12:51 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
now [redacted]

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 10:03 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Oh, sorry. [redacted].

On Sep 20, 2014 10:01 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Boy are you focused , I meant what number to call you on

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
He got 60. Rs controlled the Senate then.

On Sep 20, 2014 9:44 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Number?

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Wow

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, Kathy Ruemmler <kathyruemmler@gmail.com> wrote:

http://en.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Floor_Statement_of_Senator_Barack_Obama_on_the_Nomination_of_Alberto_Gonzales_for_Attorney_General

Sent from my iPad

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/20/2014 11:13:01 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

Furnished

On Sep 20, 2014 7:12 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
furnished or un?

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From: Kathy Ruemmler[redacted]
Sent: 9/21/2014 1:02:01 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Floor Statement of Senator Barack Obama on the Nomination of Alberto Gonzales for Attorney General - Wikisource, the free online library

Importance: High

I will. I drank too much wine last night and am dragging a bit this morning.

On Sep 21, 2014 5:15 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
my chef is in from paris, stay hungry

On Sun, Sep 21, 2014 at 12:55 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Will be there at 1.

On Sep 20, 2014 7:54 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
ok 1?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 7:45 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
I won't get back to the city until @ 11:30, unfortunately.

On Sep 20, 2014 7:43 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
see you at 1030? tomor?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 7:13 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Furnished

On Sep 20, 2014 7:12 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
furnished or un?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 6:41 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
I signed the lease in my name for a year, so I think I am pretty stuck. It is $11,000 a month and Latham reimburses me $8000 a month.

On Sep 20, 2014 6:35 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
whose name is the apt in , does it have to be this one? or would another be ok.

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:54 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
It appears that way. I have advised that him staying through the end is the clearly preferable alternative.

On Sep 20, 2014 3:52 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
so is he the alternate in essence

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 3:49 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Mid-October, but there will be another run at him to reconsider.

On Sep 20, 2014 3:42 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
date certain? hamlet. ?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 2:25 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Date?

On Sep 20, 2014 2:22 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
eric?

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 12:59 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
You are on the move. I went out for some retail therapy.

On Sep 20, 2014 12:51 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
now [redacted]

On Sat, Sep 20, 2014 at 10:03 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Oh, sorry. [redacted]

On Sep 20, 2014 10:01 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Boy are you focused , I meant what number to call you on

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
He got 60. Rs controlled the Senate then.

On Sep 20, 2014 9:44 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Number?

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Wow

On Saturday, September 20, 2014, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
http://en.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Floor_Statement_of_Senator_Barack_Obama_on_the_Nomination_of_Alberto_Gonzales_for_Attorney_General

Sent from my iPad

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From: Kathy Ruemmler[redacted]
Sent: 2/2/2019 12:56:59 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Got it. Quinn offered a $2 mm signing bonus today. I said not leaving Latham.

On Feb 1, 2019, at 6:26 PM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

do you think trump has the power to declare a national emergency to build the wall?

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Proposal

Introduction

1. What is JASTA?
2. What is the impact of JASTA on KSA politically and economically?

Our approach to find the weaknesses

1. Title
   Content

2. Title
   Content

Timeline

Timeline of our approach

Actions

1. Signing the agreement (Payment method, successful fee)
2. Program Launching

Leaders

Kathryn Ruemmler

- Kathryn is an attorney who formerly served as White House Counsel to President Barack Obama. She previously worked as Principal Deputy White House Counsel.
- Former federal prosecutor who helped lead the government's case against the former executives of Enron.
- In 2006, she delivered the government's closing argument in the trial of former Enron executives Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling.
- She returned to Latham in 2007, this time as a partner.
- From 2000 to 2001 she served as Associate Counsel to President Clinton.
- She was a litigation partner in the Washington, D.C. office of Latham & Watkins from 2007
- She serve as principal associate deputy attorney general at the Justice Department.
- In 2014 Ruemmler was speculated as being a potential candidate as the next United States Attorney General

Ken Starr

- Ken Starr is an American lawyer who has also been a federal judge and U.S. Solicitor General.
- Former President and Chancellor of Baylor University
- Held the Louise L. Morrison Chair of Constitutional Law at Baylor University Law School.
- He carried out a controversial investigation of members of the Clinton administration.
- Starr served as a federal Court of Appeals judge and as solicitor general for George H. W. Bush.
- He received the most publicity for his tenure as independent counsel while Bill Clinton was U.S. president.
- The three-judge panel charged with administering the Independent Counsel Act later expanded the inquiry into numerous areas including an extramarital affair that Bill Clinton had with Monica Lewinsky.
- After several years of investigation, Starr filed the Starr Report, which alleged that Bill Clinton had lied about the existence of the affair during a sworn deposition.

From: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 5/29/2019 5:19:07 PM
To: 'J' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]
Subject: CONFIDENTIAL

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.
20 Park Plaza
Suite 1000
Boston, MA 02116
[redacted] - Office
[redacted] - Cell
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From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2019 12:48 PM
To: Martin G. Weinberg <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: FW: Reporter question

Privileged - Redacted

On Wed, May 29, 2019 at 12:45 PM Martin G. Weinberg [redacted] wrote:

Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.
20 Park Plaza
Suite 1000
Boston, MA 02116
[redacted] - Office
[redacted] - Cell
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From: Kate Briquelet <[redacted]>
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2019 12:34 PM
To: Martin Weinberg <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Reporter question

Hi Marty,

Hope all is well. Noticed this Guardian story about Michael Wolff's new book, which states Donald Trump purchased a Palm Beach property Mr. Epstein had planned to buy, behind Mr. Epstein's back. And that Mr. Epstein threatened to expose Trump's shady real estate deals. Do you know anything about this? Does Mr. Epstein have any knowledge of illegal or suspicious dealings by President Trump?

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/28/bannon-trump-organization-criminal-enterprise-comments-michael-wolff-book

Also, we plan on running a story this Friday about the Crime Victims' Rights Act suit, and the Jane Does' proposed remedies. The alleged victims want the U.S. Attorney's Office to rescind the immunity provisions in the NPA, and to pursue a prosecution against Mr. Epstein and his co-conspirators. Can you comment on this?

Thanks so much!

Kate

Kate Briquelet
Senior Reporter
P[redacted]

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From: Daniel Siad [redacted]
Sent: 7/24/2010 1:32:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

the other girl name is **Anastasia kuznetsova**

On Sat, Jul 24, 2010 at 2:28 PM, Daniel Siad <[redacted]> wrote:

Can you call me
I am with tigrane he would like to meet you he is here with me in Ibiza with 8 top girls he said he would like to build some thing with you
can you come to Ibiza we have a huge house or how can we orgnise this meeting even Jean Luc could doo a great biz also
he has the most amizing top models on stand by I told him not to do any deals with anybody before he meet with you .
he stoped working with IMG and Trump wi here please call me and let me know what is your plans
[redacted]
warmest regards
Daniel

On Fri, Jul 23, 2010 at 2:38 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

what is your schedule?

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Date: Saturday, July 24 2010 04:13 PM
Subject: Re:
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Daniel Siad [redacted];

i will be in paris tomooorw night

On Sat, Jul 24, 2010 at 9:32 AM, Daniel Siad <[redacted]> wrote:

the other girl name is **Anastasia kuznetsova**

On Sat, Jul 24, 2010 at 2:28 PM, Daniel Siad <[redacted]> wrote:

Can you call me
I am with tigrane he would like to meet you he is here with me in Ibiza with 8 top girls he said he would like to build some thing with you
can you come to Ibiza we have a huge house or how can we orgnise this meeting even Jean Luc could doo a great biz also
he has the most amizing top models on stand by I told him not to do any deals with anybody before he meet with you .
he stoped working with IMG and Trump wi here please call me and let me know what is your plans
[redacted]
warmest regards
Daniel

On Fri, Jul 23, 2010 at 2:38 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

what is your schedule?

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22 June, 2011

Article 1.	The Washington Post **Avoiding a summer of blood** David Ignatius
Article 2.	Project Syndicate **The Middle East's Slow-Motion Revolution** Prince El Hassan bin Talal
Article 3.	Stratfor **Turkey's Inevitable Problems With Neighbors**
Article 4.	Agence Global **A Defiant Asad Sticks to His Guns** Patrick Seale
Article 5.	Foreign Policy In Focus **Egypt's Evolving Foreign Policy** Richard Javad Heydarian
Article 6.	Foreign Affairs **How Fatah-Hamas Unity Threatens U.S. Funding** Douglas N. Greenburg and Derek D. Smith
Article 7.	TIME **Why the Muslim Brotherhood Are Egypt's Best Democrats** Bobby Ghosh

Article 1.

The Washington Post

Avoiding a summer of blood

David Ignatius

June 22 -- “Peace is at hand,” Henry Kissinger famously announced in October 1972 after a seeming breakthrough in Vietnam negotiations. But it wasn’t at hand. It took three more months to complete the Paris Peace Accords, which collapsed in 1975 when North Vietnam overran Saigon.

This Vietnam history is a caution against premature optimism about diplomatic solutions to deeply embedded conflicts, such as the one in Afghanistan. But the fact remains, as is so often stated, that there is no military solution to such conflicts. The challenge is creating a dialogue among people who profoundly mistrust each other — and averting a pell-mell civil war.

President Obama is embracing the logic of a political settlement for Afghanistan with his speech Wednesday night. With Osama bin Laden dead, Obama can claim that America’s core mission of combating al-Qaeda is succeeding. He can bring some troops home and step up diplomatic negotiations with the Taliban to reach a broad peace deal by 2014.

Obama’s strategy for the Afghanistan negotiations highlights two factors that could also be relevant in the increasingly messy conflicts in Libya and Syria. First, the dialogue must be sponsored by people inside the country that’s facing internal strife. The United States may encourage contacts, but the process has to be “Afghan-led,” or “Libyan-led,” or “Syrian-led.” Second, this dialogue requires a regional framework, so that the combatants don’t turn to meddling neighbors for help.

America's secret contacts with the Taliban have made progress partly because President Hamid Karzai wants them to succeed and, perhaps more important, because India, Pakistan, Russia and China are also supporting the outreach process — with silent acquiescence from Iran, too. This regional framework is the real exit ramp that will allow withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Let's think about how this diplomatic model might apply to Libya and Syria. In both cases, the insurgents are seen in the West as the "good guys," battling corrupt, autocratic leaders. Personally, I wish that both Moammar Gaddafi and Bashar al-Assad would give up power tomorrow. But that doesn't seem in the cards: Both leaders have shown they're willing to kill thousands of their citizens to hang on, and the rebel movements in both countries seem too weak to displace the dictators by force. Outside military intervention may seem tempting, but it isn't working very well in Libya, and might fare even worse in Syria.

The right goal in Libya and Syria (as in Afghanistan) is a transition to an inclusive, democratic government — with as little bloodshed along the way as possible. The alternative to such a settlement is a protracted conflict that could mean massacres of civilians and, on present evidence, a bloody stalemate that further destabilizes the region.

It's distasteful to contemplate dialogue with leaders such as Gaddafi and Assad who, to put it bluntly, have blood on their hands. But this approach is worth exploring if it can foster a transition to a democratic government — where the autocrats cede power to a coalition that includes reformist elements of the old regime and the opposition.

An emissary who is close to Gaddafi's inner circle has outlined in recent interviews a Libyan formula for transition. He proposes a gradual transfer of power to a new government that would unite the

rebel Transitional National Council with “reconcilables” from the regime. Gaddafi himself would quit Tripoli and give up power, but this would be an outcome of negotiations, rather than a precondition. State Department officials are skeptical, but they should test the emissary’s ability to deliver.

The Syrian case is also complicated by the blood-soaked history of the regime. In a speech Monday, Assad proposed a national dialogue, in which the democratic opposition would select 100 participants to meet with government representatives — and plan elections and a new constitution. Given Assad’s disappointing record, it’s doubtful that he can or will deliver. But it makes sense to test his offer — not least because such a process would terrify Assad’s patrons in Iran. If the dialogue fails, the Syrian demonstrations will be all the more potent, and Assad’s hold weaker.

These internal dialogues should be bolstered by regional support, as with Afghanistan. The right shepherds for Libya are its newly democratic neighbors, Egypt and Tunisia, backed by France, Britain and Germany. In Syria, the obvious mediator-in-waiting is Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, backed by the Gulf countries. Here’s the point: The Arab Spring should not turn into a summer of blood, if there are diplomatic alternatives.

Article 2.

Project Syndicate

The Middle East's Slow-Motion Revolution

Prince El Hassan bin Talal

2011-06-21 -- AMMAN – There seem to be a thousand and one interpretations of the changes sweeping across the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. One response that is often heard is a note of cautious optimism, captured in US President Barack Obama recent speech at the State Department when he referred to the "promise of the future."

But sometimes we also hear the populist smears that have been applied to the Middle East for so long that nothing, it seems – no amount of extraordinary change – can silence them. After the successful revolts in Cairo and Tunis, the slanders abated. Soon, however, the old messages depicting the Middle East as extreme, fundamentalist, and hostile to democracy began to re-insinuate themselves in the West.

On the other hand, ordinary men and women in the West seem to feel an instinctive sympathy toward their counterparts in the Middle East and North Africa, many of whom are paying the ultimate price in fighting for their rights. These sacrifices have convinced many Westerners that the Middle East is not beyond redemption, and that the region's people should be given a chance to enjoy the same liberty that they do.

This clash of perceptions has caught the world's policy experts and analysts off guard. That, too, is not surprising, because the situation remains an amorphous mix of hope and destruction.

But today, in Amman, as in almost every Arab capital, independent meetings and debates about how to move forward are taking place in art galleries, think tanks, salons, ordinary households, and, most significantly, online. A region often depicted as "backward" is debating its destiny both face-to-face and across social networks every second of every day.

Yet tweeting is no substitute for thought. Indeed, the events and personalities that have so far gained attention seem to fill the void where the declarations of freedom and treatises on rights – where the ideas – should be.

The result is the confusion that we now see. Contradictions abound. Governments across the region have been identified as the problem, and yet the state is being called upon to address a social and political agenda that has not yet been fully defined. We are seeing the birth of a more democratic spirit among the region's peoples, but a corresponding sense of democratic responsibility remains underdeveloped.

No matter how influential new media have been, they cannot replace the need for a region-wide "manifesto for change" that all who seek freedom can embrace. Any such manifesto must address the two elephants in the room – Palestine and the price of oil – as well as the extent to which regional water and energy resources, now rapidly depleting, should be shared. (Here, I and experts from around the world have been calling for the creation of a Supranational Commission for Water and Energy to ensure the kind of sustainable resource management that the Strategic Foresight Group has labeled "Blue Peace.")

Of course, generating ideas is easier said than done. By limiting free speech and forcing millions of young people to stay at home without jobs, the only public space left for many people happens to be virtual. Arab governments switched their people off, so their people migrated

online. The result is that an old guard now confronts a new wave, and the two sides think entirely differently and speak at cross-purposes. Whatever the new wave's limitations, its borderless online conversations are offsetting the region's political, religious, social, and cultural balkanization. The people of West Asia and North Africa are talking among themselves, even if their governments remain remote. That is a source of hope, if not yet of the systematic and coherent ideas about how to remake their societies that the region needs.

Cyber-activism has its limits; it cannot, in the end, deliver either democracy or prosperity. Communication may be instant, but, with no coherent animating ideology, the revolution proceeds in slow motion. The battle being fought for the soul of the Middle East cannot be won online, nor can it be subdued through the cynical manipulation of trust and fear. The quality of freedom in the Middle East, as elsewhere, will depend on its supporters' commitment to liberal and democratic values.

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal is chairman and founder of the Arab Thought Forum and the West Asia-North Africa Forum.

Article 3.

Stratfor

Turkey's Inevitable Problems With Neighbors

June 21, 2011 -- Syrian President Bashar al Assad delivered a long and uneventful speech Monday, during which he basically divided Syria's protest society into three categories: the good, the criminal and the Salafi. Assad claimed that instability caused by the latter two was to blame for the delay in implementing reforms. Rather than promising concrete reforms that have been strongly urged by the Turks, the Syrian president emphasized that security had to come first, while trying to present himself as a neutral mediator between the population and security forces. Not surprisingly, the speech fell on deaf ears throughout Syria, but also in Ankara, where the government let its growing impatience show and told the Syrian president once again that he isn't doing enough to satisfy the demands of his people. With more than 10,000 Syrian refugees spilling across the Turkish border to escape the army's siege, the situation in Syria is undoubtedly growing desperate. However, we have not yet seen the red flags that would indicate the al Assad regime is in imminent danger of collapse. The reasons are fairly straightforward. The al Assad clan belongs to Syria's Alawite minority, who only 40 years ago were living under the thumb of the country's majority Sunni population. Four decades in power is not a long time, and vengeance is a powerful force in this part of the world. The Alawites understand that they face an existential crisis, and if they allow their grip over the Baath-dominated political system - and most importantly the military - to loosen even slightly, they will likely become the prime targets of a Sunni vendetta campaign aiming to return the Alawites to their

subservient status. This may explain why al Assad felt the need to stress in his speech that his minority government would not take "revenge" against those who stand down from their protests.
Turkey is understandably nervous about what is happening next door in Syria. Ankara would prefer a Syria ruled by a stable Sunni regime, especially one that would look to Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) for political guidance. However, the Turks can see that Alawite leadership will not leave power without a long and bloody fight. Recreating a sphere of Turkish-modeled Sunni influence in the Levant may be a long-term goal for Ankara, but the Turkish government is certainly not prepared to pay the near-term cost of civil strife in Syria spilling across Turkish borders.
Turkey has so far addressed this dilemma mainly through rhetoric, issuing angry speeches against Syrian leadership, while floating the idea of a military buffer zone for Syrian refugees. For awhile, assuming the role of regional disciplinarian played well to an AKP public-relations strategy that portrayed Turkey as the model for the Arab Spring and the go-to mediator for the Mideast's problems. But the more Syria destabilizes - and with each time it ignores Ankara's demands - the more Turkey risks appearing impotent.
The crisis in Syria will likely lead to a recalibration of Turkish foreign policy. The architect of Turkey's foreign policy, Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, coined the phrase "zero problems with neighbors" to describe the guiding principle of Turkey's interactions with surrounding regimes. Turkey obviously has a problem with Syria's leadership, and not a small one. It is becoming increasingly apparent that Turkey may not yet have what it takes to deal with Syria, beyond issuing rhetorical censures. Establishing a military buffer zone as a safe haven for Syrian refugees not only would call for an international mandate, but would entail Turkish troops occupying foreign land - which would likely set off alarm bells

among Arabs who already suspect Turkey of harboring a so-called neo-Ottoman agenda. Turkey's ardent support for Libyan rebels against Moammar Gadhafi and public backing for Syrian opposition forces have already unnerved Arab monarchist regimes that are trying to undermine the effects of the Arab Spring and are growing distrustful of Turkish intentions. Moreover, any move construed as Turkey trying to facilitate the downfall of the al Assad regime would undoubtedly create problems with Iran, a neighbor Turkey has taken great care to avoid aggravating. Iran relies heavily on the Alawite regime in Syria to maintain a foothold in the Levant through groups like Hezbollah in Lebanon and Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. Since the return of Syria to Sunni control would unravel a key pillar of Iranian deterrent strategy, we can expect that Iran is doing everything possible to undermine the very Syrian opposition forces looking to Ankara for support. Turkey has avoided confrontation with Iran thus far while working quietly to build a Sunni counterbalance to Iranian-backed Shia in Iraq in the face of an impending U.S. withdrawal. A power vacuum in Syria filled by Turkish-backed Sunnis would reinforce a nascent confrontation between Iran and Turkey with deep geopolitical underpinnings. Nations do not have friends; they have interests. And Turkey, an historically influential country sitting on one of the most geopolitically complex pieces of real estate in the world, is now finding that a foreign policy built on avoiding problems with neighbors grinds against reality. In STRATFOR's view, this was inevitable, which is why we took interest in Monday's issue of Today's Zaman, an English-language outlet loyal to the movement of Fethullah Gulen and strongly supportive of the ruling AKP. Two editorials in Monday's publication held that the Syrian crisis has exposed the coming demise of Turkey's "zero problems with neighbors" policy.

That this idea is being introduced into the public discourse is revealing, not only of Turkey's internal debate on this issue, but also of the message that Ankara may be trying to send to the United States and others: It needs time to develop the wherewithal to meaningfully influence its neighborhood. The United States wants Turkey to help shoulder the burden of managing the Middle East as it looks to extricate its military from Iraq. Washington especially needs to develop a strong counterbalance to Iran - a role historically filled by Turkey. This obviously presents a conflict of interests: Washington is trying to push Turkey into a role it's not quite ready for; meanwhile, Turkey is trying to sort out its growing pains while appearing influential abroad.

Turkey's evolution will be difficult and uncomfortable, but this should not come as a surprise. "Zero problems with neighbors" worked well for Turkey at the start of the century, as it came out of its domestic shell, yet took care to avoid being seen as a resurgent power with imperial interests. After a decade of regional conflict, Turkey is finding that problems with neighbors are not only unavoidable, but may even be necessary as the Turkish state redefines its core interests.

Article 4.

Agence Global

A Defiant Asad Sticks to His Guns

Patrick Seale

21 Jun 2011 -- All those dreaming of -- and working for -- 'regime change' in Syria will be outraged by President Bashar al-Asad's speech last Monday, 20 June. They want him out, together with the hate figures around him who have been conducting the brutal repression of the protest movement. But he is not stepping down. He intends to stay on -- and to fight on.

Asad gave no ground to his political enemies. The speech was not, in fact, addressed to them. It was addressed to Syria's 'silent majority' which -- or so the President continues to believe -- aspires to security, stability and national unity, and is terrified, above all, of a sectarian war on the Iraqi model.

The President explained that, in order to understand the nature of the crisis, he had held several meetings in recent weeks with citizens from all parts of the country. He wanted to hear directly from them. The conclusion he had reached was that there were several different components to the protest movement.

First, there were those who had legitimate demands, who wanted justice, democracy and jobs, and the resolution of problems which had accumulated over decades. Their demands could not be ignored. He intended to address them and had already started to do so. But then there were the others -- the criminal outlaws, the blasphemous intellectuals who spoke in the name of religion, the vandals, conspirators and paid agents of foreign powers. Under cover of the protest movement, they had taken up arms against the state!

These conspirators, he said, had called for foreign intervention, they had smeared Syria's image and destroyed public and private property.

They had no respect for state institutions or the rule of law. No reform was possible with such vandals.
He dismissed the argument that Syria was not facing a conspiracy. There was a conspiracy, he declared – designed abroad and perpetrated inside the country. How else to explain the satellite phones, the advanced weapons, the guns mounted on trucks in the hands of his enemies? Syria had always been a target of conspiracy. He had long been under pressure to abandon his principles. (No doubt, by this he meant his Arab nationalist convictions, his alliance with Iran and Hizbullah, his opposition to Israel and the United States.) Syria needed to strengthen its immunity against such conspiracies, he insisted.
In this defiant speech, President Asad made no mention of the abuses of his security services -- the callous use of live fire against civilians, the killing of well over a thousand protesters, the deployment of tanks to besiege rebellious cities, the mass arrests, the beatings and the torture, the flight of terrified refugees across Syria's borders -- a catalogue of outrages which has shattered Syria's reputation and earned it international condemnation. The refugees in Turkey should return home, he said. They would not be punished. The army would protect them. But those who have had a taste of army brutality may not be persuaded by the President's assurances. He did, however, have a word of condolence for bereaved mothers.
The heart of Asad's address was a statement of his ambition to shape a new vision for Syria's future. Reform, he declared, was his firm conviction. His one big idea -- the centrepiece of his speech -- was a plan for a National Dialogue. A special authority had been set up to work out the necessary arrangements for this great debate, which he hoped would provide for the widest possible popular participation. The task was to create a forum where far-reaching political and economic reforms could be discussed, so that legislation could then

be drafted and passed into law. There could be no giant leap into the unknown because decisions taken now would affect Syria for decades to come.

The speech will disappoint all those who had hoped for immediate and dramatic reforms. The President served up a diet of words rather than of actions. He did mention, however, that elections would take place in August, and that among the bills to be discussed would be a new electoral law, a law allowing for the formation of political parties, a media law, a law to give greater powers to municipal authorities, and the need to amend or even entirely rewrite the Constitution. He seemed to be indicating that the notorious Article 8 of the Constitution, which gives the Ba‘th party a “leading role in state and society,” might be scrapped.

This may well prove hard to achieve. Having enjoyed a monopoly on the political scene since 1963, Syria’s Ba‘th party has long since become rigid and Stalinist, and is probably incapable of sharing power with other parties. More battles lie ahead.

To all but his diehard political enemies, President Asad seemed thoughtful and even conciliatory. He did not look like a leader battling for survival. No doubt, the credits outweigh the debits in his personal profit-and-loss account. He knows that he need fear no foreign military intervention: After Libya, no Western power would even contemplate it. Some soldiers have defected to the rebels, but there has been no major split in the army or the security services, or in the regime itself. Whatever disputes and dissensions there may have been in the ruling circle have been carefully hidden from view. He knows that so long as they remain united, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the opposition to topple him.

At the UN and elsewhere, Syria enjoys the protection of Russia -- perhaps concerned for its naval base at Tartus. The Russian view is that the Syrian crisis poses no threat to international peace and

security. China, India, South Africa and Brazil all side with Syria. At home, the country will not face starvation -- this year's wheat harvest is estimated at 3.6m tons. Oil and gas exports have so far not been affected.

On the debit side, however, tourism has collapsed; inward investment has dried up; the increase Asad has decree in the salaries of government bureaucrats is estimated to cost $1bn a year -- driving the government deficit to dangerous heights. If the crisis continues much longer, Syria will need a large cash injection from somewhere, and is probably looking to Qatar. Then there is the unpredictable factor. What if the protests continue and become more violent? Will the merchant middle class, the backbone of the regime, remain loyal? Could the economy take the strain? What might next Friday bring?

I was reached this week on the phone by a well-placed Syrian, close to the regime. "Western condemnation of Syria is pure hypocrisy," he fumed. "Every regime in the world will try to destroy its enemies. Have you heard of a place called Abu Ghraib? Or the hundreds of thousands killed by America in Iraq? Or Israel's massacre in Gaza? Or the 10,000 Palestinians in Israeli jails? If the U.S. and Israel can get away with large-scale killing and torture, why can't we? They claim to act in self-defence, so do we!"

It would seem that lawlessness and contempt for human life are contagious.

Patrick Seale is a leading British writer on the Middle East. His latest book is The Struggle for Arab Independence: Riad el-Solh and the Makers of the Modern Middle East (Cambridge University Press).

Article 5.

Foreign Policy In Focus

Egypt's Evolving Foreign Policy

Richard Javad Heydarian

June 21, 2011 -- Egypt was once a major player in the Middle East, particularly under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1950s and 1960s. Over the last decades, Egypt gradually lost its prestige and influence in the region as it became an introverted autocratic regime. In the post-Nasserite period, Egypt strengthened its ties with Israel, isolated Hamas, repressed domestic Islamic movements, marginalized democratic forces, and confronted regional powers such as Iran. However, with the political demise of Hosni Mubarak the country's foreign policy is gradually moving in a direction that better reflects popular sentiments. The new Egypt is looking to normalize relations with countries like Iran, re-evaluate ties with Israel, and tilt more toward the Palestinian cause. Given its profound cultural capital, powerful military, huge population, and strong economic fundamentals, Egypt could not only regain its regional influence but also play a more assertive and prominent international role. More importantly, the emergence of a democratic system in Egypt could transform the country into a model for the Arab world.

Democratic Earthquake

Domestic factors like corruption, political repression, and desperate economic conditions galvanized the populace against the Egyptian state. But Mubarak's foreign policy doctrine also contributed to the erosion of his political base. The democratic revolution was also a response to the government's complicity in the siege of Gaza, seeming timidity in foreign affairs, and his growing reliance on the United States for the perpetuation of his reign. The High Council of the Armed Forces currently rules Egypt, and the military shows no

sign of making a decisive break with the past. Nevertheless, the new leaders are more wary and sensitive to the qualms of the people. The prosecution of former ministers, officials, and even the former president and his family symbolizes the junta's responsiveness to popular demands. The military's consistently expressed commitment to push through with democratic elections and create a conducive environment for an eventual transition to a civilian democratic political system indicates that the balance of forces has shifted to the people — despite the lingering threat of counterrevolution, mobilization fatigue, and medium-term disenchantment with democracy. The military occupies a position of prestige and privilege in the society, and it is in its best interest to create a smooth transfer of power in succeeding months and years. Perpetuating the policies of the past regime would anger the population. So it's more than likely that the new Egyptian leadership will review the tenets of the former regime's foreign policy architecture. The Islamists are already pre-empting their opponents by talking about how they seek to emulate the Turkish model, where Islam and political moderation coincide, especially in the realm of foreign affairs. Moreover, the Muslim Brotherhood has expressed its interest in occupying more low profile and welfare-oriented executive ministries. So far, the Islamists have not even vied for the position of presidency, content with gaining some parliamentary representation and possibly some influence in the executive branch. The Islamists at this point are more concerned with gaining domestic political support and avoiding any backlash from the military, democrats, and foreign powers. Any Islamist-backed radical departure from the past could justify a crackdown by the military or compromise the country's economic well-being and political stability, which could, in turn, erode broader popular support for their agenda. However, if Israel steps up its aggressive policies in the region — with the West failing to support

the democrats — the Islamists could try to pressure the government — through mass rallies, political mobilization, and populist rhetoric — to abrogate the peace treaty with Israel or to qualitatively shift, if not downgrade, bilateral relations with the United States. Such a dynamic would inadvertently put pressure on post-revolutionary Egypt to be more assertive in its ties with Israel and the West.

The Gushing Wound of Palestine

The Palestinian question has been at the heart of the Arab political discourse for the last seven decades. The 1979 peace deal between Egypt and Israel ushered in an unprecedented phase of strong bilateral cooperation between the two former enemies, but it was also a major cause of the unpopularity of both Sadat and Mubarak. Israel benefited from the cold peace by neutralizing the most powerful conventional force in the Arab world. It even coordinated closely with Egypt on the siege of Gaza.Although the peace accords allowed Egypt to avoid another conflict with Israel and win substantial economic-military aid from the United States, the country's image has suffered a significant blow in the last three decades. Strategically, Egypt's withdrawal from the Arab-Israeli conflict allowed other powers to raise their political profile and regional influence. The resulting strategic vacuum simply shifted the regional balance of power in favor of non-Arab and/or non-traditional powers. Iran, Syria, and Qatar — and later Turkey — have been the biggest beneficiaries of Egypt's neutrality on the Palestinian issue.

Aware of the popular sentiment in favor of the Palestinian cause, the new Egyptian leadership initiated two important policy shifts. First, it re-opened the Rafah border, which has allowed most residents of Gaza to escape the suffocating siege imposed by Israel. Second, Egypt has played an active role in facilitating the unity deal between rival factions in Palestine. The deal represents the best chance for Palestinians to finally form a united front in future negotiations with

Israel and break the oppressive deadlock that has plagued previous negotiations. These two developments may portend more critical foreign policy reformulations, especially on Israeli-Egyptian relations, in coming years.

Reaching out to Others

Anxieties over political change in Egypt are not only confined to the Palestine-Israel equation. Egypt's emerging détente with Iran is beginning to worry not only the United States and Israel, but also monarchies in the Persian Gulf. A year before the 2011 revolution, many prominent leaders in Egypt and the Arab world began to realize the value of normalized relations with Iran. The two countries began to consider the resumption of direct flights between the two nations after 32 years. Also in 2010, the head of the Arab League, Amr Moussa, urged member countries to acknowledge the new geopolitical realities in the region: namely, the rise of non-Arab countries such as Turkey and Iran. He touched on the thorny issue of Iran-Arab tensions by stating, "I realize that some are worried about Iran but that is precisely why we need the dialogue." He reiterated his position after the revolution as he was preparing to run for the presidency in the Egyptian elections:"Iran is not the natural enemy of Arabs… We have a lot to gain by peaceful relations -- or less tense relations -- with Iran." Just weeks after the downfall of Mubarak, Egypt allowed Iranian warships to cross the Suez Canal, provoking uproar among Israelis and even Americans. In succeeding months, the diplomatic flirtation between the two countries took an even more interesting turn when Egyptian Foreign Minister Nabil El-Arabi stated that Egypt was "turning over a new leaf with all countries, including Iran." Iran's Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi immediately expressed his country's appreciation of El-Arabi's comments by expressing his wishes for "expansion in relations." The two ministers met on the sidelines of the Organization of Islamic

Conference (OIC) in Bali, where the OIC expressed its support for improvement of ties between the two major Muslim countries.

Egypt's Changing Role

Gamal Abdel Nasser was the central figure behind the first Arab revolution, which precipitated the withdrawal of colonial powers, Britain and France, from the Middle East. As Saudi Arabia spearheads a regional counter-revolution by abetting repressive monarchs in the Persian Gulf and providing sanctuary to fallen autocrats — with President Saleh of Yemen being among the latest beneficiaries — post-revolutionary Egypt could once again inspire change across the region. Given its size, history, and cultural influence, a successful transition to democracy would undoubtedly transform Egypt into a role model for smaller fellow Arab countries. The era of yes men in the Arab world is beginning to end, and the new Egypt — though it has maintained good ties with the U.S. — will be more assertive and independent in its foreign policy choices. The case of Turkey is very instructive. Despite being a pillar of NATO, and a strong ally of the Unites States, Turkey has repeatedly shown its independence on a number of key regional issues such as Iran's nuclear program, the invasion of Iraq, and the siege of Gaza. There are limits to this independence. Egypt is heavily reliant on aid, investments, tourism, and trade. Economic concerns are still the country's top priority. According to the latest Gallup poll, the majority of Egyptians are extremely pessimistic about the economy. Therefore, the priority of post-revolutionary Egypt's leaders is ultimately the restoration of confidence and economic dynamism. Democrats and Islamists are also aware that the military could choose to intervene — with tacit support from outside — if the democratic process gives birth to a radical government that jeopardizes the interests of the military and the state. This has been the case in other comparable countries such as Turkey and Pakistan, where the military

has also played a central role in determining the destiny of the nation-state. Egypt is still the top U.S. recipient of military assistance after Israel. It is simply too embedded in the U.S. military-industrial complex to risk alienating Washington. So, too, has the financial clout and political weight of the Gulf Cooperation Council made a precipitous Egyptian tilt toward Iran unlikely. Already, the Saudis are reportedly trying to sabotage the emerging rapprochement between the two countries. According to the head of Iran's Interest Section in Cairo Mojtaba Amani, "Saudi Arabia has even threatened to expel 1.5 million workers to dissuade Cairo from the resumption of ties with Tehran." Given these undeniable realities, an abrogation of the Israeli-Egyptian 1979 peace accords or the formation of an axis between Iran and Egypt is not in the offing. Moreover, the Egyptian foreign minister has injected realism into the rapprochement euphoria by indicating that Iran should not expect any substantial improvement in bilateral ties unless a new government is elected. In fact, just recently, Egypt expelled an Iranian on grounds of espionage, denting efforts by both states to improve relations. Nonetheless, Egyptians from across the political spectrum seem to support normalizing ties. A delegation composed of Egyptian academics and civil society leaders recently visited Iran. According to a member of the delegate, Mustafa Nagar, "Iranians believe Egypt is a strong country, not only to put Israel under pressure, but to benefit from the Egyptians themselves, that's why Egypt must restore ties with this great civilization."

The Post-Hegemonic Era

The United States should play a constructive role in the democratic transition of Egypt. Despite anxieties over the possible shift in Cairo's foreign policy doctrine, Washington should ensure that the development of civil democratic institutions is not, again, compromised in the name of stability. The last thing Washington

needs is the emergence of a Pakistan-like political system, where the military controls the state at the expense of economic development, democratization, and political stability. The collapse of Arab autocracies and the impending conflagration in Pakistan should serve as wake-up calls for policymakers in Washington.

Instead of indiscriminately throwing its weight around and unconditionally cultivating ties with intransigent allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia, the United States should be looking toward further cooperation with powerful and democratizing countries such as Turkey and Egypt. Maintenance and deepening of close ties with legitimate states with civilian governments committed to democracy and economic development is the best way for the United States to create islands of peace in different regions and construct durable multilateral arrangements, which serve common interests.

Such strategic patience could also rehabilitate the battered U.S. image around the globe. For instance, Brazil's case is very instructive: the rise of a democratic and progressive government, under President Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva, ushered in a new era of stability and economic progress. Today, Brazil is sharing the responsibilities of hemispheric leadership with the United States and contributing to regional stability and integration. The lesson is simple: reliance on responsible regional powers is America's best chance for a smooth transition to a truly multipolar global system. Egypt can and should be just such a partner.

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Article 6.

Foreign Affairs

How Fatah-Hamas Unity Threatens U.S. Funding

Douglas N. Greenburg and Derek D. Smith

June 20, 2011 -- The reconciliation agreement signed in April between Fatah and Hamas, which called for the creation of an interim Palestinian unity government followed by elections later this year, raises a number of difficult issues for the United States. Among these is whether Washington can lawfully continue to provide aid to the Palestinian Authority (PA) if it includes Hamas as an equal partner. After all, existing U.S. law designates Hamas as a terrorist organization and thus prevents the United States from aiding it in any way. Although the unity pact suffered a setback when a planned conference in Cairo on Tuesday to announce a new government was postponed, negotations are ongoing. Should the two sides eventually succeed in creating a unity government, continued U.S. funding for the PA could be illegal. Despite this, given the PA's dependence on U.S. aid, Washington may decide that financially sustaining the Palestinian leadership is vital to the peace process or other strategic interests. As a result, it may attempt to continue aiding elements of the PA that remain unaffiliated with Hamas. Yet absent specific congressional authorization, such a strategy will face significant legal obstacles.

U.S. law has long prohibited citizens from providing support to or doing business with Hamas, which has been on the Treasury Department's designated terrorist list since 1995 and the State Department's list of designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations since 1997. Under the U.S. criminal code, individuals cannot knowingly

provide an FTO with "material support or resources," which is broadly defined as any "property or service," including money, training and advice, safe haven, transportation, and weapons, among other forms of assistance. Violation of this statute is punishable by up to 15 years in prison, or life in prison if the support results in the death of any person.

The Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) also enforces sanctions against Hamas and its affiliates, forbidding U.S. persons from engaging in any transactions with a designated terrorist, and further requiring that U.S. financial institutions block any transactions involving assets of FTOs. OFAC frequently imposes civil fines against violators of these sanctions, who may also suffer criminal penalties.

The U.S. government has enforced these laws by bringing several high-profile criminal prosecutions against various individuals and charitable organizations for raising funds for Hamas. In 2008, for example, a federal jury in Texas convicted five U.S. citizens on charges of providing material support to Hamas through their ostensibly charitable organization, the Holy Land Foundation, resulting in sentences of 15 to 65 years in prison. The Treasury Department has also targeted charities acting as fundraising fronts for Hamas, such as the Al-Aqsa Foundation, an international relief organization formerly based in Germany that Treasury designated a terrorist entity in 2003, aiming to put them out of business by freezing their bank accounts.

Current U.S. law, then, clearly forbids and severely punishes a wide range of assistance to Hamas. But what if Hamas takes a leading role in another organization not designated as an FTO -- specifically, the PA? This question arose in 2006, when Hamas members defeated Fatah in that year's Palestinian elections. Hamas' presence in the PA posed a significant challenge to U.S. interests in the Palestinian

territories. Even so, the PA remained highly dependent on U.S. aid, receiving more than $400 million per year from Washington, and it was unclear whether the PA and its president, Fatah leader Mahmoud Abbas, could survive without it.

As a result, the U.S. Congress responded to Hamas' 2006 electoral victory by passing the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act (PATA), which conditioned assistance to the PA on a presidential certification that Hamas did not effectively control any "ministry, agency, or instrumentality" of the PA and made "demonstrable progress" toward five benchmarks related to transparency, democratization, and antiterrorism. PATA provided a national security waiver that allowed the White House to continue funding various entities in the PA presidential office and judiciary branch, so long as Hamas did not control the recipient. It also permitted funding to nongovernmental organizations that provide aid to the West Bank and Gaza relating to humanitarian needs and democracy promotion.

Ultimately, the dilemma over funding the PA resolved itself in 2007, when Hamas broke with Fatah and the PA and took control of Gaza. This separation freed OFAC to allow all transactions with the Fatah-controlled PA in the West Bank. But should Hamas rejoin the PA as a result of the recent unity arrangement, there may be pressure on OFAC to take a tougher stance. Indeed, in recent appropriations bills, Congress has made assistance to a "power-sharing government" in Palestine contingent on compliance with PATA.

Congressional authorization to fund a Hamas-affiliated PA would likely overcome existing legal prohibitions. In the face of PATA, however, there is a substantial risk that providing aid without specific congressional authority would violate U.S. criminal laws. Although there are several arguments for exempting the PA from the U.S. laws against dealing with FTOs, none is particularly convincing. To begin with, it could be argued that although U.S. law prohibits individuals

from assisting Hamas, the president's constitutional powers to conduct foreign affairs might exempt officials carrying out the government's international policy from criminal prosecution. The existing laws and regulations, however, make federal officials just as liable for providing aid to FTOs as any private citizen, and any contrary argument would rest, at best, on untested grounds.
Additionally, it could be argued that because Hamas does not control the PA outright, aid to the PA is not the same as aid to Hamas. This may seem persuasive in some circumstances; for instance, if Hamas held only a small minority of the PA's parliamentary seats. But that is hardly the case with regard to the current reconciliation agreement, which places equal power in the hands of Fatah and Hamas to form an interim government and appoint various ministers through consensus. Moreover, according to OFAC's regulations, Hamas needs only an interest in PA transactions, rather than full control of the PA itself, to trigger sanctions against funding the PA. In fact, following Hamas' election success in 2006, OFAC determined that Hamas had "a property interest" in PA business; this may have some bearing on funding the new unity government. Much like the OFAC regulations, the U.S. criminal code does not clearly specify when an FTO's interest in an organization becomes so great that it is unlawful to provide that organization with "material support." Moreover, the serious penalties associated with violating these criminal laws demand caution when considering whether to aid an organization in which an FTO such as Hamas plays a significant role.
Another possible method for the United States to continue funding the PA is an exception in the criminal code for persons who provide "personnel," "training," or "expert advice or assistance" to an FTO with approval of the secretary of state and the attorney general. This exception could allow the United States to advise PA security and police forces, but it would not permit direct financial aid. Similarly,

the United States could attempt to convince non-Hamas elements in the PA to use and disseminate U.S. funds without any knowledge or participation of Hamas. Yet such a plan may not withstand legal scrutiny. If non-Hamas PA officials failed to honor the agreement and Hamas gained access to U.S. funds, prosecutors might one day argue that the persons who made the donation knew that such a result was likely and disregarded the risk. Such "willful blindness" could serve as the basis of a criminal prosecution. Or, the whole government may turn out to be Hamas-affiliated, rendering any such distinction meaningless.

The Obama administration could also instruct OFAC to grant specific exemptions so that the United States could fund particular entities within the PA. OFAC followed this strategy in 2006, announcing at the time that "consistent with current foreign policy" it was "authorizing U.S. persons to engage in certain transactions in which the PA may have an interest." Mirroring some of the exceptions listed under PATA, OFAC exempted transactions with the Palestinian judiciary, non-Hamas members of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and various entities controlled by Abbas.

Although the United States sought to continue supporting non-Hamas elements of the PA in 2006, it is doubtful that OFAC could repeat the same tactic now, thanks to the relationship between Fatah and Hamas. In 2006, Hamas campaigned against Fatah and tensions between the two camps remained strong after the election. Armed conflict broke out the following year despite the creation of a de facto unity government, splintering the PA. Should the current reconciliation agreement come to fruition, however, it would create a joint power-sharing government. As a result, it may be more difficult for OFAC to justify special exemptions on the grounds that certain entities within the PA are insulated from Hamas; by all appearances, they will be intertwined.

Lastly, OFAC could simply delist Hamas or continue allowing aid to the PA under a "general license." But this would not do away with the independent criminal ban on providing "material support" to an FTO. To remove Hamas from the criminal law banning FTO support, either the secretary of state or Congress would have to revoke the designation of Hamas as an FTO -- a highly unlikely scenario. Should the Obama administration want to continue funding a Hamas-affiliated PA to maintain U.S. influence or otherwise promote U.S. interests, current law gives him little leeway to do so. PATA places numerous restrictions on any aid to a Hamas-affiliated PA, and any attempt by the White House to continue funding the PA in spite of PATA risks violating criminal statutes. Short of removing Hamas as a designated terrorist organization and FTO, the safest way to proceed would be on the basis of legislative action that allows White House to support the PA even under a Fatah-Hamas coalition. Without it, the Obama administration's legal options are limited. No matter how much it may want to continue aiding the PA, then, its continued support may well be illegal.

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Article 7.

TIME

Why the Muslim Brotherhood Are Egypt's Best Democrats

Bobby Ghosh

June 21, 2011 -- After the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003, many Western commentators were surprised by the ease with which Iraq's religious movements adapted to multiparty democracy. The Shi'ite groups, in particular, were quick to organize into political parties, set up grass-roots organizations across the country and form practical coalitions ahead of elections. Long assumed to be ideologically opposed to democracy, these groups showed they were in fact brilliantly adaptable. Their leaders, despite having little experience in kissing babies, campaigned like seasoned pros.

In contrast, Iraq's liberal parties were rank amateurs. Their leaders, despite having spent decades in exile in Western democracies (whereas most Islamist exiles were confined to places like Iran and Syria), seemed not to understand how democracy works: people like Iyad Allawi and Ahmed Chalabi had an air of entitlement, assuming that people would vote for them merely because they were modern, progressive and famous. They didn't bother to create a national party infrastructure, nor did they care to campaign. Instead, they held all-day salons in the manner of medieval monarchs giving audience to the elite.

Something very similar is unfolding in Egypt. Of all the political groups to have emerged since the fall of Hosni Mubarak — including the myriad youth movements, secular parties, leftists and remnants of the old National Democratic Party — the Muslim Brotherhood seem to have the best understanding of how democracy works. The Islamist

group may have taken a backseat to the liberal youth movement that brought down the dictator, but it has wasted little time in preparing for the post-Mubarak era. Although the generals in charge of Egypt's transition have not yet announced a date for the parliamentary elections (which are expected in the fall), the Brotherhood is already campaigning vigorously, in Cairo and the countryside. The youth movement, on the other hand, seems unable to break out of protest mode. The gap between the two sides was exposed in a mid-March referendum on constitutional reforms. The Brotherhood mobilized a massive "yes" vote to ensure that any meaningful reforms would take place after the parliamentary elections. The liberals were split, unsure as to which scenario they feared more: a constitution written by a military-appointed panel before the elections, or one written by a Brotherhood-dominated parliament afterward. It was a rout: 77% voted yes.

The gap has not closed. Since the referendum, many liberals have sought to undermine the result by trying to force through reforms before the elections. Their great champion, former U.N. nuclear watchdog (and Nobel laureate) Mohamed ElBaradei, argues that the constitution can't wait for people's elected representatives. The youth leaders agree and are threatening to return to Tahrir Square if they don't get their way. They claim the referendum doesn't matter because the Brotherhood misled Egyptians by portraying it as a vote on religion. (The Islamists deny this, and some neutral observers say both sides played fast and loose with the facts.)

This carping makes the liberals look like sore losers, and far from democratic. Critics accuse them of trying to buy time: a postponement in the elections would give liberals more time to get their political house in order and hopefully catch up with the Brotherhood's organizational lead. Even Alaa al-Aswany, a novelist and strong Brotherhood critic, acknowledges that it ill behooves the

liberals to attempt an end run around the referendum. "The people made a choice, and we have to respect it," he says.

The Brotherhood, meanwhile, is sitting pretty. It has offered to form a broad coalition with liberals and leftists in the elections, and promises that there will be no attempt to hijack the constitutional reform process afterward. "The new constitution has to be written by all Egyptians," says Essam Erian, a top Brotherhood leader. "No one group should have a louder voice than the others." This makes the Islamists look responsible and conciliatory, and is likely to play well with voters. (See more on the Brotherhood's election strategy in posts to come.)

In Iraq, it took the liberals years to catch up with the religious parties in organizational and campaigning skills. In the last election, Allawi finally cobbled together a coalition that won more seats than any other group, only to be outmaneuvered by postelection horse trading. If Egypt's liberals aren't careful, a similar fate awaits them.

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Remembering Lenny Bruce

August 3rd, 2016 marked the 50th anniversary of groundbreaking comedian Lenny Bruce's death from an overdose of morphine, while his New York obscenity conviction at Café Au Go Go was still on appeal. On that same day he received a foreclosure notice at his Los Angeles home.

But it wasn't a suicide. In the kitchen, a kettle of water was still boiling, and in his office, the electric typewriter was still humming. He had stopped typing in mid-word: "Conspiracy to interfere with the 4th Amendment const" ...constitutes what, I wondered.

Lenny was a subscriber to my satirical magazine, *The Realist,* and in 1959 we met for the first time at the funky Hotel America in Times Square. He was amazed that I got away with publishing those profane words for which other periodicals used asterisks or dashes. He had been using euphemisms like "frig" and asked, "Are you telling me this is legal to sell on the newsstands?"

I replied, "The Supreme Court's definition of obscenity is that it has to be material which appeals to your prurient interest." He magically produced an unabridged dictionary from the suitcase on his bed, and looked up the word "pruient." He closed the dictionary, clenching his

jaw and nodding his head in affirmation of a new discovery. "So," he observed, "it's against the law to get you horny."

When we were about to leave the room, he stood in the doorway. "Did you steal anything?" he asked furtively. I took my watch out of my pocket since I didn't like to wear it on my wrist, and without saying a word I placed it on the bureau. Lenny laughed one loud staccato "Ha" and kissed me on the forehead.

We developed a friendship integrated with stand-up comedy. In his act Lenny had broken through traditional stereotypical jokes about airplane food, nagging wives, Chinese drivers, annoying mothers-in-law. Instead he weaved his taboo-breaking targets--teachers' low salaries *versus* show-business celebs, religious leaders' hypocrisy, cruel abortion laws, racial injustice, the double standard between illegal and prescription drugs--into stream-of-consciousness vignettes.

In each succeeding performance, he would sculpt and re-sculpt his concept into a theatrical context, experimenting from show to show like a verbal jazz musician. Audience laughter would sometimes turn into clapping for the creative process itself. "Please don't applaud," he'd request. "It breaks my rhythm."

Lenny was writing an autobiography--*How to Talk Dirty and Influence People*--which *Playboy* planned to serialize, then publish as a book, and they hired me as his editor. We met in Atlantic City, where he was taking Delaudid for lethargy, and he sent a telegram to a contact, with a phrase--DE LAWD IN DE SKY--as a code to send a doctor's prescription.

At a certain point he was acting paranoid and demanded that I take a lie-detector test, and I was paranoid enough to take him literally. I couldn't work with him if he didn't trust me. We got into an argument, and I left.

He sent a telegram that sounded like we were on the verge of divorce. "WHY CAN'T IT BE THE WAY IT USED TO BE?" he wrote. I agreed to try again, and in 1962 I flew to Chicago. Lenny was performing at the Gate of Horn, where he was asking the whole audience to take a lie-detector test.

Lenny was intrigued by the implications of an item in *The Realist,* an actual statement by Adolf Eichmann that he would have been "not only a scoundrel, but a despicable pig" if he hadn't carried out Hitler's orders. Lenny wrote a piece for *The Realist,* "Letter From a Soldier's Wife," namely Mrs. Eichmann pleading for compassion to spare her husband's life.

Lenny had been reading a study of anti-Semitism by Jean-Paul Sartre. Now, on stage, giving credit to Thomas Merton's poem about the Holocaust, he requested that all the lights go off except one dim blue spot. Then he began speaking with a German accent:

> My name is Adolf Eichmann. And the Jews came every day to what they thought would be fun in the showers. People say I should have been hung. *Nein*. Do you recognize the whore in the middle of you–that you would have done the same if you were there yourselves? My defense: I was a soldier. I saw the end of a conscientious day's effort. I watched through the portholes. I saw every Jew burned and turned into soap.
>
> Do you people think yourselves better because you burned your enemies at long distance with missiles without ever seeing what you had done to them? Hiroshima *auf Wiedersehen*. [*German accent ends*.] If we would have lost the war, they would have strung Truman up by the balls, Jim. Are you kidding with that? Not what kid told kid told kid. They would just *schlep* out all those Japanese mutants. "Here they did; there they are." And Truman said they'd do it again. That's what they should have the same day as Remember Pearl Harbor. Play them in unison.

Lenny was arrested for obscenity that night. One of the items in the Chicago police report complained: "Then talking about the war he stated, 'If we would have lost the war, they would have strung Truman up by the balls.' " The cops also broke open Lenny's candy bars, looking for drugs. They checked the IDs of audience members, including George Carlin, who told the cops, "I don't believe in IDs." Then they arrested him for disorderly conduct, dragged him along by the seat of his pants and hoisted him into the police wagon.

"What are you doing here?" Lenny asked.

"I didn't want to show them my ID."

"You schmuck."

Lenny was released on bail, but the head of the Vice Squad warned the Gate of Horn manager: "If this man ever uses a four-letter word in this club again, I'm going to pinch you and everyone in here. If he ever speaks against religion, I'm going to pinch you and everyone in here. Do you understand? You've had good people here. But he mocks the pope--and I'm speaking as a Catholic--I'm here to tell you your license is in danger. We're going to have someone here watching every show."

And indeed, the Gate of Horn's liquor license was suspended. There were no previous allegations against the club, and the current charge involved neither violence nor drunken behavior. The only charge pressed by the city prosecutor was Lenny Bruce's allegedly obscene performance. Nobody's prurience was aroused, but that made no difference. After all, there wasn't any law against blasphemy.

"Chicago is so corrupt, it's thrilling," Lenny said.

Chicago had the largest membership in the Roman Catholic Church of any archdiocese in the country. Lenny's jury consisted entirely of Catholics. The judge was Catholic. The prosecutor and his assistant were

Catholic. On Ash Wednesday, the judge removed the spot of ash from his forehead and told the bailiff to instruct the others to do likewise. The sight of a judge, two prosecutors and twelve jurors, every one with a spot of ash on their foreheads, would have all the surrealistic flavor of a Lenny Bruce fantasy.

Since he often talked on stage about his environment, and since police cars and courtrooms had become his environment, the content of Lenny's performances began to revolve more and more around the inequities of the legal system. "In the Halls of Justice," he declared, "the only justice is in the halls." But he also said, "I love the law." Instead of an unabridged dictionary, he now carried law books in his suitcase. His room was cluttered with tapes and transcripts and photostats and law journals and legal briefs.

Once he was teasing his ten-year-old daughter, Kitty, by pretending not to believe what she was telling him. "Daddy," she said, "you'd believe me if it was on tape."

Lenny's jazz jargon was gradually being replaced by legal jargon. He had become intimate not only with the statutes concerning obscenity and narcotics but also with courtroom procedure, and his knowledge would be

woven into his performances. But as clubs became increasingly afraid to hire him, he devoted more and more time and energy to the law.

In less than two years, Lenny was arrested 15 times. Club owners were afraid to book him. He couldn't get a gig in six months. On a Christmas day, he was alone in his hotel room, and I brought him a $500 bill. With a large safety pin, he attached it to his denim jacket. When he finally got a booking in Monterey, he admitted, "I feel like it's taking me away from my work."

Lenny lived way up in the hills. His house was protected by barbed wire and a concrete gate, except that it was always open. He had a wall-to-wall one-way mirror in his living room, but when the sun was shining you could see into the room instead of out. He was occasionally hassled by police on his own property. One evening in October 1963, we were talking while he was shaving, when four officers suddenly appeared, loud and obnoxious. He asked them to leave unless they had a search warrant.

One of the cops took out his gun. "Here's my search warrant," he said. Then Lenny and the cops had a discussion about the law, such as the rules of evidence, and after half an hour they left. Lenny tried to take it all in stride, but the encounter was depressing, and he changed his mind about going out that night.

When everything was quiet, we went outside and stood at the edge of his unused swimming pool. Dead leaves floated in the water. Lenny cupped his hands to his mouth. "All right, you dogs," he called out. "Bark for the rich man!" --thereby setting off a chain reaction of barking dogs, a canine chorus echoing through Hollywood Hills.

We ordered some pizza, and he played some old tapes, ranging from a faith healer to patriotic World War II songs. "Good-bye, Mama, I'm off to Yokohama, the Land of Yama-Yama..."

Back at the Café Au Go Go arrest in New York, Lenny had told a fantasy tale about Eleanor Roosevelt, quoting her, "I've got the nicest tits that have ever been in this White House…" The top of the police complaint was "Eleanor Roosevelt and her display of tits." At the trial, Lenny acted as his own attorney. He had obtained the legislative history of an Albany statute, and he discovered that back in 1931 there was an amendment proposed, which excluded from arrest in an indecent performance: stagehands, spectators, musicians, and--here was the fulcrum of his defense--actors. The law had been misapplied to him. Despite opposition by the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, the amendment was finally signed into law by then-Governor Roosevelt, but to no avail.

"Ignoring the mandate of Franklin D. Roosevelt," Lenny observed, "is a great deal more offensive than saying Eleanor has lovely nay-nays."

On October 13, 1965 (Lenny's 40th birthday), instead of surrendering to the authorities in New York, he filed suit at the U.S. District Court in San Francisco to keep out of prison, and he got himself officially declared a pauper. Two months before his death in 1966, Lenny wrote to me: "I'm still working on the bust of the government of New York State." And he included his doodle of Christ nailed to a crucifix, with a speech balloon asking, "Where the hell is the ACLU?

After he died, at a séance, his mother brought his old faded denim jacket. That large safety pin was still attached to it. And at the funeral, his sound engineer friend dropped Lenny's microphone into his grave before the dirt was piled on. Lenny's problem had been that he wanted to talk on stage with the same freedom that he had in his living room. That problem doesn't happen to stand-up comedians any more.

As for me, I'm working on my long awaited (by me) first novel. It's about a contemporary Lenny Bruce-type satirist. Those scenes where my protagonist performs, I've developed onstage myself, although at times it felt like I was actually channeling Lenny, until the day that he said, "C'mon, Paul,

you know you don't believe in that shit." Well, this ended *that* wishful-thinking delusion.

I told my friend Avery Corman--author of *Oh, God* and *Kramer vs. Kramer*-- how I welcomed the challenge of writing fiction.

"But, you know," I added, "it's really hard to write. You have to make everything up."

And he said, "Hey, listen, you've been making stuff up all your life."

"Yeah, but that was journalism."

The Last Word: Yikes!

When George Bush was elected president of the United States in 2000, it was due to the electoral college, even though his opponent, Al Gore, won the national popular vote.

Hillary Clinton was elected senator that year, and she announced that the first thing she would do was to get rid of the electoral college.

A few years later, as a columnist for the *New York Press*, I sent her a letter asking about the status of that promise. She didn't reply.

On November 8, 2016, a crooked businessman, liar extraordinaire, bragging pussy-grabber, make-America-white-again, anti-choice, anti-Semite, fake Christian, the rapist of a 13-year-old girl in 1994 at a pedophile party (she canceled a press conference one week before the election because of death threats if she filed a lawsuit), climate-change hoaxer, twitter addict, homophobic, apprentice politician, fucking fascist, and of course Vladimir Putin's "useful idiot," namely Donald Trump, who was elected as an insanely narcissistic dictator based on the electoral college (a rigged system), whereas his opponent, Hillary Clinton, won the national popular vote by almost three million individuals galore, to no avail.

Irony lives . . .

In 1994, Trump took a 13-year-old girl to a party with Jeffrey Epstein, a billionaire who was a notorious registered sex offender, and raped her that night in what was a "savage sexual attack," according to a lawsuit filed in June 2016 by "Jane Doe." The account was corroborated by a witness in the suit, who claimed to have watched as the child performed various sexual acts on Trump and Epstein even after the two were advised she was a minor.

"Immediately following this rape Defendant Trump threatened me that, were I ever to reveal any of the details of Defendant Trumpâ€™s sexual and physical abuse of me, my family and I would be physically harmed if not killed," Jane Doe wrote in the lawsuit, filed in New York.

The lawsuit was dropped in November 2016, just four days before the election, with Jane Doe's attorneys citing "numerous threats" against her.

The charges and allegations brought against Donald Trump for sexual crimes include:

1 Accusations filed in court against Trump

1.1 Ivana Trump (1989)

1.2 [redacted] (1992)

1.3 [redacted] (2007)

2 Recording controversy and second 2016 presidential debate

3 Public allegations in 2016 of unwanted physical contact

3.1 [redacted] (1980s)

3.2 [redacted] (1990s)

3.3 [redacted] (1997)

3.4 [redacted] (1997)

3.5 [redacted] (1998)

3.6 [redacted] (2003)

3.7 [redacted] (2005)

3.8 [redacted] (2005)

3.9 [redacted] (2006)

3.10 [redacted] (2006)

3.11 [redacted] (2010)

3.12 [redacted] (2013)

4 Allegations of pageant dressing room visits

4.1 Miss Teen USA contestants

4.2 [redacted] (2000)

4.3 [redacted] (2001)

4.4 Unnamed contestants (2001)

4.5 [redacted] (2006) ~ There are of course scores of cases that have been settled out of court that we can not have any clear public record of as they are constrained by non-disclosure agreements.

From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 6/19/2018 5:30:40 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Indicting a President Is Not Foreclosed: The Complex History - Lawfare

Importance: High

https://www.lawfareblog.com/indicting-president-not-foreclosed-complex-history

Indicting a President Is Not Foreclosed: The Complex History

Can a sitting president be indicted? Often, in answering this question, commentators point to Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) opinions answering in the contrary. To whatever extent the writer agrees or disagrees with the opinions' conclusion, the government's position on the matter is usually presented as a long-standing and clear "no."

The reality is more complicated. The United States has addressed this question six times in both internal memos and briefs filed in litigation. And a review of these documents shows that it is far from clear what criminal prosecution steps are (or should be) precluded—and that there is no "longstanding policy" against indictment of the president. Consider the 1973 OLC memo stating that a sitting president should not be indicted. Far from being authoritative, it was essentially repudiated within months by the Justice Department in the United States' filing in the Supreme Court in *United States v. Nixon*.

Likewise, the most recent opinion—an OLC memo written in 2000—includes brief statements that a sitting president should not be indicted even if all further proceedings are postponed. But far from being definitive, this is a matter that could be reconsidered by the department. Moreover, of course, OLC opinions are not binding on state prosecutors (though state charges could raise federalism questions as well). The complex history of criminal proceedings against presidents and vice presidents suggests that these issues are not foreclosed.

Perhaps the most important point that emerges from a review of all the opinions is this: nly once has the United States addressed the question of whether a president can be an unindicted co-conspirator. The conclusion was an unequivocal yes. Richard Nixon was so named in the Watergate indictment, and that inclusion was sustained by Judge John Sirica and defended by the United States in *United States v. Nixon*. (The Supreme Court did not resolve the question.) No department opinion or filing has ever contradicted that position. The fact that it is permissible to name a sitting president as unindicted co-conspirator, moreover, tends significantly to undermine the only argument against indicting a sitting president.

(I should note that the U.S. Attorney's manual cautions against naming persons as unindicted co-conspirators "[i]n the absence of some significant justification." Here, of course, the "significant justification" would exist if a sitting president is the only individual in the country who is immune from indictment. Thus, for that individual alone, the usual better course of indictment would not be available.)

Here I want to review each of the half-dozen times that the executive branch has addressed the question of whether a president can be prosecuted, indicted or included as an unindicted co-conspirator. The opinions that conclude that a president cannot be indicted deal mainly with the question of whether a president can be put on trial. While the discussions of the option of indicting but postponing trial are more than a mere afterthought, that option was not the focus of the opinions and received scant analysis.

The relevant briefs and memoranda are:

1. The Sept. 24, 1973, OLC Dixon memo
2. The Oct. 5, 1973, brief for the United States in *In re Agnew*
3. The Feb. 12, 1974, memorandum to Independent Counsel Leon Jaworski
4. The June 21, 1974, reply brief for the United States in *U.S. v. Nixon*
5. The May 13, 1998, memorandum to Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr
6. The Oct. 16, 2000, OLC memorandum

These documents are worth review not only for their value as precedent but also for the extensive argumentation they contain on the pertinent issues.

1. The Sept. 24, 1973, OLC Dixon Memo. This memo, signed by the head of the Office of Legal Counsel, Robert Dixon, is a procedural anomaly: It was not addressed to any official and may not have been made public at the time. It was not mentioned in the submission by the solicitor general two weeks later in the *In re Agnew* case.

Dixon noted that there was no express provision of the Constitution conferring any immunity upon the president. The "proper approach" he wrote, "is to find the proper balance between the normal functions of the courts and the special responsibilities … of the Presidency." He concluded that "criminal proceedings against a President in office should not go beyond a point where they could result in so serious a physical interference with the President's performance of his official duties that it would amount to an incapacitation." Thus, "a necessity to defend a criminal trial and to attend court … would interfere with the President's unique official duties."

Finally, Dixon addressed "a possibility not yet mentioned": that a sitting president could be indicted but further proceedings could be deferred until he was no longer in office. Unlike placing a president on trial, this would not result in a "physical interference" with the president's duties. Nevertheless, the memo concludes that this step should not be taken

because of the reputational damage to the president: "The spectacle of an indicted President still trying to serve as Chief Executive boggles the imagination."

Of particular interest is the memo's consideration of whether criminal proceedings against a vice president are precluded. OLC found this to be a difficult question before concluding that a grand jury could indict the vice president. The memo notes that Vice President Spiro Agnew was said to be part of a conspiracy and that it would be difficult to have a proper indictment of co-conspirators without including the vice president (a point also true of a conspiracy involving a president). Moreover,

> Another circumstance counselling prompt presentation of evidence to the grand jury is that the statute of limitations is about to bar prosecution of the alleged offenders with respect to some or all of the offenses. The problem presented by the statute of limitations would be avoided by an indictment within the statutorily specified period.

(The issue of statute of limitations arises as well in cases involving a president.)

The Dixon memo concludes that "[a]fter indictment, the question of whether the Government should … delay prosecution until the expiration of the Vice President's duties involves questions of trial strategy" beyond OLC's expertise.

The conclusion that the sitting president should not be indicted was not necessarily a categorical constitutional-judgment conclusion but seems, rather, to be a balance of policy considerations. That, it appears, is how it was read by the office of Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski—as I will describe below.

2. The Oct. 5, 1973, Brief for the United States in *In re Agnew*. Lawyers for Vice President Spiro T. Agnew argued that if a president could not be indicted while in office, that same immunity should apply to a serving vice president. The vice president should have the same immunity as the president, they wrote, because he "must maintain himself in a state of constant preparation to replace the president." And as the official with responsibility for initiating the 25th Amendment removal process, he must "continuously … monitor the ability of the President" to discharge his duties. These responsibilities, they argued, were incompatible with being a defendant in a criminal case. Agnew's civil action, moreover, sought to enjoin the grand jury from even "conducting any investigation" into the allegations against Agnew as well as precluding "issuing any indictment."

The United States, in a response filed in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia by Solicitor General Robert Bork, opposed any immunity from criminal process for a vice president. The solicitor general did inform the court, however, that if the grand jury were to return an indictment, the Department of Justice "will hold the proceedings in abeyance for a reasonable time, if the Vice President consents to a delay, in order to offer the House of Representatives an opportunity to consider the desirability of impeachment proceedings." What was critical, according to Bork, was this: "The issuance of an indictment … would in the meantime toll the statute of limitations and preserve the matter for subsequent judicial

resolution." The memorandum concluded that while the demands of the presidency preclude subjecting the chief executive to criminal process, no such importance attaches to the office of the vice president.

Because Agnew pleaded no contest to an indictment in a negotiated agreement, there was no resolution of his claim of immunity from indictment. Although the charges had been serious (Agnew was said to have accepted containers of cash in the White House), he was allowed to plead to a single count and serve no prison time, essentially in exchange for his resignation from the vice presidency—an outcome that may not have been possible had Agnew not been susceptible to indictment.

3. The Feb. 12, 1974, Memorandum to Independent Counsel Leon Jaworski. The attorneys in the Office of Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski concluded that there was no legal bar to indicting a sitting president and that the office should recommend either that the grand jury indict President Nixon or that criminal charges against him be incorporated into a formal grand jury presentment. Jaworski concluded that the best course, with impeachment proceedings in the offing, was to include Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator in the indictment of the other Watergate defendants.

The memo notes at the outset that

> As we understand it, the conclusions regarding indictment of an incumbent President reached by the Department of Justice, the U.S. Attorney's office, and this office, are all consistent: there is nothing in the language or legislative history of the Constitution that bars indictment of a sitting president, but there are a number of 'policy' factors that weigh heavily against it.

The memo finds those policy considerations offset by competing considerations.

> For us or the grand jury to shirk from an appropriate expression of our honest assessment of the evidence of the President's guilt would not only be a departure from our responsibilities but a dangerous precedent damaging to the rule of law.

In deciding whether to indict a sitting president, they asserted, any considerations of a political nature should be left to Congress, which can decide if it wishes to immunize a president from prosecution. The special prosecutor's office did conclude, however, that the quantum of proof required to support an indictment of a sitting president should be quite high: "the evidence of the President's guilt should be direct, clear, and compelling and … admit of no misinterpretation."

Some of Jaworski's team thought that President Nixon should be indicted. Others favored proceeding by a "presentment," which would set out "in detail the most important evidence and the Grand Jury's conclusion that the President has violated certain criminal statutes and would have been indicted were he not President." The office concluded that "there appears to be no question of the propriety or legality of such a course…." The memo noted that

having the grand jury actually name the specific indictable crimes for which there was clear evidence of guilt was important: "This fundamental conclusion [of criminal guilt] should not be allowed to be lost in a recitation of facts or sources of evidence that omits the basic judgment involved or leaves it open to public (and Congressional) speculation and debate."

The memo also noted that the president could be named an unindicted co-conspirator in the indictment of the other conspirators, the course ultimately chosen by Jaworski.

4. The June 21, 1974, Reply Brief for the United States in *US v. Nixon.* The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia refused Nixon's motion to expunge his inclusion as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Watergate indictment. Nixon asked the Supreme Court to reverse that decision. His lawyers argued that since a sitting president could not be indicted, neither should he be implicated as an unindicted co-conspirator.

In this filing on behalf of the United States, Jaworski rejected Nixon's premise that a president could not be indicted, stating that "It is an open and substantial question whether an incumbent President is subject to indictment." The brief argues for indictability before concluding that it is unnecessary to decide that question in order to resolve whether to permit his inclusion as an unindicted co-conspirator.

(Despite the filing's origin in Jaworski's office, it would be a mistake to argue that this filing was not in some sense the position of the Department of Justice. Leon Jaworski and his attorneys were officers of the Department of Justice assigned by the attorney general the responsibility for advancing the legal positions of the United States, including in representations to the U.S. Supreme Court.)

The Jaworski filing notes how critical it is to identify the president as one of the criminal accused: "the identification of each co-conspirator — regardless of station — is a prerequisite to making his declarations in furtherance of the conspiracy admissible against the other conspirators."

Although the brief concludes that "it is by no means clear that a President is immune from indictment" during his term, the special prosecutor chose not to indict the sitting president on the basis of "practical arguments." Those arguments, however,

> cannot fairly be stretched to confer immunity on the President from being identified as an *unindicted* co-conspirator, when it is necessary to do so in connection with criminal proceedings against persons unquestionably liable to indictment.

Naming the president as an unindicted co-conspirator was necessary for the grand jury to return a "true bill," Jaworski argued, and "required here to outline the full range of the alleged conspiracy." There exists, moreover, "a legitimate public purpose in reporting the fact that serious criminal charges against a government official have been made."

> The mere fact that an official has a personal immunity from prosecution does not bar the prosecution from alleging and proving his complicity as part of a case against persons who have no such immunity.

It would not be fair "to the defendants … to blunt the sweep of the evidence artificially by excluding one person, however prominent and important, while identifying all others." The Jaworski filing acknowledged that naming an incumbent president as an unindicted criminal co-conspirator may cause the public anguish of a cloud over the presidency. But "in the public marketplace of ideas" there is little reason to fear that malicious charges against a president "will receive credit they do not deserve."

Notably, the United States made no mention of the OLC Dixon memo in its filing in the Supreme Court other than by implication: The filing says that the Department of Justice agrees that the Constitution does not bar indictment of a president, perhaps reading the Dixon OLC memo as merely a statement of policy. What is striking is that the 2000 OLC memo treats the 1973 Dixon memo as an important precedent but not the more substantial, more careful subsequent filing in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court did not answer Nixon's request to expunge his inclusion as an unindicted co-conspirator. Finding it unnecessary to answer that question in order to rule against the president on the subpoena of the nine tapes, the court dismissed Nixon's companion cert petition as improvidently granted. Nixon's resignation and pardon rendered the remaining questions moot.

5. The May 13, 1998, Memorandum to Independent Counsel Starr. This memorandum was written by professor Ronald Rotunda in response to an inquiry from Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr. Rotunda concluded that

> In the circumstances of this case, President Clinton is subject to indictment and criminal prosecution, although it may be the case that he could not be imprisoned … until after he leaves that office.

The Rotunda memo is the least persuasive of the opinions in question. First, its status is unclear. It says that the question was posed by Starr, but it does not note whether Rotunda, who may have been a paid consultant, had any official governmental role. There is no indication that the opinion underwent any review by other officials.

The opinion seems to claim too much, in my view, by suggesting that a president could be not only indicted but actually put on trial while serving. (Rotunda does not even rule out imprisoning a president.) There is an informal and partisan flavor to the memo that makes it less serious than the other arguments put forth by the department.

Rotunda argues that the then-existing Independent Counsel Act contemplated that a president could be investigated and questioned, so therefore it must follow that he can be indicted. This is the obverse of the current argument made by some that since a president

can't be indicted, he can't be questioned. Both positions are based on category mistake. No one has ever seriously suggested that a president can never be indicted. The only debate is whether any indictment of a president must be *postponed* until he is no longer in office. Since any president can indisputably be indicted when no longer in office, there is no permanent immunity that would obviate questioning of a president.

6. The 2000 OLC Memorandum. This opinion of the Office of Legal Counsel, signed by Assistant Attorney General Randolph Moss, is a thorough and thoughtful analysis of whether a president can be indicted and prosecuted while serving in office. It appears to have originally been drafted during the time of the Starr investigation of President Bill Clinton. The case against putting a president on trial is fully convincing to me. What is not so clear, however, is whether there is sound basis for withholding an indictment of a president even if any trial proceedings must await the end of his term. Like the Dixon memo, the 2000 opinion set out several obstacles to trying a president. None of those reasons, save one, applies to naming a president in an indictment.

The 2000 opinion gives so little thought to the possibility of indicting-and-postponing that it gives only one reason why such a course should be precluded: the idea that including the president in an indictment would cast a "cloud" over the presidency. The notion that reputational harm alone should preclude a normal part of the system of justice seems incompatible with the Supreme Court's decision in *Clinton v. Jones,* in which the court set such a high bar for any presidential immunity from the normal process of litigation that not a single justice found that actually undergoing a civil trial was precluded.

It is hard to square mere reputational harm as a basis for precluding indictment when the government seems to have established that a president can be listed as an unindicted co-conspirator. The reputational difference between being named as an unindicted co-conspirator in a criminal indictment and being listed as one of those indicted seems relatively small. The essential difference: naming one as indicted prevents the statute of limitations from expiring. Why, for a small reputational difference, would one choose to make being in the White House a basis for permanently precluding (by operation of the statute of limitations) an otherwise warranted criminal prosecution?

One aspect of the 2000 memo is worth noting. It appears to have been drafted with the case against President Clinton in mind. That was essentially a one-defendant matter. Thus, the opinion does not grapple with the significant obstacles to trying a multi-defendant criminal conspiracy while excluding from the charging document any reference to one of the conspirators—and perhaps a key conspirator.

For an extended argument that the terms of Robert Mueller's appointment and practice of the Office of Legal Counsel do not require him to conform to the 2000 OLC position opinion rejecting the option of indicting and postponing, see Andrew Crespo's analysis. In addition to Crespo's analysis, I would add that the 2000 memo gives only scant attention to

the possible course I believe deserves most consideration when a sitting president has been found to have committed a crime: indict-and-postpone. While I would not call the few mentions of that possibility "mere dicta," I believe the scant discussion of the point should not preclude an independent judgment by subsequent officials. The notion that such a course would cause reputational harm—though it would not physically interfere with the president's attention to his duties—seems to be a point of policy, not constitutional law. For a helpful analysis of this question, see Bob Bauer's posting.

In any event, OLC has never suggested that a president cannot be an unindicted co-conspirator.

Conclusions

The history of positions taken by the executive branch of the United States on the indictment of a sitting president is more varied and complex than is generally assumed. For that reason, whether or not a president can be indicted or named as an unindicted co-conspirator should not be considered a settled question.

I am convinced that putting a president on trial would be inconsistent with the Article II responsibilities of the modern presidency. Others—Larry Tribe included—are less certain and also point to the 25th Amendment, arguing that if being on trial or incarcerated precluded a president from being able to perform his duties, the 25th Amendment provides a theoretical if impractical avenue for the vice president to take over in successive 21-day increments during that time. I see the point, but I believe that approach could too easily set aside the determination of the electorate. People vote for a president, not a vice president. It would be no small matter, for example, to have had Sarah Palin step in for John McCain.

If a guilty president is not to be indicted, he or she should in any event be included in the charging instrument as an unindicted co-conspirator, an option that has been expressly defended by the United States before the Supreme Court. And once it has been established that a president can be an unindicted co-conspirator, the case for categorically precluding indictment of a president is significantly weakened.

I have argued previously that there should be no categorical bar to the indictment of a sitting president. *Clinton v. Jones* establishes that a president has a substantial burden of showing that normal processes of litigation are incompatible with his duties—and while that showing can be made for an actual criminal trial, it is difficult to make such a showing for naming a president in a grand jury indictment as long as trial proceedings are postponed until a president is no longer in office.

What, then, is the argument against indictment? Perhaps it casts a greater cloud. On the other hand, the most important reason for issuing an indictment, rather than merely naming the president as unindicted co-conspirator, is to prevent the statute of limitations from expiring. This, in my view, is an important consideration. Indeed, a president might seek reelection

just to make sure the limitations period runs on all his or her crimes while he or she remains in office.

But concluding that a president *can* be indicted does not mean that he or she *should* be indicted, even if that would be called for by the normal operation of the criminal process. Awaiting action by the House of Representatives may in some circumstances be the prudent course—though one might question whether it is appropriate to weigh that institutional factor variously depending on how realistic it is that a particular House and Senate would take their responsibilities seriously.

Some offenses might be seen as better suited for initial consideration by Congress in the impeachment process. Whether an exercise of executive authority—such as discharging an official or pardoning someone for an allegedly corrupt reason—should be grounds for sanction might be seen as requiring an essential political judgment, perhaps best suited for elected officials to make. On the other hand, the regular processes of the federal criminal system might be a better forum for an alleged complex multi-defendant financial conspiracy including money laundering, bank fraud, tax evasion, etc. In short, context matters for a special counsel or other prosecutor considering how best to proceed.

There is good reason to have the judiciary decide the question of whether an indictment of a sitting president is categorically barred. This is especially the case now that the decision process would in significant part be based upon an interpretation of a Supreme Court decision, *Clinton v. Jones.* If a prosecutor included the president in an indictment, the president would no doubt move to have his or her name stricken. The first question a judge should ask is, *"If I strike the president from the indictment, will he or she agree to waive any defense of the statute of limitations that may expire while he or she is in office?"* If the president refuses to waive the statute of limitations, that itself would be a good reason for permitting the indictment, while postponing any further proceedings.

It is impossible to predict whether a prosecutor would ask the attorney general for authorization to indict—or to make the president an unindicted co-conspirator—without knowing the degree and nature of any criminality that might be uncovered, and how including or not including the president in an indictment would affect the trial of other conspirators. But the possibility of including the president in an indictment is not categorically foreclosed.

From: Fabrice Aidan [redacted]
Sent: 7/11/2013 2:44:31 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

Importance: High

You'll find it interesting. Warm regards

Envoyé de mon iPhone

Début du message transféré :

Expéditeur: GBIU-MideastNews <GBIU-MideastNews@dentons.com>
Date: 11 juillet 2013 16:43:09 UTC+02:00
Destinataire: "Cheves, Belle" [redacted], "Gray, Alex" <[redacted]>, "Mahle, Melissa B." <[redacted]>, "Seche, Stephen A." <[redacted]"Dixon, Timothy" <[redacted]>
Objet: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

Atlantic Council

Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

By Frederic C. Hof
July 11, 2013

A friendly discussion about Syria with a former US State Department colleague gave rise to a point I will not soon forget. "Fred, there's no time for policy deliberations about Syria or anyplace else. We live in the era of Blackberry diplomacy. We react and we improvise as best we can."

Anyone under the age of thirty reading the above would probably think, "Why in the world is the US government using the Blackberry?" Those who turned thirty long before the end of the last century—even those of us who try seriously not to be technological Luddites—wonder sometimes if the communications revolution and the 24/7 news cycle it has spawned will end up doing more harm than good to the progress of civilization and well-being of the republic.

Those who have had the privilege and burden of working in the US national security establishment are well-acquainted with how hard it is to find time to think. This was true long before the advent of email and other forms of electronic communication. Although there may have been times when officials could contemplate great matters of state at something approaching leisure, those days have been long gone. Even offices created expressly to explore policy options stretching beyond a twenty minute horizon—the State Department's Policy Planning Staff comes to mind—routinely get pulled into the maelstrom of daily struggles to manage breaking developments through some combination of strategic messaging and diplomatic demarches. Email makes it easy for officials up-and-down the chain to plunge into the fray, battling to mold language for use at a daily briefing; language that all-too-often mystifies or misleads foreign listeners who hang on words from the podium as if they are meant to convey the results of deep, deliberative thought on the part of the world's only superpower. Yet email neither created the problem nor prevents its solution.

The problem is the failure of government, certainly in the context of Syria and likely in other foreign policy contexts as well, to wrap the daily news cycle food fight in an insulated casing of objectives and strategy clearly understandable to those charged with planning and executing foreign or national security policy. There may be some who believe that objectives and strategy are just so 20th century; so Brent Scowcroft-like and so pre-Twitter. There may be some who actually handle affairs of state in ways they would not dream of applying to their personal financial portfolios. Perhaps resistance to structured, deliberative processes producing objectives and accompanying strategies is a function of fewer and fewer people in the national security establishment ever having availed themselves of military service; an experience where matters of this nature become, through training and education, as natural as breathing. Perhaps in the specific case of Syria there has been a temptation to avoid the hard choices such a process would serve up in the hope that the regime of Bashar al-Assad would just go away, thereby making hard choices someone else's problem.

The arrival of a new assistant to the president for national security affairs is an ideal opportunity to restore best practices to the national security apparatus. To her credit, Susan Rice appears to be reaching out with this very much in mind. If changes are made that better serve the president by forcing people to think through policy options in the context of objectives and strategies, those changes should not reflect poorly on the stewardship of her predecessor. The president gets precisely the national security system he mandates and deserves. He is, as JFK noted in the immediate wake of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, "the responsible officer of government."

In the end it is the president, and not the Blackberry or some other device, who will drive the direction and processes of foreign policy and diplomacy. It is up to him to tell his national security advisor that he wants the interagency to stop tweeting and start thinking; to tell him how he should be evaluating US national security objectives with respect to Syria (for example) and strategy options aimed at accomplishing them. This kind of deliberative process will not require people to wear powdered wigs and inscribe talking points on parchment with quill pens. It will not even oblige them to disconnect electronically.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle to an orderly national security process that is deliberative is the sheer brainpower of the people sitting atop the bureaucratic pyramid. Barack Obama and Susan Rice are among the very brightest people to serve in the US government. They may think they can figure Syria out themselves, within a small circle of trusted political advisers. They may think they can handle Syria without reaching beyond their own national security staff, without probing deeply into the Departments of State, Defense, the intelligence community, and elsewhere where additional expertise resides. They will outsmart themselves if that is the approach they choose.
Blackberry diplomacy is a choice, not a device decision and certainly not a fact of life. Even in this day and age, it is possible to figure out what one wants and how to go about getting it: even in government work.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/11/2013 3:22:21 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Fabrice Aidan**
Date: Thursday, July 11, 2013
Subject: Fwd: (s) 7/11, Atlantic Council (Hof): Syria: Blackberry Diplomacy
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

You'll find it interesting. Warm regards

Envoyé de mon iPhone

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Atlantic Council

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From: paul krassner [redacted]
Sent: 2/7/2017 7:12:15 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd:

Importance: High

>>
>> From: James Drougas <redacted>
>>
>> Hi Paul. I've been spending lots of time with Irwin Corey and his family past two weeks especially. He was in hospital until the last week and then He died a few hours ago peacefully at home in bed. Last night he told me Trump will be assassinated soon. He was eager to learn the news each day. I asked him if he would join the anti Trump rallies when he gains strength. Doctors thought he might live many months. Alas he was laughing and smiling till the end and frowning about Trump.
>> Warm and loving regards
>>
>> Jim Drougas
>> redacted
>>
>> My friend Alana, a young comedian, was here with him most nights. Irwin used to say he will live to 147. Alana explained that 102 is 147 in comedian years.
>>
>>
>
>

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 9/9/2014 11:53:57 AM
To: Peter Thiel [redacted]
Subject: Re:

13 th afternoon you and I . then bill burns . the diplmats diplomat. eveing dinner with woody all casual. . if you choose we can bring in kathy ruemmler. former obama counsel for 5 years. and or sen Bob kerrey, former senate intellignece

On Mon, Sep 8, 2014 at 10:56 PM, Peter Thiel [redacted]> wrote:

Would be cool to meet him sometime, but don't go out of the way to make this happen...

Are we planning something the weekend of the 13th-14th?

On Sep 8, 2014, at 5:40 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com<mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com>> wrote:

any interest in woody allen

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/7/2017 7:18:38 PM
To: paul krassner [redacted]
Subject: Re:

what would you do in order to consolidate the movement . . music . icons. personalites. etc? did you get your first installment. ? did you send the poster

On Tue, Feb 7, 2017 at 3:12 PM, paul krassner <[redacted]> wrote:

>>
>> From: James Drougas <[redacted]>
>>
>> Hi Paul. I've been spending lots of time with Irwin Corey and his family past two weeks especially. He was in hospital until the last week and then He died a few hours ago peacefully at home in bed. Last night he told me Trump will be assassinated soon. He was eager to learn the news each day. I asked him if he would join the anti Trump rallies when he gains strength. Doctors thought he might live many months. Alas he was laughing and smiling till the end and frowning about Trump.
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From: Larry Visoski [redacted]
Sent: 9/5/2016 7:10:16 PM
To: Je vacation [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Rich Kahn [redacted]
Subject: Flight time OMAA - BQK
Attachments: IMG_0068.PNG; Untitled attachment 393133.txt; IMG_0069.PNG; Untitled attachment 393136.txt

Jeffrey
Eric completed Trump's interior on his 757 at Stambaugh, they have worked together in the past.
Estimated cost Abu Dhabi to Stambaugh $37,038.00

Abu Dhabi - Shannon Ireland 7+45min (-23kt Headwind)
Shannon - Jacksonville (to clear Customs) 7+46min (-23kt headwind)
Jacksonville to Brunswick GA +12min
Total Flight time 15+42min

Cost
BBJ burns an average of 5,200Lbs per hour = 776 gallons per hour

Abu Dhabi current fuel price $1.74 per gallon.
Shannon Current fuel price. $1.94 per gallon.
Jacksonville Fuel, $3.50 per gallon.

Abu Dhabi - Shannon, 7.7 hours = 5,975 gallons = $10,396.50 Fuel
Shannon -Jacksonville 7.7 hours = 5975 gallons = $11,591.50 Fuel
Jacksonville-Brunswick .2 hours= 300 gallons= $ 1,050.00 Fuel
Handling charge in Shannon estimate $ 3,500.00
Navigational charges, overflight permits, landing
Fee Shannon Ireland. $10,000.00 est.
Landing fee Jacksonville. $ 500.00

_____

Estimated total $ 37,038.00

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 5/13/2015 11:27:12 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Library
Attachments: IMG_1049.JPG; IMG_1058.JPG; IMG_1055.JPG; IMG_1049.JPG

Importance: High

From: Brandon Thompson <[redacted]
Date: Wednesday, May 13, 2015 at 7:15 PM
To: Richard Kahn <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Library

Dear Richard,

For the first time in my life, I am facing the real prospect of dismissal from the project.
This is due mainly to misunderstanding.
Mr. Epstein came today and told me very bluntly that he is annoyed with me not doing the job. I prepared one column for him and the several feet of decorative molding, but this was a miss. He told me it looks like it was done yesterday.
This is the very first time that I work like this. I did several projects for French customers in Greenwich, Conn., but always I produced the sample and than work
according to the samples. The paneling I work on were early 19 c. so even the oak looked different. Even at the White House, when I was restoring Blue Room, which you can look at it on my Website, www.brandonthompsonrestoration.com I produced design, made samples and did the project. President Clinton told me this is the most beautiful Room, he was clearly impressed.
This time I know exactly what Mr. Epstein wants. However it might be too late. He will come tomorrow to check.
Today I did a lot of prep work for tomorrow. I will go tonight to work on some of the columns but the night light is deceiving and I may miss the last chance he gave me.
So far I was rated the best finisher, until now I guess.
Warm regards
Brandon

On Tue, May 12, 2015 at 9:42 PM, Brandon Thompson <[redacted]> wrote:

> Dear Richard,
> the samples are ready for approval. I finished one column about 95%, as I want to put some accents on it but after I discuss it with Mr. Epstein. I also finished upper section above the blackboard. I also finished some other columns, not completely, because I need the approval. My feeling is that someone was already working in the Library, as I can see a lot of waxing done. I finished one column so it will correspond with the rest of the décor. You can not remove the whitish color completely. There are some "bald" columns, which in my opinion do not sort of belong to the Library any more as they are completely brown. Everything has to have at least an shadow of what is around. The top carving, moldings columns and other elements in the Library, have to "bond" together. The upper small carvings, have to be finished individually, as a play between the whitish color and natural brown color of oak wood. I sort of model the shapes of the crabs, snails and other creatures and they come alive. I think I did good work but Mr. Epstein needs to approve it so I can go ahead and finish the project.
> Kindly,
> Brandon
>
> On Mon, May 11, 2015 at 6:45 PM, Brandon Thompson <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > Dear Richard,
> > I prepared some samples for Mr. Epstein for today. I did not waist time as there is a lot of work in the Library. However, I need his approval to continue. Tonight I will go back and start installation of the doors and panels.
> > Brandon

On Sun, May 10, 2015 at 9:48 PM, Brandon Thompson [redacted]> wrote:

Dear Richard,

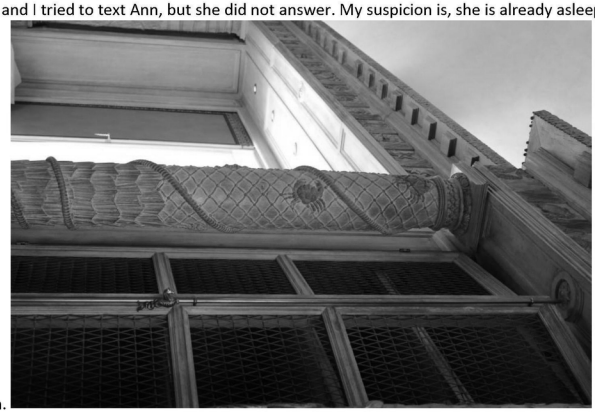
I am not sure whether the photos depict the column right. I looked at it and does not do the justice to what you have on the column. I hope you can see the details like even changing the white areas into rubbed ones and emphasising crabs. Making the rope "wet" looking. contrasting the rubbed areas with white, and looking at the entire column as a whole. All the columns are looking different, as somebody would work previously on them, and some of them are over-rubbed, some of them are not rubbed at all. The upper part also, I prepared a sample, so Mr. Epstein can see the difference.

Brandon

On Sun, May 10, 2015 at 9:35 PM, Brandon Thompson [redacted]> wrote:

Dear Richard,

It is after 9:20 pm and I tried to text Ann, but she did not answer. My suspicion is, she is already asleep. I will try to send



you photos if I can.

On Sun, May 10, 2015 at 7:49 PM, Richard Kahn <[redacted]> wrote:
Please send photos. Thank you

Sent from my iPhone

> On May 10, 2015, at 6:07 PM, Brandon Thompson <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> Dear Richard,
>
> We were expecting Mr. Epstein to come today and I was preparing presentation for him. Ann, the manager here called me that there was change in schedule and Mr. Epstein is expected to come tomorrow early afternoon.
> For this presentation, I finished one column for him.
> This is not a regular work that I have done on it. Actually, I balanced the "whites" and "darker" rubbed off elements. Further, I balanced shiny areas and matt.
> After doing this, I worked on differentiating darker areas, making them lighter and darker, depending on the location. I did the same with "whites". Then I emphasized certain elements even more, like rope, net, crabs. This work requires

more than finisher to do it. I have high hopes, than this time Mr. Epstein will like the work. If he accepts finishing this way, I will finish it may be even this coming week, providing, I can work 10-12 hours a day. I do not want to work even longer hours, because you are not sharp and still you can spoil delicate balance required for this finish.
> Do you want me to send you some photos? I will be glad to. The column still, has to be viewed from all sides.
> Kindly,
>
> Brandon

Date: Friday, March 11 2011 12:54 AM
Subject: FW: Daily Mail
From: GMAX [redacted]
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

------ Forwarded Message
From: <[redacted]>
Reply-To: <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, 10 Mar 2011 16:40:11 -0500
To: NY Max [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Daily Mail

Please see below. My take:A) voluntary rules are meaningless in terms of arranging for a cessation of crap articles/stories etcB) doesn't offer redress (financial or in terms of publicity.Law here definitely provides more protection and redress if individual(s) involved in approaches from newspapers are employees or have any form of contractual relationship with target.Let's talk.Kevinx

Kevin MaxwellAvenue Partners Limited35 Park LaneLondon W1K 1RBTel[redacted]Fax:[redacted]

From: Ross gow <[redacted]>
Date: Thu, 10 Mar 2011 21:29:24 +0000
To: GMAX<[redacted]
Cc: Brian Basham<[redacted]>; Ross Gow<[redacted]>; Ian Ian Maxwell<[redacted]>; Kevin Maxwell<[redacted]>; Gareth Thompson<[redacted]>; <[redacted]
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may reasonably be expected to be called as a witness, unless the information concerned ought demonstrably to be published in the public interest and there is an over-riding need to make or promise payment for this to be done; and all reasonable steps have been taken to ensure no financial dealings influence the evidence those witnesses give. In no circumstances should such payment be conditional on the outcome of a trial.

*iii) Any payment or offer of payment made to a person later cited to give evidence in proceedings must be disclosed to the prosecution and defence. The witness must be advised of this requirement.

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Ross Gow
Managing Partner

ACUITY Reputation Limited
[redacted]

Mobile [redacted]
Tel [redacted]

acuityreputation.com <[redacted]>

Sent from my iPad

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If you are 16-yrs-old, a sexual relationship with someone 18-24**is** legal in Florida. The two persons involved must be between 16 and 24.
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So as soon as you turn 16 you are able to have sexual relations. And you can have sexual relations with a **minor (under 18) until your 24th birthday.**

'Females for JE': Disturbing log of telephone calls from schoolchildren found in sex den of Duke's billionaire friend

By Stephen Wright <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/search.html?s=y &authornamef=Stephen+ Wright <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/search.html?s=y &authornamef=Stephen+ Wright> >
Last updated at 6:30 PM on 9th March 2011

Details of the disturbing lifestyle led by Jeffrey Epstein emerged last night after the Daily Mail uncovered logs of telephone messages left at his Florida child sex den.

Schoolchildren were among hundreds of callers who apparently rang to arrange massages for the 58-year-old billionaire friend of Prince Andrew, who was later convicted of child sex offences.

Ghislaine Maxwell, 49-year-old daughter of the disgraced media mogul Robert Maxwell, is named in several messages.

Disturbing: Messages were found in Florida home of Jeffrey Epstein, left. The billionaire, 58, is a friend of Prince Andrew, right

In one left for her or 'Sarah', a caller says she 'doesn't know at what time she must come this night for the massage'.

Other messages for Epstein, the sources of which are not clear, contain such phrases as: 'She has females for Mr JE' and 'I have a female for him'.

Another with sickening overtones comes from someone called Jeanluc for Epstein: 'He just did a

good one – 18 years. (She spoke to me and said, “I love Jeffrey”)’.

The long list of women is punctuated by regular references to Epstein’s celebrity friends including the business magnate Donald Trump, film producer Harvey Weinstein and magician David Copperfield, referred to as ‘Magic David’.

The sheer volume of phone traffic shows the frequency of Epstein’s massages, many of which were ‘erotic’ and allegedly involved the abused girls.

The evidence is from documents confiscated by police during a criminal investigation into Epstein and seen yesterday by the Mail.

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Logs: Two of the answer phone messages. Miss Maxwell is asked, right, when a girl should give a massage

One message left for Epstein reads: ‘She is wondering if 2.30 ok cuz she needs to stay in school.’

It was left in February 2005 – the same year that the mother of a 14-year-old girl alerted police to Epstein’s abuse.

Another note shows that ‘Colleen’ phoned to tell Epstein: ‘Going into class – will be out in 45 min. ’

Last night the Daily Mail tried to contact the people whose names and telephone numbers are included in the logs.

One girl named Jenny, who had left her number, hung up immediately when asked about Epstein.

A man listed only as Darren said: ‘I have no comment to make on that.’

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The plea came after the former Soviet Republic's President's son-in-law had bought the Prince's former marital home for £3million above the asking price.

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From: Ross Gow [redacted]
Sent: 10 March 2011 7:48 AM
To: Ross gow
Cc: [redacted] <[redacted]> ; Ian Maxwell; Kevin Maxwell; Brian Basham; Gareth Thompson; [redacted] <[redacted]>
Subject: Daily Mail

Mail have published phone logs

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Ross Gow

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Mobile [redacted]

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Sent from my iPad

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Sent from my iPad

------ End of Forwarded Message

Date: Saturday, March 12 2011 02:15 AM
Subject: Fw: Daily Mail
From: Gmax [redacted]
To: jeevacation@gmail.com;

---- Original Message ----
From: Ross gow <[redacted]>
To: Gmax;[redacted] <[redacted]>
Cc: Brian Basham <[redacted]>; Ross Gow <[redacted]>; Ian Ian Maxwell <[redacted]>; Kevin Maxwell <[redacted]>; Gareth Thompson <[redacted]>; <[redacted]>
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Sent from my iPad

From: [redacted]
Sent: 7/16/2011 6:42:55 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Fwd: 'Atlas Shrugged': From Fiction to Fact in 52 Years .
Attachments: image007.jpg

Importance: High

From Stevie.

-----Original Message-----
From: Steven Sinofsky [redacted]>
To: 'Melanie Walker ' <[redacted]
Sent: Sat, Jul 16, 2011 11:05 am
Subject: 'Atlas Shrugged': From Fiction to Fact in 52 Years .

'Atlas Shrugged': From Fiction to Fact in 52 Years

By STEPHEN MOORE

Some years ago when I worked at the libertarian Cato Institute, we used to label any new hire who had not yet read "Atlas Shrugged" a "virgin." Being conversant in Ayn Rand's classic novel about the economic carnage caused by big government run amok was practically a job requirement. If only "Atlas" were required reading for every member of Congress and political appointee in the Obama administration. I'm confident that we'd get out of the current financial mess a lot faster.

Getty Images

The art for a 1999 postage stamp.

Many of us who know Rand's work have noticed that with each passing week, and with each successive bailout plan and economic-stimulus scheme out of Washington, our current politicians are committing the very acts of economic lunacy that "Atlas Shrugged" parodied in 1957, when this 1,000-page novel was first published and became an instant hit.

Rand, who had come to America from Soviet Russia with striking insights into totalitarianism and the destructiveness of socialism, was already a celebrity. The left, naturally, hated her. But as recently as 1991, a survey by the Library of Congress and the Book of the Month Club found that readers rated "Atlas" as the second-most influential book in their lives, behind only the Bible.

For the uninitiated, the moral of the story is simply this: Politicians invariably respond to crises -- that in most cases they themselves created -- by spawning new government programs, laws and regulations. These, in turn, generate more havoc and poverty, which inspires the politicians to create more programs . . . and the downward spiral repeats itself until the productive sectors of the economy collapse under the collective weight of taxes and other burdens imposed in the name of fairness, equality and do-goodism.

In the book, these relentless wealth redistributionists and their programs are disparaged as "the looters and their laws." Every new act of government futility and stupidity carries with it a benevolent-sounding title. These include the "Anti-Greed Act" to redistribute income (sounds like Charlie Rangel's promises soak-the-rich tax bill) and the "Equalization of Opportunity Act" to prevent people from starting more than one business (to give other people a chance). My personal favorite, the "Anti Dog-Eat-Dog Act," aims to restrict cut-throat competition between firms and thus slow the wave of business bankruptcies. Why didn't Hank Paulson think of that?

These acts and edicts sound farcical, yes, but no more so than the actual events in Washington, circa 2008. We already have been served up the $700 billion "Emergency Economic Stabilization Act" and the "Auto Industry Financing and Restructuring Act." Now that Barack Obama is in town, he will soon sign into law with great urgency the "American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan." This latest Hail Mary pass will increase the federal budget (which has already expanded by $1.5 trillion in eight years under George Bush) by an additional $1 trillion -- in roughly his first 100 days in office.

The current economic strategy is right out of "Atlas Shrugged": The more incompetent you are in business, the more handouts the politicians will bestow on you. That's the justification for the $2 trillion of subsidies doled out already to keep afloat distressed insurance companies, banks, Wall Street investment houses, and auto companies -- while standing next in line for their share of the booty are real-estate developers, the steel industry, chemical companies, airlines, ethanol producers, construction firms and even catfish farmers. With each successive bailout to "calm the markets," another trillion of national wealth is subsequently lost. Yet, as "Atlas" grimly foretold, we now treat the incompetent who wreck their companies as victims, while those resourceful business owners who manage to make a profit are portrayed as recipients of illegitimate "windfalls."

When Rand was writing in the 1950s, one of the pillars of American industrial might was the railroads. In her novel the railroad owner, Dagny Taggart, an enterprising industrialist, has a FedEx-like vision for expansion and first-rate service by rail. But she is continuously badgered, cajoled, taxed, ruled and regulated -- always in the public interest -- into bankruptcy. Sound far-fetched? On the day I sat down to write this ode to "Atlas," a Wall Street Journal headline blared: "Rail Shippers Ask Congress to Regulate Freight Prices."

In one chapter of the book, an entrepreneur invents a new miracle metal -- stronger but lighter than steel. The government immediately appropriates the invention in "the public good." The politicians demand that the metal inventor come to Washington and sign over ownership of his invention or lose everything.

The scene is eerily similar to an event late last year when six bank presidents were summoned by Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson to Washington, and then shuttled into a conference room and told, in effect, that they could not leave until they collectively signed a document handing over percentages of their future profits to the government. The Treasury folks insisted that this shakedown, too, was all in "the public interest."

Ultimately, "Atlas Shrugged" is a celebration of the entrepreneur, the risk taker and the cultivator of wealth through human intellect. Critics dismissed the novel as simple-minded, and even some of Rand's political admirers complained that she lacked compassion. Yet one pertinent warning resounds throughout the book: When profits and wealth and creativity are denigrated in society, they start to disappear -- leaving everyone the poorer.

One memorable moment in "Atlas" occurs near the very end, when the economy has been rendered comatose by all the great economic minds in Washington. Finally, and out of desperation, the politicians come to the heroic businessman John Galt (who has resisted their assault on capitalism) and beg him to help them get the economy back on track. The discussion sounds much like what would happen today:

Galt: "You want me to be Economic Dictator?"

Mr. Thompson: *"Yes!"*

"And you'll obey any order I give?"

"Implicitly!"

"Then start by abolishing all income taxes."
"Oh no!" screamed Mr. Thompson, leaping to his feet. *"We couldn't do that . . . How would we pay government employees?"*
"Fire your government employees."
"*Oh, no!"*
Abolishing the income tax. Now *that* really would be a genuine economic stimulus. But Mr. Obama and the Democrats in Washington want to do the opposite: to *raise* the income tax "for purposes of fairness" as Barack Obama puts it.
David Kelley, the president of the Atlas Society, which is dedicated to promoting Rand's ideas, explains that "the older the book gets, the more timely its message." He tells me that there are plans to make "Atlas Shrugged" into a major motion picture -- it is the only classic novel of recent decades that was never made into a movie. "We don't need to make a movie out of the book," Mr. Kelley jokes. "We are living it right now."

From: Faith Kates [redacted]
Sent: 8/14/2012 1:05:43 PM
To: Faith Kates [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Public work vs private AMAZING

> This is crazy please read it and pass it on!!!
>
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
>
>
> From: John Connolly Ed.D. [redacted]
> Date: August 4, 2012 3:54:25 PM GMT+02:00
> To: RALPH BERNSTEIN <[redacted], Morad Tahbaz <[redacted]>, "Joseph Bernstein
([redacted]" <[redacted]
> Subject: FW: Public work vs private AMAZING
>
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>
>
>
>
>
>
>
>
> John J. Connolly, Ed.D.
>
> President & CEO
>
> Castle Connolly Medical Ltd.
>
> 42 W. 24th St.
>
> New York, NY 10010
>
>
>
> P. [redacted]
>
> F. [redacted]
>
>
>
> [redacted]
>
> www.castleconnolly.com
>
>
>
> From: ed thompson [mailto:[redacted]
> Sent: Friday, August 03, 2012 6:03 PM
> To: ;
> Subject: Fw: Public work vs private AMAZING
>
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> There are actually two messages here. The first is very
>
>
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>
>
> interesting, but the second is absolutely astounding - and explains a lot.
>
> A recent "Investor's Business Daily" article provided very
> interesting statistics from a survey by the United Nations International
> Health Organization.
>
> Percentage of men and women who survived a cancer five years after diagnosis:
>
> U.S. 65%
>
> England 46%
>
> Canada 42%
>
>
> Percentage of patients diagnosed with diabetes who received
> treatment within six months:
>
> U.S. 93%
>
> England 15%
>
> Canada 43%
>
>
> Percentage of seniors needing hip replacement who received it
> within six months:
>
> U.S. 90%
>
> England 15%
>
> Canada 43%
>
>
> Percentage referred to a medical specialist who see one within
> one month:
>
> U.S. 77%
>
> England 40%
>
> Canada 43%
>
>
> Number of MRI scanners (a prime diagnostic tool) per million
> people:
>
> U.S. 71
>
> England 14
>
> Canada 18
>
>
> Percentage of seniors (65+), with low income, who say they are
> in "excellent health":
>
> U.S. 12%
>
> England 2%
>
> Canada 6%

>
>
> And now for the last statistic:
>
>
> National Health Insurance?
>
> U.S. NO
>
> England YES
>
> Canada YES
>
> Check this last set of statistics!!
>
> The percentage of each past president's cabinet who had worked in the private business sector prior to their appointment to the cabinet. You know what the private business sector is a real-life business, not a government job. Here are the percentages.
>
>
> T. Roosevelt..... 38%
>
> Taft.....40%
>
> Wilson 52%
>
> Harding..... 49%
>
> Coolidge..... 48%
>
> Hoover..... 42%
>
> F. Roosevelt..... 50%
>
> Truman..... 50%
>
> Eisenhower..... ..... 57%
>
> Kennedy..... 30%
>
> Johnson..... 47%
>
> Nixon..... 53%
>
> Ford..... 42%
>
> Carter..... 32%
>
> Reagan..... 56%
>
> GH Bush..... 51%
>
> Clinton 39%
>
> GW Bush..... 55%
>
> Obama..... 8%
>
>
> This helps to explain the incompetence of this administration:
> only 8% of them have ever worked in private business!
>
> That's right! Only eight percent---the least, by far, of the
> last 19 presidents! And these people are trying to tell our big
> corporations how to run their business?
>
> How can the president of a major nation and society, the one
> with the most successful economic system in world history, stand and talk about business when he's never worked for one? Or about jobs when he has never really had one? And when it's the same for 92% of his senior staff and closest advisers? They've spent most of their time in academia, government and/or non-profit jobs or as "community organizers." They should have been in an employment line.
>
> Pass this on because we'll NEVER see these facts in the main
> stream media.
>
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>
>   ------ End of Forwarded Message
>

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/12/2014 11:24:06 AM
To: Mariana Idźkowska [redacted]

These conspiracy theories are an aberration and an insult to the memory of the crash victims, including the late President himself. As a Pole who *is* at least somewhat aware of the politics and economics of Poland, and a journalist who follows world politics and news developments daily, I am severely disappointed at the number of people that are flocking to these conspiracy theories, and academics and professionals who propagate such ideas should themselves feel ashamed.

Firstly, there is absolutely no proof that there was any sabotage or subterfuge by *either* the Russians *or* the Prime Minister's political allies. Such accusations, then, without presenting any credible evidence, are slanderous.

Also, there would be no political or diplomatic capital gained by either of the "accused"... there would be little for the Russian government to gain - it would be a huge diplomatic embarrassment for the Russian government to be found guilty of essentially assassinating a head of state. Kaczynski was one of the strongest allies of the U.S. among European leaders, and even Russia with its assertive diplomatic policies would not risk a complete breakdown with the U.S. by killing a close ally. International condemnation would also follow, and the President - perhaps even the Prime Minister - would have to resign and wave good-bye to any political career in the foreseeable future. Yes, "even in Russia."

Similarly, for the Prime Minister's party, if he were actually complicit in the crash, that would mean he - or his allies - committed a coup d'etat. Also, there will be early presidential elections in June, which might actually go in favor of the President's party because of a sympathy vote. The "acting" Presidency is in the hands of his party for only two months... so, again, the Prime Minister and his allies have nothing to gain and potentially everything to lose in the June vote.

Conspiracy-monging cheapens a national tragedy

Political profit or loss questions aside, however, the conspiracy-monging seems to be taken as a way to discover who's responsible for the tragedy and thus somehow bring them justice. However, it is not a healthy way to deal with the tragedy. It is not conducive to national or personal healing. Furthermore, it disgraces and taints the memory of those who died.

It only cheapens the tragedy and, sadly, may foreshadow what's to come in the coming presidential campaign - the tragedy may be used by certain groups or individuals to propagate their own agenda and assume the presidency.

It is not so different than what has been going on in the U.S., with the "birthers" claiming Barack Obama is not legally the President because he is not actually a citizen, or even natural-born citizen. Not as morbid, of course, but still, in my honest opinion, ridiculous.

Baseless, nonsensical conspiracies simply destroys the abiltiy of the nation and people of Poland to move on and honor the memory of those lost, and cheapens the tragedy that has been felt by Poles as far away as Chicago as well, and commented on with deep sorrow and respect by U.S. politicians from Mayor Daley to President Obama himself.

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Jeffrey Epstein
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From: [redacted]
Sent: 12/22/2011 10:14:55 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: we will be having dinnr with him on sunday

Importance: High

Bozhe Moi!!
Hope I'll handle my utensils:))

On Dec 22, 2011 12:09 PM, "Jeffrey Epstein" <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> Gergen went on to become the Director of Communications for President Gerald Ford and President Ronald Reagan, a counselor on domestic and foreign affairs for President Bill Clinton and his Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and an adviser to the 1980 George H.W. Bush presidential campaign.
>
> --
> **********
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> Jeffrey Epstein
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/17/2016 1:35:22 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: the story

Importance: High

1. all the girls discussed in the press , came to the house , to give erotic massages. each and every girl , each time, came in exchange for money. many of the girls interviewed were in their mid twenties early thirties. no searching for underage girls. many of the girls worked in the local massage parlors. (advertised everyday in the palm beach papers. , referred in the local vernacular to " jack shacks". 5 within 4 miles of the intl airpot.) or strip clubs.. (both of the girls bringing the cvra case).

2. There have been discussios of a house full of underage photos. the video taken by the police contradict that in its entirety

3 there have been discsussion about hidden video cameras. they were put there with the HELP of the local Police , in order to catch a thief. money had been going missing , and the police came , set up cameras. and one night hid in the bushes hoping to catch the thief in the act. It turned out to be the houseman. who confessed, . there were never any hidden cameras anywhere besides the garage and the camera in the living room focused on the place where money was kept

4. The police conducted a search. and found adult sextoys, I am an adult. they made a point to say that there was a purple plastic sex toy, , but later without correcting their earliler assertion disconver it was nothing but a salad fork

5. The girl whose parents initiated the investigation, told the police in a sworn statment that she had lied about her age to gain access to the house. she said she tried her best to appear over 18 , as she wanted to be invited back. there was not trolling for anyone underage.

6 . many if not most of the girls , invited their friends , best friends after they had left. hardly a normal result if there had been any coercion or anytrhing untoward.
7 , many of the girls had their boyfirends wait downstairs. or in some instances their parents. not one time did anyone ever complain of mistreatment ,
8 there was never ever any drugs , alcolhol, threats, coercion

9 the local sex crimes prosecutor, lana belahovik , interviewed the girls herself , and concluded in her own words thre wer no real victims here. just local prostituion. she offer a 5 year probation sentence with no registration. . Alan dershowitwz told me I shouldnt take it . it was too dangerous. not telling me that my probation would have been moved to my home in the virigin islands. then the prosecutors to be fair presented their information to a grand jury, the ONLY time a jury would see any of the claims. the result was a charge of soliction of prostituion . a crime with a mandatory release after taking a harms of prostiution course. This was a grand jury determination.

10 . local. no transportation across state lines. contrary to [redacted] outragious and libeious allegations, no trafficking. it is a disservice to women who are trafficked to compare a woman brought into the country , tied to a bed, given drugs to have sex with strangers for money that she doesnt get . . to girsl who took a taxi to my house, had food snacks and got paid, then went shopping with her friedns and back home.

11/ the fbi decided to pursue a highly unusual case. their position was that my secretary , not me, called girls on the telephone and asked them if they would like to work. . many times as the message pads reveall the girls called over and over again askking to work. hardly coercion (the latest cases REQURE coercion, which states it is NOT for making appts .....)

12 THe fbi, threatend many statutes if i would not plead guilty to a state crime. they suggested that a cell phone was a means of interstae commerce (similar to perverts who troll the internet , in searhc of underage girsl , and in each and every one of those cases the govt is required to confirm , and they do,that the person KNEW or that the person on the other end of the computer was underage. . all stings hve the police stinger ask dont you know that i am 14 , 13 etc. there was never any such conversation with anyone.
13. the govt said that traveling to my homeof 15 year in florida, ccould be considered traveling for thepurpsoe of underage sex. never before anyone not crossing state lines with a person , charged with a crimge for going home

14. the gov said that they would not bring an indictment if i plead guilty to being a pimp.(a crime in florida that REQUIRES the pimpt to earh money off the the girls , (regster as a sex offender) and pay a list of girls whose names they would provide me only AFTER the fact. and AFTER i was in jail. I would have to agree NOT to contest any claim by anyone they put on the list . when I attempted to do so , as i never met some of the people on the list. I reived a letter stating that any attempt to question their story would result in a breech of my agreeemnt.
15. If I had tto do it over I hope i would have shown much better judgement as many of the girls came from underprivleged familys and i was unaware of the potential for harm.
16.[redacted], has said she was a sex slave. . she has now admited she lied about her age. she was never 15. she has changed th story on my wikipieia page , but no press statment. she said that clinton was on the island, not true, she said ghilsane flew him in a black helipcopter, I did not have a black heli and she never flew him, she said that al gore and wife were on the isalnd never happened, she has accused a prime minisnter a senator a prinve. a sceintist, alan dershowitz. a many in his seventies with his wife in attendance. sex on a plane with secret service and dimplanic protection people looking the other way. . she had an arrest warrnat for her as she stole money from the restaurnat at which she worked, she had before made clainds of sexual assualts but the prosecutro said she had no creidbility ,[redacted] emiails , suggst adding alan dershowitz to her complaint. [redacted] emails suggest[redacted]might have comminted pergury . she has said that the house had many photos of underage girls , a recent press realease clearly shows another lie.

17, the press has labled me a pedophile a disgusting term for men atracted to pre pubcesnet girsl. . these girls worked in a strip club. . Not one person ever testified that they were asked to bring underage girls , in fact the opposite. all said they were told on one under 18. fbi foia request . confirms

wealth was not used as an advantage. the local police chief said this case was bigger than rush limbaugh, . no one had ever faced a federal charge for having prostituies in their own house. no violence coercion. etc
19l the police released to the press , the raw statements of the girls. not one was ever questioned by opposing counsel. .

--

please note
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The Special Counsel's office, nearly leak-proof since its inception more than a year ago, can appear to be operating in some parallel universe unmoved by the every-day political turmoil. But in the course of conversations I've had researching a new book on President Trump and the forces arrayed against him, it has become clear that Robert Mueller and his office are already preparing for a life or death confrontation with the President and the mother of all constitutional crises.

Over the last several months the Mueller office has prepared a possible indictment of the president on charges related to obstruction of justice and devised a legal strategy to navigate the inevitable fallout from such an indictment.

My discussions have been with both White House advisors and people close to the investigation—that is, sources on both sides of the possible conflict. No source involved in this story would speak on the record. But in broad-strokes each side's understanding matches the account provided to me by the other side.

The Special Counsel has in place a set of allegations, proposed charges, and an aggressive legal theory to support the indictment of the president on obstruction charges. In the last few weeks, as the President has indulged his pardon authority, the Mueller team has also developed a legal basis to oppose what the Special Counsel believes will be a likely pardon of former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn—who had previously struck a plea bargain which could include his testimony against the President—and what it believes to be another step in the President's obstruction efforts.

At this point, the case for indictment has, in effect, a judge of one, since the Mueller team must get the approval of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein to proceed. As recently as April, Rosenstein publicly declared that the President was not a target, but this may have been a kind of fig leaf: technically the President does not become a formal target until Rosenstein agrees to designate him as one. It may also illustrate a conflict between the Deputy Attorney General and the investigators he has overseen since the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the Russia-related investigation—though, according to one source, Mueller believes he does have the support of his boss.

The proposed indictment would be all the more controversial because it finds the entire narrative of the case for obstruction in plain sight. Almost nothing in it-involves new information; rather, it takes

well-covered public events and moves them to a set of circumstantial conclusions. There is no smoking gun beyond the often flagrant, custom-breaking, events of the President's 16 months in office. Indeed, much of the evidence is based on the President's public statements and tweets about those events. "This indictment could have been drafted without anyone being interviewed," said one source. This is, from the perspective of White House sources good news: the case then, is just an issue of what motives are ascribed to the President's behavior—behavior that is, the President's supporters believe it is easy to show, impulsive and not thought out. Hence no intent. For the Mueller team, it is precisely that careless behavior and flagrant disregard for constitutional standards that they hope-to put on trial.

According to a source involved in the Mueller strategy, the plan to indict the President is now "more advanced" than it was when the terms of the indictment were agreed earlier in the year. In the intervening months, the president's lawyers, spokespersons and surrogates have staged a very public debate about whether such a legal proceeding would be constitutional—in effect trying to discredit, ahead of time, any prosecutorial action the Special Counsel's office might take. This may be a preemptive response to an indictment they expect is forthcoming. It may also be an effort to pressure Rosenstein. It may even be an effort to convince Mueller of that, since some in the White House believe that that the plan to indict is not a strategy yet embraced by the whole Special Counsel's office, but one that is being advocated only by its most virulently anti-Trump purists on the investigative team—most notably by the number two lawyer under Mueller, Andrew Weissmann.

It may be noteworthy that there appears now not to be plan for an indictment related to collusion, although, legal experts say, that could come later and may depend on new information from the investigation of the President's personal attorney, Michael Cohen. It is also possible that alternative plans have been made—preparation for more expansive indictments, for instance, or for a broader report that would include the allegations of obstruction but not seek to indict the President.

The White House view is that without the underlying collusion charge—"real collusion," in the words of one White House advisor, "and not just a bunch of Facebook ads and some trolls"—Mueller will be presenting a weak and politically-motivated case. "That's a witch hunt," said the advisor. The view of the Mueller team, or at least that of its most ardent members, seems to be that the obstruction charges go to

the very heart of exposing how Trump has abused his power and turned the White House into a corrupt fiefdom.

According to one source, Mueller could hardly contain his disgust when last month Rudy Giuliani, the President's new lawyer—hired to make a case for the President on television and to push back against the Mueller team—airily dismissed the notion that a sitting president can be indicted. Adding insult to injury, Giuliani—who a White House source said has likely learned of aspects of the pending indictment—said Mueller agreed with that assessment. White House sources believe Giuliani was daring the Special Counsel to tip his hand. But Mueller, ever in character, contained his outrage and continued to hold his cards close, as his team finished preparing the obstruction case and refined the legal theories under which it would claim the right to haul the president into court.

According to the proposed indictment, the President's scheme to obstruct the FBI's investigation into connections between the Trump campaign and Russian efforts to undermine the U.S. election began on the 7th day of the Trump administration. Three days prior, on January 24, National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, lied to the FBI about his contacts with the Russian Ambassador, Sergey Kislyak. From January 27th, when the President had the one-on-one dinner with FBI Director James Comey, through to the middle of April, the President conducted a cat and mouse game with Comey, testing his loyalty and trying to establish his willingness to aide the President and protect Flynn. On May 9th, baldly admitting his dissatisfaction with Comey's unwillingness to play ball on Russia, the President fired the FBI director. Shortly thereafter, continuing his efforts to disrupt the investigation, the President turned his ire on the Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, pressuring him to fall into line on the President's behalf, and on Robert Mueller, the newly appointed Special Counsel, pushing to fire him to block the investigation.

The second episode that the Mueller teams has focued on took place on July 8, on Air Force one, when the President personally directed his son, Don, Jr., to lie about the reason for his meeting in Trump Tower, during the campaign, with representatives of the Russian government—a meeting about collaborating with the Russians to undermine Hillary Clinton's campaign.

The third episode began on June 7th, after reports that Deputy FBI

Director Andrew McCabe would confirm statements made by James Comey about how the president had tried to intimidate him. In response, the President began a campaign of harassment, threats, and intimidation against McCabe. On March 16, 2018, after McCabe testified before Congress, the President, in retaliation, caused his dismissal and the loss of his pension.

The Mueller team may have a high hurdle in convincing Rosenstein to approve the indictment. The Department of Justice's standing view precludes charging a sitting president with a crime. This is based on an opinion written by the Office of Legal Counsel in the Watergate era and recently expressed in hyperbolic terms by Giuliani: the President could kill James Comey if he wanted to without fear of prosecution. But, according to several former DOJ lawyers, Rosenstein in this circumstance may have the power to override the Office of Legal Counsel opinion. In effect, finding that the standing opinion does not cover the present circumstances. In one view—and in the suspicion of some in the White House—he may have already authorized Mueller to proceed with the indictment.

The White House has made the argument—supported in many television appearances by Trump legal surrogate, Alan Dershowitz—that a president cannot be prosecuted for exercising his constitutional prerogatives, even if those actions foster a crime; the President, as the ultimate federal office, and the nation's chief law enforcement officer, enjoys nearly unfettered latitude in how he carries out his duties. "I don't think you are going to find a court who will not see the president's role as unique," said one White House advisor. "The Mueller theories are wishful thinking."

An indictment for obstruction of Justice is described in similar ways by both Mueller and White House insiders: it puts the President's public behavior on trial. The nature of that behavior, for the Mueller team, is corrupt; this, according to the White House, is how voters elected the President to behave.

The Special Counsel seems less worried about its legal position than it does about it's existential one—continuing to anticipate how the President might use his authority to move against it.

According to insiders, the team has meticulously prepared for most contingencies it might face from an impulsive president who feels

few restraints about the way he deals with his adversaries. He could act unilaterally and shut down the investigation, forcing a legal test likely before the Supreme Court. He could order the Attorney General—even given his prior recusal—to repeal the Special Counsel regulations and close down the investigation, and fire him if he refused. Or he could fire Rosenstein and seek someone else to oversee the investigation in ways more to his liking. The Mueller team continues to believe it is protected by political realities—the President can not know how Congress might respond, and it might well respond with impeachment. At the same time, it has tried to game out the uncharted legal areas of exactly what happens to all of its "work product" and to the sitting grand juries if the investigation is in fact shut down or its mission altered.

Likewise, people around the President—embracing a constitutional face-off as militantly as they maintain the Mueller investigation is—say this unknown legal area that might be advantageous to the President. The delays and disruption that result as courts sort out the ramifications of the President's actions might well be the President's legal friend—the reason some in the White House have been urging the President to end the investigation, whatever the political fallout.

The President's constitutional pardon powers appear to be some of the most troubling and threatening issues for the Special Counsel. The Counsel's office believes the President will use his pardon power as an instrument to undermine the investigation.

According to present and former White House advisors, the President's recent spate of pardons are in part his way of taunting the Special Counsel. The White House, according to these sources, is aware that the Special Counsel has concluded the President's pardon power is near absolute: the President can certainly pardon himself, and others involved in the investigation.

Most immediately, the Special Counsel's office believes that the President will pardon Michael Flynn, perhaps in the coming weeks. The question for the Mueller team is if it can build an exception to the President's pardon authority. It's view here falls back on the egregiousness of the President's own behavior: there is a level of obstruction of justice that all reasonable men might know when they see it. If you pardon someone to get yourself off the hook, that's obstruction, and subverting the rule of law and the constitution you've pledged to uphold.

As the President, by nature and design, tries to claim aggressive new powers, the Mueller team, almost in equal proportion, is trying to limit the theory of Presidential power and, even, to criminalize an expansive exercise of those powers.

People who know and have worked with Mueller find it, at best, unexpected that this traditional by the book G-man would be pursuing such far-reaching legal theories. But one possible explanation, shared by many in the White House, is that Mueller is overly reliant on his staff—in fact, is being led by his number two, Andrew Weissmann.

Weismann has a longstanding reputation for aggression: he was the prosecutor whose pursuit of the accounting firm Arthur Anderson in the Enron debacle ended in its conviction—a judgment reversed well after the firm's bankruptcy and dissolution. One White House advisor likened him to Victor Hugo's obsessed policeman Inspector Javert—a prosecutor consumed with taking down the President. Indeed, Weissmann, who has in the past contributed to Democratic candidates, is a particular bet noir and favorite whipping boy for the White House his central role in the Mueller investigation taken there as evidence of a deep bias against Donald Trump.

But in another view it is precisely because Mueller, a former Marine, is so by the book and Semper Fi that he finds Trump's behavior to be personally offensive, and, on its face, corrupt. "Bob Mueller is all about limits and rules. Donald Trump has none and acknowledges none," said one lawyer who has worked with Mueller in the past.

It may yet be even a more profound clash then that, the executive branch at war with itself—the Justice Department against the White House. In this, the President's almost daily tirades against the DOJ, the Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, the Deputy Attorney General, Rosenstein, the former head of the FBI, Comey, and his former deputy, Andrew McCabe, are part of an effort to obstruct justice and save himself.

The Mueller strategy (or Weissmann strategy) is a war strategy, in the view of some legal observers. An indictment of the President would be litigated to the hilt. It would force both the substantive issues of obstruction and abuse of power and the meta issues of Presidential immunity—in essence, the President's claims to being above the law—into open court for a long and painful review and dissection that might shadow the November election.

Legal experts believe that the Mueller team might well prevail in lower courts with a much less certain outcome in the Supreme Court.

Were the case to reach the Supreme Court after the November election, it might well be the results of that election that help seal the President's fate not just in Congress but also in the courts.

"Might such an expansive claim win, yes. Should it win, no." But everyone knows the reality: weak presidents lose cases, strong presidents win them," said Ken Starr, the former independent prosecutor who might know more about the legal pursuit of the president than anyone else on earth.

From: Matthew Hiltzik [redacted]
Sent: 12/15/2018 6:40:52 PM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
CC: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Kathy Ruemmler [redacted] Darren Indyke [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Also think there should be a line in there somewhere which clearly confirms that JE understands and recognizes that he did something wrong

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 15, 2018, at 12:03 PM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

Seems very good. Is there reason or opportunity here to evoke JE's Clinton connection? He had been publicly connected to the former President and became a proxy for the considerable anger at high levels of the Federal government that still surrounded Clinton. Likewise now, one reason to revive the story is that it is a way to tar a Trump administration official, who, in the normal course of his duties, happened to deal with the case.

On Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:28 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
thoughts.

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Ken Starr** <[redacted]>
Date: Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:24 AM
Subject: Re:
To: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Cc: Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]>

Here goes:

"Sweetheart deal! " So goes the critique of the resolution of a long-ago case involving our former client -- and now-friend -- Jeffrey Epstein. The critique is profoundly misplaced, supported neither by the law or the facts, nor by the structure of our constitutional republic. To the contrary, Jeffrey was subjected to an unprecedented federal intrusion into a quintessentially local criminal matter in south Florida. His offense to the social order -- involving sex for hire -- was entirely a matter entrusted to laws of the several States, not the federal government. His conduct -- a classic state offense --was being treated exactly that way by able, honest prosecutors in Palm Beach County, but the overweening federal government intruded where it did not belong. And now, over ten years after the fact, the current assault on federal decision-makers at the time, including now-Secretary of Labor Alex Acosta (then the United States Attorney in south Florida), condemns the federal authorities for not going far enough.

The critics are entirely wrong. Neither the facts nor the law support the misguided criticisms being leveled by journalists and politicians at federal officials from over a decade ago -- including the highest levels of the Justice Department in Washington, D.C. .

Here are the key facts: Jeffrey Epstein, a successful self-made businessman with no prior criminal history whatever, engaged in illegal conduct that amounts to solicitation of prostitution. That was wrong, and it was reasonably viewed as a violation of Florida state law. Although no coercion, violence, alcohol, drugs and the

like were involved, the unsavory facts were carefully assessed by experienced state prosecutors who aggressively enforce state criminal laws. No one turned a blind eye to potential offenses to the public order. To the contrary, the Palm Beach State Attorney's Office conducted an extensive 15-month investigation, led by the chief of the Sex Crimes Division. Mr. Epstein was then indicted by a state grand jury on a single felony count of solicitation of prostitution.

During that intense investigation, the state prosecutors extensively gathered and analyzed the evidence, met face-to-face with many of the asserted victims, considered their credibility -- or lack thereof -- and considered the extent of exculpatory evidence. Then, after months of elaborate negotiations, the state prosecutors believed they had reached a reasoned resolution of the matter that vindicated the public interest -- a resolution entirely consistent with that of cases involving other similarly-situated defendants.

Then, in came the feds. The United States Attorney's Office tried, to no avail, to fit Mr. Epstein's situation into its vision of what it viewed as a commercial trafficking ring targeting minors. This was anything but. At long last, the federal authorities acknowledged that stark reality and grudgingly agreed to defer prosecution to the state. But there was a huge catch. In the face of our arguments sharply condemning their overreach, the federal prosecutors insisted on many unorthodox requirements that tugged at fundamental values of due process. For example, the agreement required Mr. Epstein to pay an undisclosed list of asserted victims $150,000 each. Even more, the feds insisted that Jeffrey pay for an attorney to represent such unidentified victims if any chose to filed civil litigation against him. When asked what possible legal authority supported this extravagant exercise of national power, the feds lamely cited a wildly inapposite case from Alaska involving cocaine and forced on-the-street prostitution. Apples and oranges.

Under the federally-forced deal, Jeffrey was sentenced to jail. That would not have been the case under the agreed-upon state disposition of this non-violent, consensual commercial arrangement. Jeffrey complied, served that sentence, and in the process was treated exactly the same as other state-incarcerated individuals. His conduct was exemplary, and so characterized by the state custodial authorities. He continued his work, including his many philanthropic efforts.

Our friend Jeffrey Epstein has paid his debt to society. He has also paid out millions of dollars to the asserted victims and their highly-creative lawyers. For over ten years, he has lived an exemplary life, including carrying on his wide-ranging philanthropies. Those of us who represented him in the Florida proceedings -- for customary professional fees -- now count him as a trusted friend.

Our nation faces vitally important challenges, many involving the treatment of women and basic human dignity. Voices are rightly being raised speaking truth to power, especially about women in the workplace. But Jeffrey, an exemplary employer, has long since been called to account by the criminal justice system for his misdeeds of yesteryear. In the spirit of the bedrock American belief in second chances, that unhappy chapter in Jeffrey's otherwise-magnificent life should be allowed to close once and for all.

On Thu, Dec 13, 2018 at 4:24 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> ken ,would take a stab at the article for the law journal. ? thx
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The Special Counsel's office, nearly leak-proof since its inception more than a year ago, can appear to be operating in some parallel universe unmoved by the every-day political turmoil. But in the course of conversations I've had researching a new book on President Trump and the forces arrayed against him, it has become clear that Robert Mueller and his office are already preparing for a life or death confrontation with the President and the mother of all constitutional crises.

Over the last several months the Mueller office has prepared a possible indictment of the president on charges related to obstruction of justice and devised a legal strategy to navigate the inevitable fallout from such an indictment.

My discussions have been with both White House advisors and people close to the investigation—that is, sources on both sides of the possible conflict. No source involved in this story would speak on the record. But in broad-strokes each side's understanding matches the account provided to me by the other side.

Since at least April the Special Counsel has had in place a set of allegations, proposed charges, and an aggressive legal theory to support the indictment of the president on obstruction charges. In the last few weeks, as the President has indulged his pardon authority, the Mueller team has also developed a legal basis to oppose what the Special Counsel believes will be a likely pardon of former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn—who had previously struck a plea bargain which could include his testimony against the President—and what it believes to be another step in the President's obstruction efforts.

At this point, the case for indictment has, in effect, a judge of one, since the Mueller team must get the approval of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein to proceed. As recently as April, Rosenstein publicly declared that the President was not a target, but this may have been a kind of fig leaf: technically the President does not become a formal target until Rosenstein agrees to designate him as one. It may also illustrate a conflict between the Deputy Attorney General and the investigators he has overseen since the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the Russia-related investigation—though, according to one source, Mueller believes he does have the support of his boss.

The proposed indictment would be all the more controversial because it finds the entire narrative of the case for obstruction in plain sight. Almost nothing in it-involves new information; rather, it takes well-covered public events and moves them to a set of circumstantial

conclusions. There is no smoking gun beyond the often flagrant, custom-breaking, events of the President's 16 months in office. Indeed, much of the evidence is based on the President's public statements and tweets about those events. "This indictment could have been drafted without anyone being interviewed," said one source. This is, from the perspective of White House sources good news: the case then, is just an issue of what motives are ascribed to the President's behavior—behavior that is, the President's supporters believe it is easy to show, impulsive and not thought out. Hence no intent. For the Mueller team, it is precisely that careless behavior and flagrant disregard for constitutional standards that they hope-to put on trial.

According to a source involved in the Mueller strategy, the plan to indict the President is now "more advanced" than it was when the terms of the indictment were agreed in April. In the intervening months, the president's lawyers, spokespersons and surrogates have staged a very public debate about whether such a legal proceeding would be constitutional—in effect trying to discredit, ahead of time, any prosecutorial action the Special Counsel's office might take. This may be a preemptive response to an indictment they expect is forthcoming. It may also be an effort to pressure Rosenstein. It may even be an effort to convince Mueller of that, since some in the White House believe that that the plan to indict is not a strategy yet embraced by the whole Special Counsel's office, but one that is being advocated only by its most virulently anti-Trump purists on the investigative team—most notably by the number two lawyer under Mueller, Andrew Weissmann.

It may be noteworthy that there appears now not to be plan for an indictment related to collusion, although, legal experts say, that could come later and may depend on new information from the investigation of the President's personal attorney, Michael Cohen. It is also possible that alternative plans have been made—preparation for more expansive indictments, for instance, or for a broader report that would include the allegations of obstruction but not seek to indict the President.

The White House view is that without the underlying collusion charge—"real collusion," in the words of one White House advisor, "and not just a bunch of Facebook ads and some trolls"—Mueller will be presenting a weak and politically-motivated case. "That's a witch hunt," said the advisor. The view of the Mueller team, or at least that of its most ardent members, seems to be that the obstruction charges go to the very heart of exposing how Trump has abused his power and turned

the White House into a corrupt fiefdom.

According to one source, Mueller could hardly contain his disgust when last month Rudy Giuliani, the President's new lawyer—hired to make a case for the President on television and to push back against the Mueller team—airily dismissed the notion that a sitting president can be indicted. Adding insult to injury, Giuliani—who a White House source said has likely learned of aspects of the pending indictment—said Mueller agreed with that assessment. White House sources believe Giuliani was daring the Special Counsel to tip his hand. But Mueller, ever in character, contained his outrage and continued to hold his cards close, as his team finished preparing the obstruction case and refined the legal theories under which it would claim the right to haul the president into court.

According to the proposed indictment, the President's scheme to obstruct the FBI's investigation into connections between the Trump campaign and Russian efforts to undermine the U.S. election began on the 7th day of the Trump administration. Three days prior, on January 24, National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, lied to the FBI about his contacts with the Russian Ambassador, Sergey Kislyak. These were contacts, according to the indictment, directed by an unnamed but ranking member of the Presidential Transition team. In the view of several former DOJ lawyers who discussed the case with me, that unnamed person could be Trump himself. From January 27th, when the President had the one-on-one dinner with FBI Director James Comey, through to the middle of April, the President conducted a cat and mouse game with Comey, testing his loyalty and trying to establish his willingness to aide the President and protect Flynn. On May 9th, baldly admitting his dissatisfaction with Comey's unwillingness to play ball on Russia, the President fired the FBI director. Shortly thereafter, continuing his efforts to disrupt the investigation, the President turned his ire on the Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, pressuring him to fall into line on the President's behalf, and on Robert Mueller, the newly appointed Special Counsel, pushing to fire him to block the investigation.

The second episode addressed in the indictment took place on July 8, on Air Force one, where the President personally directed his son, Don, Jr., to lie about the reason for his meeting in Trump Tower, during the campaign, with representatives of the Russian government—a meeting about collaborating with the Russians to undermine Hillary

Clinton's campaign.

The third episode detailed in the indictment began on June 7th, after reports that Deputy FBI Director Andrew McCabe would confirm statements made by James Comey about how the president had tried to intimidate him. In response, the President began a campaign of harassment, threats, and intimidation against McCabe. On March 16, 2018, after McCabe testified before Congress, the President, in retaliation, caused his dismissal and the loss of his pension.

The Mueller team may have a high hurdle in convincing Rosenstein to approve the indictment. In its preparation for a possible indictment, the Mueller team argues that nothing in the Constitution or in a statute suggests a status with regard to criminal prosecution for the President different from any other federal office. Nor is there any statute or case law that finds that impeachment has to come before an indictment. But the Department of Justice's standing view precludes charging a sitting president with a crime. This is based on an opinion written by the Office of Legal Counsel in the Watergate era and recently expressed in hyperbolic terms by Giuliani: the President could kill James Comey if he wanted to without fear of prosecution. But, according to several former DOJ lawyers, Rosenstein in this circumstance may have the power to override the Office of Legal Counsel opinion. The Mueller team appears to believe that Rosenstein's pledge before congress that, absent malfeasance, he will support the Special Counsel's independence with regard to the Russian investigation, means he will let the indictment go forward. In one view—and in the suspicion of some in the White House—he may have already authorized Mueller to proceed with the indictment.

The White House has made the argument—supported in many television appearances by Trump legal surrogate, Alan Dershowitz—that a president cannot be prosecuted for exercising his constitutional prerogatives, even if those actions foster a crime, that the President, as the ultimate federal office, and the nation's chief law enforcement officer, enjoys nearly unfettered latitude in how he carries out his duties. "I don't think you are going to find a court who will not see the president's role as unique," said one White House advisor. "The Mueller theories are wishful thinking."

An indictment for obstruction of Justice is described in similar

ways by both Mueller and White House insiders: it puts the President's public behavior on trial. The nature of that behavior, for the Mueller team, is corrupt; this, according to the White House, is how voters elected the President to behave.

The Special Counsel seems less worried about its legal position than it does about it's existential one—continuing to anticipate how the President might use his authority to move against it.

It sees its most immediate threat as a move by the President to replace Rosenstein. Here it believes that in the inevitable Supreme Court battle that would follow a direct attempt by the President to fire the Special Counsel, the Court would likely rebuff such an expansion of Presidential authority. At the same time, according to its internal research, the Mueller team understands that the President, acting with only somewhat more subtlety, would have the authority to order the Attorney General—even given his prior recusal—to repeal the Special Counsel regulations and close down the investigation. He can fire the Attorney General if he refuses. The President, could, too, according to the Special Counsel's analysis, fire Rosenstein and seek someone else to oversee the investigation in ways more to his liking. Both of these actions could, the Special Counsel believes, become part of the behavior that it argues in the indictment amounts to a prima facie case for obstruction of justice.

The Mueller team continues to believe it is protected by political realities—the President can not know how Congress might respond, and it might well respond with impeachment—and by bureaucratic ones. Changes to the Special Counsel authorization might require an extended comment period, meanwhile leaving the Special Counsel's status unchanged.

Still, what if the President, acting unilaterally, does shut it down? This, people around the President say is the unknown legal area that might be advantageous to the President. The delays and disruption that result as courts sort out the ramifications of the President's actions might well be the President's legal friend—the reason some in the White House have been urging the President to end the investigation, whatever the political fallout.

If so, what then happens to all the work the Special Counsel's office has done, and, indeed, to the sitting Grand Juries reviewing the evidence? The special counsel's view, according to insiders working on the issues, is that nobody knows. The optimistic legal view is that the

Office and staff would survive the Special Counsel's ouster and their work preserved. And that actions taken by the Grand Jury would remain in effect.

This, however, would probably not be true if the Attorney General refused the next Special Counsel's budget request—due on July 1. That would shut down the whole operation—the Special Counsel staff and grand juries. There might, however, according to research the team has prepared, be enough time between the order and the shuttering for the Special Counsel to share the grand jury evidence with other federal prosecutors, who might act on their own authority to pursue the President.

The President's constitutional pardon powers appear to be some of the most troubling and threatening issues for the Special Counsel. The Counsel's office believes the President will use his pardon power as an instrument to undermine the investigation.

According to present and former White House advisors, the President's recent spate of pardons are in part his way of taunting the Special Counsel. The White House, according to these sources, is aware that the Special Counsel has concluded the President's pardon power is near absolute: the President can certainly pardon himself, and others involved in the investigation.

Early in June, the Special Counsel, believing that a pardon for Michael Flynn was imminent, rushed to build a case that might form an exception to the President's pardon authority. The argument, perhaps a slim-thread one, tries to undermine what both the White House and many outside legal authorities, and much of the Special Counsel's own research, believes to be one of the few unchallengeable powers granted the President. In effect, the Special Counsel continues the theme of it's case: there is a level of obstruction of justice that all reasonable men might know when they see it. If you pardon someone to get yourself off the hook, that's a "corrupt" action. The constitution is not a statute that you might violate, but a larger covenant which you might offend (or, equally, that might protect you). Since the President is in charge of upholding the constitution and much of the constitution is about preventing corrupt acts or abuses of power, the pardon, in the case of Michael Flynn, is, the Mueller team is set to argue, unconstitutional. What's more, since there is an impeachment process in place—or there are impeachment resolutions before congress—and impeachment is the province of Congress, a pardon of a potential witness in this

impeachment is an unconstitutional trampling on the separation of powers.

As the President, by nature and design, tries to claim aggressive new powers, the Mueller team, almost in equal proportion, is trying to limit the theory of Presidential power and, even, to criminalize an expansive exercise of those powers.

People who know and have worked with Mueller find it, at best, unexpected that this traditional by the book G-man would be pursuing such far-reaching legal theories. But one possible explanation, shared by many in the White House, is that Mueller is overly reliant on his staff—in face, is being led by his number two, Andrew Weissmann.

Weismann has a longstanding reputation for aggression: he was the prosecutor whose pursuit of the accounting firm Arthur Anderson in the Enron debacle ended in its conviction—a judgment reversed well after the firm's bankruptcy and dissolution. One White House advisor likened him to Victor Hugo's obsessed policeman Inspector Javert—a prosecutor consumed with taking down the President. Indeed, Weissmann, who has in the past contributed to Democratic candidates, is a particular bet noir and favorite whipping boy for the White House his central role in the Mueller investigation taken there as evidence of a deep bias against Donald Trump.

But in another view it is precisely because Mueller, a former Marine, is so by the book and Semper Fi that he finds Trump's behavior to be personally offensive, and, on its face, corrupt. "Bob Mueller is all about limits and rules. Donald Trump has none and acknowledges none," said one lawyer who has worked with Mueller in the past.

It may yet be even a more profound clash then that, the executive branch at war with itself—the Justice Department against the White House. In this, the President's almost daily tirades against the DOJ, the Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, the Deputy Attorney General, Rosenstein, the former head of the FBI, Comey, and his deputy, Andrew McCabe, are part of an effort to obstruct justice and save himself.

The Mueller strategy (or Weissmann strategy) is a war strategy, in the view of some legal observers. An indictment of the President would be litigated to the hilt. It would force both the substantive issues of obstruction and abuse of power and the meta issues of Presidential immunity—in essence, the President's claims to being above the law—into open court for a long and painful review and dissection that might

shadow the November election.

Legal experts believe that the Mueller team might well prevail in lower courts with a much less certain outcome in the Supreme Court.

Were the case to reach the Supreme Court after the November election, it might well be the results of that election that help seal the President's fate not just in Congress but also in the courts.

"Might such an expansive claim win, yes. Should it win, no." But everyone knows the reality: weak presidents lose cases, strong presidents win them," said Ken Starr, the former independent prosecutor who might know more about the legal pursuit of the president than anyone else on earth.

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To: Nancy Cain [redacted]
Subject: Fwd

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

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Subject: **Michelle Obama Halts Book Tour for Bush Funeral**
Date: December 3, 2018 at 4:21:57 AM PST
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UGH

Alan Dershowitz: Yes, I Am Still Jeffrey Epstein's Lawyer

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Lawyer Alan Dershowitz has said that he still represents convicted pedophile Jeffrey Epstein, who pleaded guilty to soliciting underage sexual partners whom he initially recruited as masseurs. Dershowitz, 80, told Axios that Epstein "has called me a couple of times about legal issues, because I'm still technically his lawyer," adding, "I haven't had any social, or any other kind of contact [but] you never stop being a person's lawyer." Dershowitz told Axios that Epstein lent his family his Palm Beach, Florida, house and that he received a "therapeutic massage with an old old Russian" there, but he'd had no idea "anything improper had even taken place in that house." While he was allegedly raping teenage girls, Epstein cultivated relationships with a global elite: Bill Clinton flew on Epstein's plane, nicknamed the "Lolita Express," numerous times; Prince Andrew's ex-

wife borrowed money from him; and Donald Trump praised him as a “terrific guy.”

29 May, 2011

Article 1.	NYT **Pay Attention** Thomas L. Friedman
Article 2.	NY Daily News **President Obama has right goals on Israeli-Palestinian peace, but strategy already backfiring** Alan Dershowitz
Article 3.	Al-Ahram Weekly **Who will win in September?** Abdel-Moneim Said
Article 4.	Asia Times **Show goes on in Iraq's political circus** Sami Moubayed
Article 5.	TIME **The Optimism Bias** Tali Sharot

Article 1.

NYT

Pay Attention

Thomas L. Friedman

May 28, 2011—Cairo -- I had some time to kill at the Cairo airport the other day so I rummaged through the "Egyptian Treasures" shop. I didn't care much for the King Tut paper weights and ashtrays but was intrigued by a stuffed camel, which, if you squeezed its hump, emitted a camel honk. When I turned it over to see where it was manufactured, it read: "Made in China." Now that they have decided to put former President Hosni Mubarak on trial, I hope Egyptians add to his indictment that he presided for 30 years over a country where nearly half the population lives on $2 day and 20 percent are unemployed while it is importing low-wage manufactured goods — a stuffed camel, no less — from China.

That's an embarrassment for Mubarak and America, which has donated some $30 billion in aid to modernize Egypt's economy over the last 30 years — and President Obama just promised a couple billion more. Egypt's economy has nose-dived since the uprising, and the new government really does need the money to stay afloat. But I only hope that Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton understand that right now — right this second — Egypt needs something more from Washington than money: quiet, behind-the-scenes engagement with Egypt's ruling generals over how to complete the transition to democracy here.

Here's why. After the ouster of Mubarak in February, his presidential powers were shifted to a military council, led by the defense minister. It's an odd situation, or as the Egyptian novelist Alaa Al Aswany, author of "The Yacoubian Building," put it to me: "We have had a revolution here that succeeded — but is not in power. So the goals of

the revolution are being applied by an agent, the army, which I think is sincere in wanting to do the right things, but it is not by nature revolutionary."

To their credit, the Egyptian generals moved swiftly to put in place a pathway to democracy: elections for a new Parliament were set for September; this Parliament will then oversee the writing of a new Constitution, and then a new civilian president will be elected. Sounds great on paper, and it was endorsed by a referendum, but there's one big problem: The Tahrir Square revolution was a largely spontaneous, bottom-up affair. It was not led by any particular party or leader. Parties are just now being formed. If elections for the Parliament are held in September, the only group in Egypt with a real party network ready to roll is the one that has been living underground and is now suddenly legal: the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood.

"Liberal people are feeling some concerns that they made the revolution and the Muslim Brotherhood can now take it. This is not true," Esam el-Erian, one of the party's leaders, insisted to me.

But that is exactly what the urban, secular moderates, who actually did spearhead the Tahrir revolt, fear. They are only now forming parties and trying to build networks that can reach the millions of traditional Egyptians living in the countryside and persuade them to vote for a reform agenda and not just: "Islam is the answer."

"The liberal parties need more time to organize," said Naguib Sawiris, an Egyptian billionaire who's heading the best organized of the liberal parties, and is urging all the liberal groups to run under a single banner and not divide their vote.

If elections happen in September and the Muslim Brotherhood wins a plurality it could have an inordinate impact on writing Egypt's first truly free Constitution and could inject restrictions on women, alcohol, dress, and the relations between mosque and state. "You will

have an unrepresentative Parliament writing an unrepresentative Constitution," argued Mohamed ElBaradei, the former international atomic energy czar who is running for president on a reform platform. "Because the Muslim Brotherhood is ready, they want elections first," adds Osama Ghazali Harb, another reform party leader. "We as secular forces prefer to have some time to consolidate our parties. We must thank the army for the role it played. But it was our revolution, not a coup d'état. ... If there are fair elections, the Muslim Brotherhood will only get 20 percent."

Free elections are rare in the Arab world, so when they happen, everybody tries to vote — not only the residents of that country. You can be sure money will flow in here from Saudi Arabia and Qatar to support the Muslim Brotherhood.

America, though, cannot publicly intervene in the Egyptian election debate. It would only undermine the reformers, who have come so far, so fast, on their own and alienate the Egyptian generals. That said, though, it is important that senior U.S. officials engage quietly with the generals and encourage them to take heed of the many Egyptian voices that are raising legitimate concerns about a premature runoff.

In short, the Egyptian revolution is not over. It has left the dramatic street phase and is now in the seemingly boring but utterly vital phase of deciding who gets to write the rules for the new Egypt. And how Egypt evolves will impact the whole Arab world. I just hope the Obama team is paying attention. This is so much more important than Libya.

Article 2.

NY Daily News

President Obama has right goals on Israeli-Palestinian peace, but strategy already backfiring

Alan Dershowitz

May 27th 2011 -- Now that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is back in Israel and President Obama is traveling around Europe, it is time to assess the effect their dueling speeches have had on the prospects for peace.

There is one factual conclusion on which the Israelis and the Palestinians completely agree: following President Obama's recent speech — and repeated explanation of it — on the Israel-Palestine conflict, we are further than ever from peace negotiations. Obama has managed, in one fell swoop, to harden the positions of both sides and to create distrust of him by Israelis and Palestinians alike.

My criticism of the President is not directed at whether he is pro-Israel or anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian or anti-Palestinian. In fact, I believe that his actions have not been motivated by any antagonism toward the Jewish state. He simply does not understand the dynamics of Middle East negotiation. I am disappointed in him not because I support Israel (which I do), but because I support peace based on a two-state solution. I agree with Obama about his ends, while disagreeing about his means.

Indeed there is little in the content of the President's statements with which I disagree. Rather, it is with his negotiating strategy, his constant need to explain himself, and his utter tone-deafness to the music, as distinguished from the lyrics.

The President has asked the Israelis to agree to negotiate new borders based on the 1967 lines, with land swaps. But he did so without asking the Palestinians to agree to drop their demand that millions of

so-called "refugees" — those who fled or left Israel during the 1947-49 Arab attacks against the Jewish state, and their descendents — be allowed to "return" to Israel. New borders would be meaningless if this demographic bomb were to be dropped on Israel, turning it into yet another Arab state with a Palestinian majority.

Everyone knows, as a matter of reality, that this is not going to happen, just as everyone knows that Israel will eventually give up most of the West Bank as it did the Gaza Strip. But it is critical to any successful negotiation that these two issues – borders and "the right to return" – be negotiated together. The Israelis will never agree to generous borders for the Palestinians unless they are assured that their identity as the nation-state of the Jewish people will not be demographically undercut by "the right of return." And the Palestinians will never give up their emotionally charged right of return unless that is an unambiguous prerequisite to achieving statehood with generous borders. The Obama strategy — to demand generous borders from Israel first and leave the right of return to subsequent negotiations — is a prescription for stalemate.

The President also helped cement the status quo by expressing his agreement with Israel's refusal to negotiate with a Palestinian government that includes Hamas — unless that terrorist group first renounces violence, accepts Israel and supports prior agreements. The current position of the Israeli government is to invite the Palestinian authority to begin negotiations now, but to insist, before any final agreement is reached, that Hamas either accept the President's current conditions or be excluded from the government. By going further than the Israeli government — by seeming to justify an Israeli refusal even to begin negotiations with the Palestinian Authority until Hamas accepts those conditions or the Palestinian Authority rejects Hamas — the President has made it harder for the Netanyahu government to resist the demands of Israeli extremists who oppose all negotiations.

Netanyahu originally planned to come to Washington with a generous peace proposal to entice the Palestinians back to the negotiating table. But Obama painted him into a corner and made him change his script by notifying him, as he was about to board his plane, that the President was going to call for Israel to return to its 1949-1967 lines, without also calling for the Palestinians to give up their right of return. By thus preempting the prime minister, he forced him to become more defensive of Israel's bargaining positions and less willing to offer specific, generous concessions. The result was a powerful speech in defense of Israel by Netanyahu, an overwhelmingly positive response from Congress and a movement away from peace negotiations.

All in all, the President's well-intentioned efforts to jump-start the peace process have backfired, not so much because he favors one side over the other, but because of the ham-handedness of his negotiation strategy. A negotiator or mediator whose statements move the parties further away from the negotiating table than they were before he spoke deserves a failing grade in the science of negotiation.

What the President should have done is to insist that both parties immediately agree to sit down and negotiate without any preconditions.

It's not too late. But it will take yet another "explanation" of what President Obama really meant in his ill-advised speech.

Dershowitz's most recent novel is "The Trials of Zion."

Article 3.

Al-Ahram Weekly

Who will win in September?

Abdel-Moneim Said

26 May - 1 June 2001 -- The revolution will continue to heave and surge and rage though various forms of clashes and demonstrations against conditions of the past and of the present. It will also continue to swing between the reaffirmation of national unity and the solidarity of "the crescent and the cross" and the propensity towards sectarian strife and its attendant confrontations, clashes, accusations and conflicting theories as to whether this phenomenon stems from a long festering infection in Egyptian political culture or to the "remnants" of the National Democratic Party and state security apparatus which, although dissolved and disbanded, are nevertheless suspected of engineering appalling incidents of violence and destruction.

Such a state of turmoil is typical of a revolution that is still in a state of revolution. However it will diminish and eventually cease as institutions of government coalesce and reassert the legitimacy of the state, thereby delegitimising revolution. Recall how the revolution cooled following the referendum over the constitutional amendments. Nevertheless, we also must note that as the spirit of revolution subsided, the spirit of sectarian strife and other doctrinal discords began to flare. Simultaneously, the leadership that had played the key role in igniting the revolution and bringing down the old regime seems to have faded from the scene or lost some of its glimmer. Curiously, while it was primarily young men and women who carried the revolution through its initial thrust and its first major victory, they have since been succeeded by much older people, some well into their 80s. Mohamed El-Baradei may merit a place among the ranks of

the revolutionary youth, having been one of the first to call for the downfall of the old regime and to advocate less conventional means of opposition. Yet it is odd that the field is now dominated people and groups that, in the past, had reached accommodations with the old regime, even if they had been in the opposition. In fact, it is precisely these circles that have provided most of the presidential candidates who are currently flitting from one press interview to the next.

All this will enter another phase with the legislative elections in September, at which time we will be able to speak of actual popular representation. Until then, every candidate, party and group will claim that they speak for "the people", "the masses," and "the nation", and they will continue to do so in increasingly strident tones all the way to the polls, which will ultimately sort day from night.

One naturally wonders who will come out ahead in the forthcoming electoral battle, which will probably be one of the most crucial moments in Egyptian history. Certainly, the general lay of the field is already clear. It is characterised by two main orientations, one religious, the other secularist. The Muslim Brotherhood, represented by its Freedom and Justice Party, leads the former camp, which also consists of Al-Gamaa Al-Islamiya, the Egyptian Jihad and the various shades of Salafis. They are likely to win the sympathy of quite a few Sufi orders as well as a number of the old NDP apparatchiks who often rallied against the Ahmed Nazif government in the pre-November 2010 parliament. The other camp, which is championed by a broad front of the movements that spearheaded the revolution and similar coalitions, is beginning to coalesce in political party form, although there is little to suggest that their parties will be familiar enough to the public or sufficiently prepared by election time. Nevertheless, they will be joined by Egyptian Christians, most of the liberal and leftist parties, such as the Wafd, the Nasserist Party and

the Tagammu, as well as by a large collection of NGOs and other representatives of civil society.

To some extent, these general orientations shaped the stances, whether for or against, in the referendum on the constitutional amendments, which drew the first clear lines in the post-25 January political map. In that referendum, the first camp obtained 77.2 per cent of the vote versus 22.8 per cent for the second. However, it is important to bear in mind that, in this referendum, a "critical mass" of voters sided with the first camp because they felt that the amendments bill offered the clearest path to the transition from revolutionary legitimacy to the legitimacy of the established state, which is to say to the return to normalcy that Egyptians desperately yearned for at the time. But this sentiment will no longer be a major factor now that this wish has come true and elections are at hand in September.

Therefore, it remains open which way this key group of voters will swing in those elections, the results of which will be crucial to the subsequent selection of the constitutional committee and then to the choice of president.

Several factors will be instrumental in determining the impact of the "critical mass" of Egyptian voters. Foremost among them will be their turnout at the polls. Only 41 per cent of the 45 million eligible voters took part in the referendum. This relatively low figure could be increased by increasing the number of polling stations, of which there are only 44,000 at present, a factor that has long deterred all but the most committed from braving long voting queues. Secondly, although judicial supervision will now guarantee the integrity of the polls and ensure that people's votes really do count, the proportional electoral list system will yield very different kinds of results than those produced by the individual candidate system. A third critical factor will be campaign financing. Election campaigns and buying television air-time in particular have become extraordinarily

expensive. However, there is a huge discrepancy in the financial capacities of the two camps. The secular camp can not even dream of matching the financial resources of the Muslim Brotherhood and the remnants of the NDP. Finally, much will depend on the ability of the rivals to win public support by means of clear and succinct electoral platforms that truly address people's hopes and aspirations.

On the basis of the foregoing criteria and circumstances as they currently stand, the "critical mass" is likely to swing towards the religious camp, with its better organisational, mobilisational and financial capacities. In addition, even if that camp truly relinquished the slogan, "Islam is the solution," it still possesses a remarkable talent for swaying public opinion through emotive and misleading oversimplifications and attacks on the opposing viewpoint. For example, during the referendum on the constitutional amendments, it centred its propaganda around Article 2, claiming that a "No" vote would negate the Islamic character of the state. Although the proposed constitutional amendments in the referendum came nowhere near this article, the tactic worked marvellously, and helped yield this camp's desired result.

The secularists, therefore, have their work cut out for them. They will need to expand their base of support considerably and to try to use the proportional list system to their best advantage. They will also have to enlist the moral and financial support of the business community. Finally, they must couch their liberal secularist message in a simpler and graspable language that will capture the public's attention. Their ability to rise to this challenge will determine the future of Egypt, the Egyptian constitution and the nature of its government. The more effective they are the lower is the probability that the country's first free and fair parliamentary elections will be its last.

Article 4.

Asia Times

Show goes on in Iraq's political circus

Sami Moubayed

May 28, 2011 -- DAMASCUS - Iraq has been absent from the world's radar since upheaval rocked the Arab world in January, toppling the regimes in Tunisia and Egypt and sending shockwaves through Bahrain, Libya, Yemen and Syria.

A closer look at the political scene in Baghdad, however, shows that all is not well. Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki is in hot water, like many of his Arab counterparts - and his government might collapse soon, if not through street power, then perhaps through the shattering of the delicate balance in the upper echelons of Baghdad.

Last week Maliki hinted that he may resign and call new elections, just five months after forming his second cabinet. Two months ago, large and angry demonstrations broke out in Baghdad, inspired by the Arab Spring, chanting against corruption, poor government services, and the prime minister.

Among other things, he was accused of mismanagement of public office, abuse of power, authoritarianism and sectarianism. Maliki promised immediate action within the next 100 days. That deadline expires in July and there is nothing on the horizon to prove that the prime minister is willing, or capable, of living up to his promises.

There is also a daily barrage of accusations against him by his predecessor Iyad Allawi, who is backed by Saudi Arabia and other Arab heavyweights who are eager to topple Maliki - seen as an extension of Iranian influence in the Arab and Muslim world.

Iraq remains sharply divided between the prime minister and Allawi. The top seats in the ministries of defense and the interior are still vacant, and Maliki still denies Allawi the right to name the minister

of defense. Even worse, he personally still controls the two jobs in a caretaker capacity, and seems in no hurry to give them up any time soon.

On Tuesday, Allawi nominated two people for the Defense Ministry, ex-army officers Nouri al-Duleimy and Abdul-Majid Abdul Latif, but neither of them to date has been accepted by the prime minister. At a recent press conference, Maliki accused his rival of sectarianism and of breaching an agreement between them, hammered out last November.

Then, Allawi sluggishly agreed to accept Maliki as premier, although the latter controlled only 89 out of 325 seats in parliament whereas Allawi's secular National Iraqi List commanded a slim majority of 91 seats. Instead, Allawi would be given a new job, which rivals, and in some cases theoretically challenges, that of the prime minister - chairman of the National Council for Strategic Policies (NCSP). That post, six months down the road, is still nowhere close to being formed. Allawi complains that his coalition is being treated "not as a partner but as a participant" in the Maliki government.

Allawi accepted the novel post with a grain of salt. It took heavy lobbying by Saudi Arabia, and a phone call from US President Barack Obama, to convince him to settle for the NCSP, along with assurances that the body would have real powers, rather than ceremonial duties.

The new council was supposed to operate under the umbrella of the Iraqi executive branch and replace the National Security Council, mandated to monitor government ministers and make sure that they carry out their duties according to the constitution. Additionally, the council was supposed to have several branches: (domestic) political affairs, foreign policy, economic and monetary affairs, security and military affairs, energy, oil and gas, electricity, water and environmental affairs.

The council would have a president, or secretary general, an entire staff and premises allocated by the Iraqi government in Baghdad. The council will also have its own budget, which is yet to be determined but will equal that of the premiership, the parliamentary speaker and the presidency. Allawi will reportedly be entitled to approximately 100 advisers and two military units to protect him and the council from terrorist operations.

Because of so much deliberate delay, Allawi recently announced that he was no longer interested in the offer, and that he too would back out on his agreement with Maliki and call for early elections.

If that happens, there is no telling what kind of vacuum will emerge in Iraq and who will fill it, especially as Arab countries have too much on their plate at this stage to focus on Iraq.

Theoretically, with Saudi Arabia focused on the situation in Bahrain and Syria occupied by internal problems, the only country willing and able to do the job is Iran. All eyes are now focused on Iraqi Kurdistan President Masoud al-Barazani, who has said he will launch a new initiative to bridge the gap between Maliki and Allawi.

A 15-man committee has been formed to conduct shuttle diplomacy between the two leaders, under the auspices of Barazani, and to date they have made no contacts with any of the Arab countries neighboring Iraq, or with the Iranians. Last October, Barazani's name graced a deal, known as the Irbil Agreement, where all parties agreed to form a national partnership government. Under the agreement, Maliki and President Jalal Talabani would retain their posts, while Allawi would get to chair the NCSP.

The real problem facing Iraq today, and explaining Maliki's delay, is fear of what the NCSP will mean for Iraq once both Maliki and Allawi are out of office. The November agreement did not state whether the council would permanently be under the control of

Allawi's Iraqiya bloc, or whether different parties, or sects, would rotate within its leadership in future years.
Iraqis need to decide whether the council's leader will always be a Shi'ite, given that Allawi is Shi'ite, or whether Sunnis, Kurds and Christians will be entitled to compete for the post. If the new council will have powers equal to that of the prime minister, will it become part of the sectarian division of power in Iraq? Will it become a permanent seat that is given to the "second runner up" in any parliamentary election? And what will its status become if Allawi becomes prime minister one day?
Would it stay with Allawi's team or will it go to the "defeated" coalition in parliament? If this is the case, it needs to be said, either in writing or gentleman's agreement; especially that in today's case, Allawi's team is not a minority in parliament, but actually, the coalition with the largest number of seats.

Sami Moubayed is a university professor, historian, and editor-in-chief of Forward Magazine in Syria.

Article 5.

TIME

The Optimism Bias

Tali Sharot

May. 28, 2011 -- We like to think of ourselves as rational creatures. We watch our backs, weigh the odds, pack an umbrella. But both neuroscience and social science suggest that we are more optimistic than realistic. On average, we expect things to turn out better than they wind up being. People hugely underestimate their chances of getting divorced, losing their job or being diagnosed with cancer; expect their children to be extraordinarily gifted; envision themselves achieving more than their peers; and overestimate their likely life span (sometimes by 20 years or more).

The belief that the future will be much better than the past and present is known as the optimism bias. It abides in every race, region and socioeconomic bracket. Schoolchildren playing when-I-grow-up are rampant optimists, but so are grownups: a 2005 study found that adults over 60 are just as likely to see the glass half full as young adults.

You might expect optimism to erode under the tide of news about violent conflicts, high unemployment, tornadoes and floods and all the threats and failures that shape human life. Collectively we can grow pessimistic — about the direction of our country or the ability of our leaders to improve education and reduce crime. But private optimism, about our personal future, remains incredibly resilient. A survey conducted in 2007 found that while 70% thought families in general were less successful than in their parents' day, 76% of respondents were optimistic about the future of their own family.

Overly positive assumptions can lead to disastrous miscalculations — make us less likely to get health checkups, apply sunscreen or open a

savings account, and more likely to bet the farm on a bad investment. But the bias also protects and inspires us: it keeps us moving forward rather than to the nearest high-rise ledge. Without optimism, our ancestors might never have ventured far from their tribes and we might all be cave dwellers, still huddled together and dreaming of light and heat.

To make progress, we need to be able to imagine alternative realities — better ones — and we need to believe that we can achieve them. Such faith helps motivate us to pursue our goals. Optimists in general work longer hours and tend to earn more. Economists at Duke University found that optimists even save more. And although they are not less likely to divorce, they are more likely to remarry — an act that is, as Samuel Johnson wrote, the triumph of hope over experience. Even if that better future is often an illusion, optimism has clear benefits in the present. Hope keeps our minds at ease, lowers stress and improves physical health. Researchers studying heart-disease patients found that optimists were more likely than nonoptimistic patients to take vitamins, eat low-fat diets and exercise, thereby reducing their overall coronary risk. A study of cancer patients revealed that pessimistic patients under the age of 60 were more likely to die within eight months than nonpessimistic patients of the same initial health, status and age.

In fact, a growing body of scientific evidence points to the conclusion that optimism may be hardwired by evolution into the human brain. The science of optimism, once scorned as an intellectually suspect province of pep rallies and smiley faces, is opening a new window on the workings of human consciousness. What it shows could fuel a revolution in psychology, as the field comes to grips with accumulating evidence that our brains aren't just stamped by the past. They are constantly being shaped by the future.

Hardwired for Hope?

I would have liked to tell you that my work on optimism grew out of a keen interest in the positive side of human nature. The reality is that I stumbled onto the brain's innate optimism by accident. After living through Sept. 11, 2001, in New York City, I had set out to investigate people's memories of the terrorist attacks. I was intrigued by the fact that people felt their memories were as accurate as a videotape, while often they were filled with errors. A survey conducted around the country showed that 11 months after the attacks, individuals' recollections of their experience that day were consistent with their initial accounts (given in September 2011) only 63% of the time. They were also poor at remembering details of the event, such as the names of the airline carriers. Where did these mistakes in memory come from?

Scientists who study memory proposed an intriguing answer: memories are susceptible to inaccuracies partly because the neural system responsible for remembering episodes from our past might not have evolved for memory alone. Rather, the core function of the memory system could in fact be to imagine the future — to enable us to prepare for what has yet to come. The system is not designed to perfectly replay past events, the researchers claimed. It is designed to flexibly construct future scenarios in our minds. As a result, memory also ends up being a reconstructive process, and occasionally, details are deleted and others inserted. To test this, I decided to record the brain activity of volunteers while they imagined future events — not events on the scale of 9/11, but events in their everyday lives — and compare those results with the pattern I observed when the same individuals recalled past events. But something unexpected occurred. Once people started imagining the future, even the most banal life events seemed to take a dramatic turn for the better. Mundane scenes brightened with upbeat details as if polished by a Hollywood script

doctor. You might think that imagining a future haircut would be pretty dull. Not at all. Here is what one of my participants pictured: "I was getting my hair cut to donate to Locks of Love [a charity that fashions wigs for young cancer patients]. It had taken me years to grow it out, and my friends were all there to help celebrate. We went to my favorite hair place in Brooklyn and then went to lunch at our favorite restaurant."

I asked another participant to imagine a plane ride. "I imagined the takeoff — my favorite! — and then the eight-hour-long nap in between and then finally landing in Krakow and clapping for the pilot for providing the safe voyage," she responded. No tarmac delays, no screaming babies. The world, only a year or two into the future, was a wonderful place to live in.

If all our participants insisted on thinking positively when it came to what lay in store for them personally, what does that tell us about how our brains are wired? Is the human tendency for optimism a consequence of the architecture of our brains?

The Human Time Machine

To think positively about our prospects, we must first be able to imagine ourselves in the future. Optimism starts with what may be the most extraordinary of human talents: mental time travel, the ability to move back and forth through time and space in one's mind. Although most of us take this ability for granted, our capacity to envision a different time and place is in fact critical to our survival. It is easy to see why cognitive time travel was naturally selected for over the course of evolution. It allows us to plan ahead, to save food and resources for times of scarcity and to endure hard work in anticipation of a future reward. It also lets us forecast how our current behavior may influence future generations. If we were not able to picture the world in a hundred years or more, would we be concerned

with global warming? Would we attempt to live healthily? Would we have children?

While mental time travel has clear survival advantages, conscious foresight came to humans at an enormous price — the understanding that somewhere in the future, death awaits. Ajit Varki, a biologist at the University of California, San Diego, argues that the awareness of mortality on its own would have led evolution to a dead end. The despair would have interfered with our daily function, bringing the activities needed for survival to a stop. The only way conscious mental time travel could have arisen over the course of evolution is if it emerged together with irrational optimism. Knowledge of death had to emerge side by side with the persistent ability to picture a bright future.

The capacity to envision the future relies partly on the hippocampus, a brain structure that is crucial to memory. Patients with damage to their hippocampus are unable to recollect the past, but they are also unable to construct detailed images of future scenarios. They appear to be stuck in time. The rest of us constantly move back and forth in time; we might think of a conversation we had with our spouse yesterday and then immediately of our dinner plans for later tonight. But the brain doesn't travel in time in a random fashion. It tends to engage in specific types of thoughts. We consider how well our kids will do in life, how we will obtain that sought-after job, afford that house on the hill and find perfect love. We imagine our team winning the crucial game, look forward to an enjoyable night on the town or picture a winning streak at the blackjack table. We also worry about losing loved ones, failing at our job or dying in a terrible plane crash — but research shows that most of us spend less time mulling over negative outcomes than we do over positive ones. When we do contemplate defeat and heartache, we tend to focus on how these can be avoided. Findings from a study I conducted a few years ago with

prominent neuroscientist Elizabeth Phelps suggest that directing our thoughts of the future toward the positive is a result of our frontal cortex's communicating with subcortical regions deep in our brain. The frontal cortex, a large area behind the forehead, is the most recently evolved part of the brain. It is larger in humans than in other primates and is critical for many complex human functions such as language and goal setting.

Using a functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scanner, we recorded brain activity in volunteers as they imagined specific events that might occur to them in the future. Some of the events that I asked them to imagine were desirable (a great date or winning a large sum of money), and some were undesirable (losing a wallet, ending a romantic relationship). The volunteers reported that their images of sought-after events were richer and more vivid than those of unwanted events.

This matched the enhanced activity we observed in two critical regions of the brain: the amygdala, a small structure deep in the brain that is central to the processing of emotion, and the rostral anterior cingulate cortex (rACC), an area of the frontal cortex that modulates emotion and motivation. The rACC acts like a traffic conductor, enhancing the flow of positive emotions and associations. The more optimistic a person was, the higher the activity in these regions was while imagining positive future events (relative to negative ones) and the stronger the connectivity between the two structures. The findings were particularly fascinating because these precise regions — the amygdala and the rACC — show abnormal activity in depressed individuals. While healthy people expect the future to be slightly better than it ends up being, people with severe depression tend to be pessimistically biased: they expect things to be worse than they end up being. People with mild depression are relatively accurate when predicting future events. They see the world as it is. In other words,

in the absence of a neural mechanism that generates unrealistic optimism, it is possible all humans would be mildly depressed.

Can Optimism Change Reality?

The problem with pessimistic expectations, such as those of the clinically depressed, is that they have the power to alter the future; negative expectations shape outcomes in a negative way. How do expectations change reality?

To answer this question, my colleague, cognitive neuroscientist Sara Bengtsson, devised an experiment in which she manipulated positive and negative expectations of students while their brains were scanned and tested their performance on cognitive tasks. To induce expectations of success, she primed college students with words such as smart, intelligent and clever just before asking them to perform a test. To induce expectations of failure, she primed them with words like stupid and ignorant. The students performed better after being primed with an affirmative message.

Examining the brain-imaging data, Bengtsson found that the students' brains responded differently to the mistakes they made depending on whether they were primed with the word clever or the word stupid. When the mistake followed positive words, she observed enhanced activity in the anterior medial part of the prefrontal cortex (a region that is involved in self-reflection and recollection). However, when the participants were primed with the word stupid, there was no heightened activity after a wrong answer. It appears that after being primed with the word stupid, the brain expected to do poorly and did not show signs of surprise or conflict when it made an error. A brain that doesn't expect good results lacks a signal telling it, "Take notice — wrong answer!" These brains will fail to learn from their mistakes and are less likely to improve over time. Expectations become self-fulfilling by altering our performance and actions, which ultimately affects what happens in the future. Often, however, expectations

simply transform the way we perceive the world without altering reality itself. Let me give you an example. While writing these lines, my friend calls. He is at Heathrow Airport waiting to get on a plane to Austria for a skiing holiday. His plane has been delayed for three hours already, because of snowstorms at his destination. "I guess this is both a good and bad thing," he says. Waiting at the airport is not pleasant, but he quickly concludes that snow today means better skiing conditions tomorrow. His brain works to match the unexpected misfortune of being stuck at the airport to its eager anticipation of a fun getaway.

A canceled flight is hardly tragic, but even when the incidents that befall us are the type of horrific events we never expected to encounter, we automatically seek evidence confirming that our misfortune is a blessing in disguise. No, we did not anticipate losing our job, being ill or getting a divorce, but when these incidents occur, we search for the upside. These experiences mature us, we think. They may lead to more fulfilling jobs and stable relationships in the future. Interpreting a misfortune in this way allows us to conclude that our sunny expectations were correct after all — things did work out for the best.

Silver Linings

How do we find the silver lining in storm clouds? To answer that, my colleagues — renowned neuroscientist Ray Dolan and neurologist Tamara Shiner — and I instructed volunteers in the fMRI scanner to visualize a range of medical conditions, from broken bones to Alzheimer's, and rate how bad they imagined these conditions to be. Then we asked them: If you had to endure one of the following, which would you rather have — a broken leg or a broken arm? Heartburn or asthma? Finally, they rated all the conditions again. Minutes after choosing one particular illness out of many, the volunteers suddenly found that the chosen illness was less

intimidating. A broken leg, for example, may have been thought of as "terrible" before choosing it over some other malady. However, after choosing it, the subject would find a silver lining: "With a broken leg, I will be able to lie in bed watching TV, guilt-free." In our study, we also found that people perceived adverse events more positively if they had experienced them in the past. Recording brain activity while these reappraisals took place revealed that highlighting the positive within the negative involves, once again, a tête-à-tête between the frontal cortex and subcortical regions processing emotional value. While contemplating a mishap, like a broken leg, activity in the rACC modulated signals in a region called the striatum that conveyed the good and bad of the event in question — biasing activity in a positive direction.

It seems that our brain possesses the philosopher's stone that enables us to turn lead into gold and helps us bounce back to normal levels of well-being. It is wired to place high value on the events we encounter and put faith in its own decisions. This is true not only when forced to choose between two adverse options (such as selecting between two courses of medical treatment) but also when we are selecting between desirable alternatives. Imagine you need to pick between two equally attractive job offers. Making a decision may be a tiring, difficult ordeal, but once you make up your mind, something miraculous happens. Suddenly — if you are like most people — you view the chosen offer as better than you did before and conclude that the other option was not that great after all. According to social psychologist Leon Festinger, we re-evaluate the options postchoice to reduce the tension that arises from making a difficult decision between equally desirable options.

In a brain-imaging study I conducted with Ray Dolan and Benedetto De Martino in 2009, we asked subjects to imagine going on vacation to 80 different destinations and rate how happy they thought they

would be in each place. We then asked them to select one destination from two choices that they had rated exactly the same. Would you choose Paris over Brazil? Finally, we asked them to imagine and rate all the destinations again. Seconds after picking between two destinations, people rated their selected destination higher than before and rated the discarded choice lower than before.

The brain-imaging data revealed that these changes were happening in the caudate nucleus, a cluster of nerve cells that is part of the striatum. The caudate has been shown to process rewards and signal their expectation. If we believe we are about to be given a paycheck or eat a scrumptious chocolate cake, the caudate acts as an announcer broadcasting to other parts of the brain, "Be ready for something good." After we receive the reward, the value is quickly updated. If there is a bonus in the paycheck, this higher value will be reflected in striatal activity. If the cake is disappointing, the decreased value will be tracked so that next time our expectations will be lower.

In our experiment, after a decision was made between two destinations, the caudate nucleus rapidly updated its signal. Before choosing, it might signal "thinking of something great" while imagining both Greece and Thailand. But after choosing Greece, it now broadcast "thinking of something remarkable!" for Greece and merely "thinking of something good" for Thailand. True, sometimes we regret our decisions; our choices can turn out to be disappointing. But on balance, when you make a decision — even if it is a hypothetical choice — you will value it more and expect it to bring you pleasure.

This affirmation of our decisions helps us derive heightened pleasure from choices that might actually be neutral. Without this, our lives might well be filled with second-guessing. Have we done the right thing? Should we change our mind? We would find ourselves stuck, overcome by indecision and unable to move forward.

The Puzzle of Optimism

While the past few years have seen important advances in the neuroscience of optimism, one enduring puzzle remained. How is it that people maintain this rosy bias even when information challenging our upbeat forecasts is so readily available? Only recently have we been able to decipher this mystery, by scanning the brains of people as they process both positive and negative information about the future. The findings are striking: when people learn, their neurons faithfully encode desirable information that can enhance optimism but fail at incorporating unexpectedly undesirable information. When we hear a success story like Mark Zuckerberg's, our brains take note of the possibility that we too may become immensely rich one day. But hearing that the odds of divorce are almost 1 in 2 tends not to make us think that our own marriages may be destined to fail. Why would our brains be wired in this way? It is tempting to speculate that optimism was selected by evolution precisely because, on balance, positive expectations enhance the odds of survival. Research findings that optimists live longer and are healthier, plus the fact that most humans display optimistic biases — and emerging data that optimism is linked to specific genes — all strongly support this hypothesis. Yet optimism is also irrational and can lead to unwanted outcomes. The question then is, How can we remain hopeful — benefiting from the fruits of optimism — while at the same time guarding ourselves from its pitfalls?

I believe knowledge is key. We are not born with an innate understanding of our biases. The brain's illusions have to be identified by careful scientific observation and controlled experiments and then communicated to the rest of us. Once we are made aware of our optimistic illusions, we can act to protect ourselves. The good news is that awareness rarely shatters the illusion. The glass remains half full. It is possible, then, to strike a

balance, to believe we will stay healthy, but get medical insurance anyway; to be certain the sun will shine, but grab an umbrella on our way out — just in case.

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From: G Maxwell [redacted]
Sent: 1/11/2015 1:25:56 PM
To: J Jep [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fw:

THE TERRAMAR PROJECT
FACEBOOK
TWITTER
G+
PINTEREST
INSTAGRAM
PLEDGE
THE DAILY CATCH

From: Philip Barden <[redacted]>
Sent: Sunday, 11 January 2015 05:27
To: <[redacted]>
Cc: G Maxwell
Subject: Re:

Saying nothing is reputational suicide. Even if [redacted] is discredited by [redacted] people will know JE paid her off and believe G was complicate absent a credible denial.

Now it is reported that G engaged in direct abuse - as I feared would happen. Next reports to the authorities will be made.

It is necessary from a litigation, investigatory and reputational reason to issue a cogent denial.

I can see why JE doesn't want this as it may not suit him but he is already toast.

Philip

Sent from my iPhone

On 10 Jan 2015, at 18:42, '[redacted]' [redacted]> wrote:

Had Geordie on the phone half a dozen times today.

He would have give us a better hearing than most I figure.

Strongly believe saying nothing is the wrong thing - especially as Dershowitz has a big piece coming in The Times on Monday.

Rest up and speak Monday
Best
Ross
Sent from my BlackBerry® wireless device

From: Philip Barden <[redacted]>
Date: Sat, 10 Jan 2015 18:27:12 +0000
To: G Maxwell<[redacted]>>
Cc: Ross Gow<[redacted]>
Subject: Re:

All

I am back on line now.

I see the statement didn't go. Monday? Maybe tomorrow?

I will speak to Jeffery Epstein's lawyer but JE has a conflict with you and will want your silence as whilst you are being attacked there is less heat on him.

Either [redacted] is lying or not. If we let her lie without challenge then the lies become the reality and that may lead to you facing investigation. These are serious allegations and In the UK prosecuting people who face allegations of sex abuse is now common place and a lot of resources are focused on this.

We can't sit back and let you be a conspirator by silence.

Your are not guilty and must follow Dershowtiz line. He is a leading lawyer and he hasn't followed the don't say anything for fear of litigation. He has rightly called [redacted] bluff and shouted his innocence.

You have to stand up and deny the allegations or be branded guilty by association and that may lead to other investigations and worse.

I feel I am going around in circles.

I know what is right to do and that is to shout your innocence.

Try and get some rest. Call me tomorrow if you want anytime.

Speak to Deshowitz.

Don't allay yourself to JE as that is not the way to go.

Best

Philip

Sent from my iPhone

On 10 Jan 2015, at 16:02, "G Maxwell"
[redacted] wrote:

I am out of my depth to understanding defamation and other legal hazards and don't want to end up in a law suit

aimed at me from anyone if I can help it. Apparently even saying [redacted] is a lier has hazard! I have never been in a suit criminal or civil and want it to stay that way.
The US lawyers for the Jane Does are filling additional discovery motions and if I speak I open my self to being part of discovery apparently. I am trying to stay out of litigation and not have to employ lawyers for years as I get lost in US legal nightmare. I stand no legal risk currently on these old charges and civil suits against Jeffrey
We need to consult with US lawyers on any statement I make and the complaints too
Perhaps we make a statement of the legal risk of saying anything for potential defamation or something that prevents a full and frank detailed rebuttal + the press not being the place for that? Regardless, Philip plse call jeffrey lawyer and see what you can understand from him and pehaps craft something in conjunction with him? Either way I think you need to speak to him to understand my risk so you can help me understand it - too may cooks in the kitchen and I can't make good decisions. Plse reach out to him today
+ I have already suffered such a terrible and painful loss over the last few days that I can't even see what life after press he'll even looks like - statements that don't address all just lead to more questions..what is my relationship to clinton ? Andrew on and on.
Let's rest till monday. I need head space

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/26/2010 6:41:25 PM
To: Robert D. Critton Jr. [redacted]; Jessica Cadwell [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein News Articles
Attachments: Epstein combined articles.pdf

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Jeffrey Epstein** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, Feb 26, 2010 at 10:01 AM
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein News Articles
To: "Alan M. Dershowitz" <[redacted]>, Martin Weinberg <[redacted]>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: <[redacted]>
Date: Wed, Feb 24, 2010 at 5:53 AM
Subject: Fw: Epstein News Articles
To: jeevacation@gmail.com

-----Forwarded by Public Records/PalmBeach on 02/24/2010 05:53AM -----

To: [redacted]
From: Michael Reiter/PalmBeach
Date: 08/12/2008 09:33PM
Subject: Epstein News Articles

(See attached file: Epstein combined articles.pdf)

Joyce,

I am looking forward to meeting with you on Wednesday. Please find below (and attached as a PDF file), some background information for your reference. Thanks for agreeing to have this discussion.

Regards,
Mike

Palm Beach Post Editorial #1

He was over 50. And they were girls

By Elisa Cramer

HASH(0x5fa474)

Friday, August 04, 2006

If the women whom Palm Beach police say a part-time town resident invited to his home and paid for sex acts were, in fact, women, the solicitation charge against Jeffrey Epstein might feel more sufficient. But, according to police records, they weren't. He was over 50. And they were girls. 14. 15.16.17-year-old girls. That should count for something -

the difference between prostitution and pedophilia.

So, it is baffling that Mr. Epstein, who was indicted last month by a grand jury on one felony count of solicitation of prostitution, has not been charged, as Palm Beach police strenuously urged, with unlawful sex acts with a minor and lewd and lascivious molestation.

Conviction of crimes against minors would mean steeper penalties than the maximum five-year prison term Mr. Epstein faces if convicted of the single count of felony solicitation. It also would help carry a message of intolerance to perverts who prey on girls.

Prosecutors did not pursue charges against Mr. Epstein reflecting the age of the victims because they assumed a jury would view the girls not as victims but as promiscuous, untrustworthy, willing participants. The presumption is offensive.

Mr. Epstein, a 53-year-old Manhattan money manager who has hired Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz and defense attorney Jack Goldberger, has denied knowing how old the girls were. But police interviews with five alleged victims and 17 witnesses under oath, as well as phone messages, a high school transcript and other items that police found from searching Mr. Epstein's trash and 7,234-square-foot waterfront home, provide evidence that he knew the girls were teenagers.

One girl couldn't show up when Mr. Epstein wanted because she had soccer. Another time, Mr. Epstein had to wait for his "massage" session because the girl he wanted was still in class.

Why didn't State Attorney Barry Krischer let a jury decide whether to believe the teenagers - including a 16-year-old who went to Mr. Epstein's house to "work" in December 2004 after being asked whether she needed to make money for Christmas gifts?

Prosecutors gave greater weight to the details Mr. Dershowitz provided about the girls in an apparent effort to assail their character. Mr. Dershowitz pointed out to prosecutors that some of the teenagers had talked on myspace.com about marijuana and alcohol use.

The 20-year-old Royal Palm Beach woman who told police she recruited girls for Mr. Epstein has a Web page on myspace.com that features one girl using the name "Pimpin' Made EZ."

Although no charges of witness tampering have been filed, the parents of at least one of the teenage victims complained to police of being followed and intimidated by two men. Police determined that their vehicles were registered to two private investigators. Mr. Goldberger denied knowing anything about it.

Police also note in their reports that the state attorney's office offered Mr. Epstein a plea deal that would have placed him on probation for five years, allowing him ultimately to walk away with no criminal record at all.

I asked Mr. Krischer's spokesman, Mike Edmondson, why the case was referred to a grand jury instead of Mr. Epstein being charged and facing a trial before a jury. And shouldn't the victims' credibility be a factor to determine whether a crime's been committed, not whether a jury will convict? (After all, as Mr. Goldberger told The Palm Beach Post of Mr. Epstein, "He's never denied girls came to the house.")

Especially, I asked Mr. Edmondson to explain: Why shouldn't the public look at this case and think there are two kinds of justice - one for the wealthy and one for the rest of us?
Mr. Edmondson said he could not comment on the case because it is active, but on the latter point, he offered, for the sake of "philosophical debate": "Whether wealth buys a different standard of justice across the country ... the answer to that would, of course, be yes."
But in this case, he said, "regardless of the battery of attorneys, the outcome would be the same. Every issue that was debated in public was debated in our office before this case went to the grand jury."
In this case, it is not the victims' credibility but the state attorney's that deserves questioning.

Palm Beach Post Editorial #2

Massaging the system
Palm Beach Post Editorial
Thursday, August 10, 2006

Palm Beach police say their 11-month investigation shows that 53-year-old part-time town resident Jeffrey Epstein committed unlawful sex acts with and lewd and lascivious molestation on five underage girls. Defense attorney Jack Goldberger claims that his client, Jeffrey Epstein, had no idea that the untrained girls he hired for massages were minors.
The Palm Beach Count State Attorney's Office could have let a jury decide whom to believe. Instead, State Attorney Barry Krischer left the public to wonder whether the system tilted in favor of a wealthy, well-connected alleged perpetrator and against very young girls who are alleged victims of sex crimes.
Mr. Krischer took the unusual step of referring the case to a grand jury, which last month indicted Jeffrey Epstein on one felony count of solicitation of prostitution. That decision came after Harvard law Professor Alan Dershowitz met with prosecutors to undermine the credibility of the 14- to 17-yearold girls who charged that Mr. Epstein had paid them $200 to $300 to undress and massage him in his five-bedroom, 7 1/2 -bath home on the Intracoastal Waterway.
The girls, Mr. Dershowitz told prosecutors, had written on myspace.com about smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol. But if the girls have a credibility problem, what about Jeffrey Epstein? Mr. Goldberger, told The Post: "Mr. Epstein absolutely insisted anybody who came to his house be over the age of 18. How he verified that, I don't know." And prosecutors took him at his word?
Police collected evidence that refutes Jeffrey Epstein's defense. Police searched his home and garbage and found phone messages about the girls' school schedules and even a high school transcript, suggesting that Mr. Epstein at least knew that the girls were teenagers.
The state attorney's office has responded to criticism from Palm Beach police and others by noting the higher standard prosecutors face for conviction than law-enforcement officers do for arrest. But in this case, the state attorney bowed to the risk that a jury might look at both Jeffrey Epstein and the girls, and point fingers at both sides.
Even if the girls could be impugned as prostitutes, solicitation of a minor is a crime.

Former disc jockey and teacher Bruno Moore was charged with that Tuesday. Investigators say the 34-year-old used the Internet - myspace.com - to recruit a 13-year old.

Police say Jeffrey Epstein used a 20-year-old woman who had a myspace.com account to recruit young girls. His actions were sleazy. It would have been good to ask a jury just how criminal they were.

Palm Beach Post Editorial #3

Spare us the outrage

Wednesday, February 13, 2008

An 11-month police investigation led to an indictment on one felony charge of solicitation of prostitution. That was in July 2006, and part-time Palm Beacher Jeffrey Epstein still has faced no repercussions for allegedly preying on underage girls.

So maybe Mr. Epstein is satisfied that he's getting his money's worth from his large legal team, which includes Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz (remember O.J. Simpson?) and Kenneth Starr (remember Monica Lewinsky?). Jack Goldberger of West Palm Beach, who's also on the team, told Post columnist Jose Lambiet in November: "This case is absolutely going to end without a trial within the next two months."

He was wrong, but Mr. Goldberger remains on Mr. Epstein's payroll, feigning moral outrage at two lawsuits filed this year against the Manhattan money manager. The lawsuits allege sexual exploitation of teenaged girls, one of them as young as 14. Said Mr. Goldberger after the first lawsuit, seeking more than $50 million, was filed on Jan. 24: "We think this shows what this case is all about: money." Yes, it is - Mr. Epstein's effort to buy his way out of prosecution.

According to the lawyer of a 17-year-old whose parents are suing him, Mr. Epstein masturbated in front of her (she was 14 at the time) and used a vibrator on her at his home in February 2005. Another Epstein attorney, Lilly Ann Sanchez dismissed it: "Jeffrey Epstein did not have sex with this woman."

For those girls who claim that he did, Mr. Epstein's lawyers maintain that he did not know their ages, despite a police search of his home and garbage that found phone messages about the girls' school schedules and even a high school transcript. For all of his money, Mr. Epstein's best defense remains "I didn't know that I was a criminal pervert"?

Palm Beach Post Editorial #4

Rich man fought the law and he mostly won

Palm Beach Post Editorial

Monday, July 07, 2008

Two years after a grand jury indicted him on a felony charge of solicitation of prostitution, Jeffrey Epstein finally admitted that he lured a teenage girl to his $8.5 million, 13,000-square-foot Palm Beach mansion for sex. A week ago, the 55-yearold investment banker began serving 18 months in jail.

But that plea deal - guilty of felony solicitation of prostitution and procuring a person under the age of 18 for prostitution - does not account for all five of the girls, one as young as 14, who alleged that Epstein sexually abused them. And why is Epstein serving his term in the overcrowded Palm Beach County Jail and not a state prison, where inmates are sent if their sentences are longer than one year?

The slow, dissatisfying resolution of the case sends a message to the public

Post your that there's a different system of justice for the wealthy who hire highcomments powered lawyers. Epstein's legal team included West Palm Beach defense on this attorney Jack Goldberger, Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz, who defended O.J. Simpson against murder charges, and Kenneth Starr, the prosecutor who pursued then-President Bill Clinton for lying about sex with young women.

Palm Beach police spent 11 months investigating Epstein before State Attorney Barry Krischer sent the case to a grand jury, instead of charging Epstein so the man who once boasted of accepting only billionaire clients could face a trial. The police had taken a high school transcript, class schedules and phone messages from Epstein's home that showed he knew the girls were underage. Yet Mr. Krischer was more swayed by Epstein's lawyers, who attempted to impugn the girls' character by showing they had chatted on myspace.com about smoking marijuana and drinking. He should have let a jury decide whether the victims - and Epstein - were credible.

Ultimately, one charge against Epstein finally reflected the age of one victim, and the plea agreement left Epstein labeled a sex offender. With that additional charge, if Epstein had been convicted at a trial, he could have been sentenced to anything from probation to 15 years in prison, Assistant State Attorney Lanna Belohlavek said, adding that the recommended guideline sentence was 21 months.

Epstein also won't have to certify to the court that he is receiving counseling, typically required of sex offenders, because he has a private psychiatrist. But without court supervision, who will ensure Epstein is in fact being treated?

The plea deal also drops a federal investigation of Epstein. If a federal investigation was warranted, how does dropping it before completion benefit the public?

Epstein preyed on girls and denied it. For three years, his wealth and the influence of his lawyers bought him the protection the state attorney owed to the victims.

New York Post – 07/27/2008

New York Post - New York, N.Y.

Date: Jul 27, 2006

Start Page: 014

Section: Page Six

Text Word Count: 395

IT looks like New York billionaire financier Jeffrey Epstein got off easy when he was hit with a charge of soliciting a prostitute for a "happy ending" in Palm Beach.

Because if Palm Beach police had their way, Epstein, 53 - who surrendered last Sunday and is out on $3,000 bail - might have been whacked with far more serious charges of paying underage girls for sex.

But a state grand jury found the witnesses in the case were not credible and threw out all but the single charge of soliciting a hooker in his luxurious Palm Beach home. Epstein's lawyers and friends now say he's the hapless victim of a vendetta by Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter, whom they describe as a "born-again nut case."

According to the police investigation, a copy of which was obtained by the Palm Beach Post, detectives took statements from 17 witnesses and five alleged victims. Haley Robson, 20, a Palm Beach Community College student who described herself as "like a Heidi Fleiss," says she got naked to give Epstein a massage, then brought him six girls ages 14-16 for massages and sex at his home. She said they were paid $200 per session.

Cops also allege that Epstein's personal assistant, Sarah Kellen, who hasn't been charged, set up the liaisons and put fresh sheets on the massage table and supplied massage oils. Police searched through Epstein's garbage and retrieved sex toys and feminine hygiene products.

Epstein's Palm Beach lawyer, Jack Goldberger, told Page Six that the Florida state attorney concluded the cops had looked at evidence from a "one-sided perspective." He added that Epstein had passed an extensive lie-detector test in which he was grilled about underage girls.

Epstein's New York lawyer, Gerald Lefcourt, said, "The prosecutor didn't want to bring any charges in this case, but because of the craziness of this police chief, we have the charge of solicitation."

Last night, WPTV in Palm Beach reported that one reason Robson's testimony may have been dismissed is the kinky Web page she has on MySpace featuring photos of her female friends playing with sex toys. One friend even uses the name "Pimpin' Made EZ." Robson, who isn't charged, also writes, "Do what you do to make that money, life is a gamble. Stay hustling."

A spokeswoman for Reiter said, "We think our investigation speaks for itself."

Cops also allege that [Jeffrey Epstein]'s personal assistant, Sarah Kellen, who hasn't been charged, set up the liaisons and put fresh sheets on the massage table and supplied massage oils. Police searched through Epstein's garbage and retrieved sex toys and feminine hygiene products.

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NewYork Post – 09/20/2007

JAIL LOOMS FOR SEX-CASE MOGUL

September 20, 2007 -- THE sordid sex case involving Jeffrey Epstein may be coming to an unhappy ending -with a plea deal that would put the publicity-shy billionaire behind bars for 15 months for allegedly soliciting underage teen girls for sex at his Palm Beach mansion.

Sources tell Page Six that Epstein's high-powered lawyers - including Alan Dershowitz, Gerald Lefcourt, Roy Black and Kenneth Starr - have been negotiating a deal with federal prosecutors who are probing, among other

things, whether the gray-haired money manager paid West Palm Beach girls for sex or transported them across state lines. Epstein is currently charged by the State of Florida with soliciting young prostitutes for sex - but federal charges would be far more serious.

The Palm Beach Post reported yesterday that Epstein is very close to a deal with the feds that would send him to jail for 1½ to 2 years. Sources tell us that while a deal has not yet solidified, what's under discussion is a guilty plea to at least one charge in exchange for a sentence of 15 months in a Florida state prison, followed by 15 months of home confinement. That would be a fraction of the time he would have to serve if he were to be convicted by a jury.

Epstein's spokesman, Howard Rubenstein, said his client would have no comment. Dershowitz also declined to comment late yesterday.

Palm Beach police records show that on March 15, 2005, a 14-year-old girl alleged she had visited Epstein's estate, where she partially stripped and gave him a massage during which he "pulled out a purple vibrator" and used it on her in exchange for $300. A further probe uncovered five young women who said Epstein had masturbated and touched their genitals during massages, the records state. A woman named Haley Robson - who described herself as "like a Heidi Fleiss" - later admitted bringing six girls between the ages of 14 and 16 to Epstein's house, according to cops.

Despite the allegations, Epstein was only nailed on a single charge of soliciting a hooker - but it sparked a federal probe. Epstein's lawyers and friends have insisted he was the hapless victim of a vendetta by Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter, whom they described as a "born-again nutcase."

Palm Beach Post - 08/14/ 2006

Police chief's reputation helps discredit attacks

By Larry Keller

Palm Beach Post - Monday, August 14, 2006

In the case of Palm Beach financier Jeffrey Epstein, it seems, at times, as if two men are accused of wrongdoing: Epstein and Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter.

Epstein, 53, was indicted last month on a charge of felony solicitation of prostitution solely because of Reiter's "craziness," one of Epstein's lawyers said. His department disseminated "a distorted view of the case" and behaved in a "childish" manner when the grand jury didn't indict Epstein on the charges it sought, another Epstein lawyer complained.

To hear the Epstein camp tell it, Reiter, 48, is a loose cannon better suited to be the sheriff of Mayberry. They whisper that he's embroiled in a messy divorce.

Reiter did in fact file for divorce from his wife, (NAME REMOVED), last year, after 24 years of marriage. They have a son, 18, and a daughter, 14. The couple is scheduled to go to mediation next week, Aug. 16. Nothing in the court file suggests their split is particularly ugly.

Reiter incurred the wrath of the Epstein camp as well as the state attorney's office for two reasons. First, he pressed for Epstein to be charged with the more serious crimes of

sexual activity with minors. Second, he slammed State Attorney Barry Krischer in blunt language seldom used by one law-enforcement official concerning another because of what he perceived as that office's mishandling of the case.

In a letter to Krischer written May 1, Reiter called his actions in the Epstein case "highly unusual." He added, "I must urge you to... consider if good and sufficient reason exists to require your disqualification from the prosecution of these cases." In short, Reiter told the county's top prosecutor for the past 13 years that he ought to get off the case. "It looks like a departure from professionalism," Miami-Dade State Attorney Katherine Fernandez Rundle said of Reiter's letter.

Following Epstein's indictment, Reiter referred the case to the FBI to determine whether the super-rich, super-connected defendant had violated any federal laws. Reiter won't discuss the case or the broadsides aimed at him. But others almost uniformly use one word to describe the chief: professional.

"I have always been impressed by Mike's professionalism and his leadership," said Rick Lincoln, chief of the Lantana Police Department and a Palm Beach County cop for 32 years. "The town of Palm Beach has a very professional police department. We all consider Mike to be our peer and a man of integrity." Juno Beach Police Chief H.C. Clark II agreed. Although he doesn't know Reiter well, he has met with him on countywide law enforcement issues. "I've never seen him lose his cool. I've never seen anything but a professional demeanor from him."

Reiter joined the Palm Beach Police Department in 1981, leaving a $20,000-a-year patrol job at the University of Pittsburgh. His personnel jacket shows consistently excellent job evaluations. Posh Palm Beach is no hotbed of crime, and in his first year on the job, a resident confined to his home with a sick child thanked Reiter for delivering a few Cokes to the house. Reiter refused payment for the beverages. Another resident thanked Reiter for shutting off his car's headlights in his driveway, saying a valet must have been at fault. Reiter worked everything from road patrol to organized crime, vice and narcotics. And he's no novice at investigations involving the island's rich and famous. He was the lead detective probing the drug overdose death of David Kennedy in 1984. He also was one of the officers who worked the investigation of William Kennedy Smith, who was charged in 1991 — and later acquitted — with raping a woman at the Kennedy family compound in Palm Beach.

Reiter, who has a master's degree in human resource development from Palm Beach Atlantic University, also has attended the FBI National Academy in Quantico, Va., and management courses at Harvard. He's been active in countywide interagency law enforcement organizations and has a "top secret" national security clearance.

"He has a perspective that's broader than just addressing the needs of the town," said Town Manager Peter

Elwell, who promoted Reiter from assistant chief to chief in March 2001. Reiter makes more than $144,000 as the town's top cop. Elwell thinks he's worth it. He's very businesslike, very straightforward. He's not easily agitated or flamboyant. He's about the work," Elwell said. "I think that his service as chief has been outstanding in five-plus years."

New York Times – 09/03/2006

Questions of Preferential Treatment Are Raised in Sex Case Against Money Manager - September 3, 2006

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

PALM BEACH, Fla. — In the summer and autumn of last year, when most of the mansions here stood empty behind their towering hedges, the police stealthily watched one at the end of a waterside lane. They monitored the comings and goings of its owner's private jet, subpoenaed his phone records and riffled through his trash.

The owner was Jeffrey Epstein, 53, an intensely private New York money manager with several billionaire clients. Months earlier, the stepmother of a 14-year-old girl told the Palm Beach police that a wealthy older man, whom the girl later identified as Mr. Epstein, might have had inappropriate sexual contact with her.

In sworn statements to the police, the 14-year-old and other teenage girls said a friend had arranged for them to visit Mr. Epstein's home and give him massages, usually in their underwear, in exchange for cash.

Most of the girls, according to the police, said Mr. Epstein had masturbated during the massages, and a few said he had penetrated them with his fingers or penis. They identified him in photos and accurately described the inside of his home. Some recalled that his employees had fed them snacks or rented them cars.

Mr. Epstein pleaded not guilty in August to the crime he was ultimately charged with, soliciting prostitution. But at a time when prosecutors around the nation have become increasingly severe in dealing with people accused of sex offenses, the case has raised questions about whether Mr. Epstein's prominence won him preferential treatment.

By the account of the police, they found probable cause to charge Mr. Epstein with much more serious offenses: one count of lewd and lascivious molestation and four counts of unlawful sexual activity with a minor.

But instead of proceeding with such charges on his own, the Palm Beach County state attorney took the rare step of presenting a broad range of possible charges to a grand jury, which indicted Mr. Epstein in July on the lesser count. In Florida, prosecutors usually refer only capital cases to grand juries.

Even before the indictment, the Palm Beach police chief, Michael Reiter, had accused prosecutors of giving Mr. Epstein special treatment and asked the state attorney, Barry E. Krischer, to remove himself from the case.

In an editorial, The Palm Beach Post attacked Mr. Krischer, a Democrat whose post is elective, saying the public had been left "to wonder whether the system tilted in favor of a wealthy, well-connected alleged perpetrator and against very young girls who are alleged victims of sex crimes."

The case has taken a toll on the reputation of Mr. Epstein, who owns a palatial home in Manhattan, has pledged $30 million to Harvard and once flew former President Bill Clinton on his 727. Politicians including Eliot Spitzer, a Democratic candidate for governor in New York, and Gov. Bill Richardson of New Mexico, also a Democrat, have returned campaign contributions from him.

But Mr. Epstein fought back, assembling a team of star lawyers, including Gerald B.

Lefcourt and Alan M. Dershowitz, a friend of his, to look into the backgrounds of his young accusers.

Mr. Lefcourt says that the police acted "outrageously" and that his client has been wrongfully dragged through the mud.

"He disputes that he ever had sex with any under-age person or anything like that," said Mr. Lefcourt, whose clients have included Russell Crowe, Martha Stewart and Abbie Hoffman.

Neither the police nor the state attorney's office would discuss the case in detail. But the police released a thick report on the 13-month investigation after the indictment was unsealed in late July.

The police started investigating Mr. Epstein in March 2005, almost immediately after they were contacted by the stepmother of the 14-year-old, who, according to the report, was in a special school for students with disciplinary problems.

The girl, the report said, told the police that an older friend had "offered her an opportunity to make money" and had driven her to Mr. Epstein's house one Sunday. The friend, identified by the police as Haley Robson, a local community college student, told the girl to say she was 18 if Mr. Epstein asked, the report said.

The girl told the police that Mr. Epstein's assistant had led her upstairs to a room with a massage table and that Mr. Epstein had come in and told her to remove her clothes. She said Mr. Epstein had masturbated as she massaged him, had pressed a vibrator against her underwear and had given her $300 afterward.

In October, the police interviewed Ms. Robson, then 19, who told them Mr. Epstein had routinely paid her to bring teenage girls to his home. The police then interviewed a total of 5 alleged victims and 17 witnesses, many of whom told similar stories about what they had observed or participated in at Mr. Epstein's home. According to the report, at least one said Mr. Epstein had engaged in intercourse with her.

Mr. Lefcourt, his lawyer, said one girl who told the police of having had sex with Mr. Epstein as a minor had lied about both the sex and her age and had not shown up for grand jury questioning. He also said Mr. Epstein had passed a lie-detector test clearing him of any sexual involvement with under-age girls.

A spokeswoman for the Palm Beach police said that early this year, the police went to Mr. Krischer, the state attorney, intending to apply for warrants to arrest Mr. Epstein. Instead, she said, they were told that Mr. Krischer would convene a grand jury to examine the evidence and decide what charges, if any, to bring.

Around that time, the police report said, Mr. Dershowitz met with prosecutors to share information about the accusers, including statements they had posted on MySpace.com, the social networking site, concerning use of drugs and alcohol. According to the report, Mr. Krischer's office then decided to delay the grand jury session for several months.

The Palm Beach police grew frustrated, the report said, and on May 1 the department asked prosecutors to approve warrants to arrest Mr. Epstein.

Chief Reiter also wrote Mr. Krischer questioning "the unusual course that your office's handling of this matter has taken" and suggesting that Mr. Krischer disqualify himself.

Chief Reiter refused several requests to be interviewed, and his spokeswoman would not

say explicitly why he had urged the prosecutor to step aside.

Mike Edmondson, a spokesman for Mr. Krischer, said the state attorney's office sometimes sent noncapital cases to grand juries when there were questions about witness credibility. Mr. Krischer does not recommend a particular charge in such cases, Mr. Edmondson said, but gives the grand jury a list of possible charges.

Bruce J. Winick, a law professor at the University of Miami, said that while prosecutors in Florida rarely referred noncapital cases to grand juries, they sometimes did so with sensitive cases to be extra-cautious.

Mr. Lefcourt said the police were wrong to have released the report so soon, especially without correcting information that later proved wrong. He cited his assertion that one accuser had lied about her age, adding that she had also been arrested on drug charges and had been fired by her employer for stealing.

"What I'm trying to focus on," Mr. Lefcourt said, "is, What's motivating the selective and misleading release of information to the public?"

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New York Times – 06/30/08

Financier Starts Sentence in Prostitution Case -NYTimes.com Page 1 of 4 ge 1 of 4

July 1, 2008

Financier Starts Sentence in Prostitution Case

By LANDON THOMAS Jr.

The bad news arrived by phone last week on Little St. James Island, the palm-fringed Xanadu in the Caribbean where Jeffrey E. Epstein, adviser to billionaires, lives in secluded splendor.

Report to the Palm Beach County jail, the caller, Mr. Epstein's lawyer, said.

So over the weekend Mr. Epstein quit his pleasure dome, with its staff of 70 and its flamingo-stocked lagoon, and flew to Florida. On Monday morning, he turned himself in and began serving 18 months for soliciting prostitution.

"I respect the legal process," Mr. Epstein, 55, said by phone as he prepared to leave his

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return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
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and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/26/2010 6:37:49 PM
To: Robert D. Critton Jr. [redacted]; Jessica Cadwell [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Jeffrey Epstein** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Fri, Feb 26, 2010 at 9:59 AM
Subject: Fwd: Fw: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable
To: "Alan M. Dershowitz" <[redacted]>, Martin Weinberg <[redacted]>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: <[redacted]>
Date: Wed, Feb 24, 2010 at 5:58 AM
Subject: Fw: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable
To: jeevacation@gmail.com

-----Forwarded by Public Records/PalmBeach on 02/24/2010 05:58AM -----

To [redacted]
From: Michael Reiter/PalmBeach
Date: 07/10/2008 02:36PM
Subject: Epstein -- I apologize if you have received this but it keeps coming back to me as undeliverable

Margie,

" As you know, nothing too big or too small for us, especially in the summer " Hmmmmm. I have to be direct -- you or someone at your paper was very astute in checking the Clerk and Comptroller's computer and activity in the Epstein case two days before the hearing. As result, you sent me a text message on Saturday asking what the activity was about and I confirmed that the plea would take place. You were the only member of the news media that I talked with. And yet, after the case is completely over, the Palm Beach Daily News' editorial staff remains silent on the topic.

Thanks,
Mike

Palm Beach Post Editorial

Monday, July 07, 2008

Two years after a grand jury indicted him on a felony charge of solicitation of prostitution, Jeffrey Epstein finally admitted that he lured a teenage girl to his $8.5 million, 13,000-square-foot Palm Beach mansion for sex. A week ago, the 55-year-old investment banker began serving 18 months in jail.

But that plea deal - guilty of felony solicitation of prostitution and procuring a person under the age of 18 for prostitution - does not account for all five of the girls, one as young as 14, who alleged that Epstein sexually abused them. And why is Epstein serving his term in the overcrowded Palm Beach County Jail and not a state prison, where inmates are sent if their sentences are longer than one year?

The slow, dissatisfying resolution of the case sends a message to the public that there's a different system of justice for the wealthy who hire high-powered lawyers. Epstein's legal team included West Palm Beach defense attorney Jack Goldberger, Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz, who defended O.J. Simpson against murder charges, and Kenneth Starr, the prosecutor who pursued then-President Bill Clinton for lying about sex with young women.

Palm Beach police spent 11 months investigating Epstein before State Attorney Barry Krischer sent the case to a grand jury, instead of charging Epstein so the man who once boasted of accepting only billionaire clients could face a trial. The police had taken a high school transcript, class schedules and phone messages from Epstein's home that showed he knew the girls were underage. Yet Mr. Krischer was more swayed by Epstein's lawyers, who attempted to impugn the girls' character by showing they had chatted on myspace.com about smoking marijuana and drinking. He should have let a jury decide whether the victims - and Epstein - were credible.

Ultimately, one charge against Epstein finally reflected the age of one victim, and the plea agreement left Epstein labeled a sex offender. With that additional charge, if Epstein had been convicted at a trial, he could have been sentenced to anything from probation to 15 years in prison, Assistant State Attorney Lanna Belohlavek said, adding that the recommended guideline sentence was 21 months.

Epstein also won't have to certify to the court that he is receiving counseling, typically required of sex offenders, because he has a private psychiatrist. But without court supervision, who will ensure Epstein is in fact being treated?

The plea deal also drops a federal investigation of Epstein. If a federal investigation was warranted, how does dropping it before completion benefit the public?

Epstein preyed on girls and denied it. For three years, his wealth and the influence of his lawyers bought him the protection the state attorney owed to the victims.

Police chief's reputation helps discredit attacks

By Larry Keller

Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

Monday, August 14, 2006

In the case of Palm Beach financier Jeffrey Epstein, it seems, at times, as if two men are accused of wrongdoing: Epstein and Palm Beach Police Chief Michael Reiter.

Epstein, 53, was indicted last month on a charge of felony solicitation of prostitution solely because of Reiter's "craziness," one of Epstein's lawyers said. His department disseminated "a distorted view of the case" and behaved in a "childish" manner when the grand jury didn't indict Epstein on the charges it sought, another Epstein lawyer complained. To hear the Epstein camp tell it, Reiter, 48, is a loose cannon better suited to be the sheriff of Mayberry. They whisper that he's embroiled in a messy divorce.

Reiter did in fact file for divorce from his wife, Jill, last year, after 24 years of marriage. They have a son, 18, and a daughter, 14. The couple is scheduled to go to mediation next week, Aug. 16. Nothing in the court file suggests their split is particularly ugly.

Reiter incurred the wrath of the Epstein camp as well as the state attorney's office for two reasons. First, he pressed for Epstein to be charged with the more serious crimes of sexual activity with minors. Second, he slammed State Attorney Barry Krischer in blunt language seldom used by one law-enforcement official concerning another because of what he perceived as that office's mishandling of the case.

In a letter to Krischer written May 1, Reiter called his actions in the Epstein case "highly unusual." He added, "I must urge you to... consider if good and sufficient reason exists to require your disqualification from the prosecution of these cases."

In short, Reiter told the county's top prosecutor for the past 13 years that he ought to get off the case. "It looks like a departure from professionalism," Miami-Dade State Attorney Katherine Fernandez Rundle said of Reiter's letter.

Following Epstein's indictment, Reiter referred the case to the FBI to determine whether the super-rich, super-connected defendant had violated any federal laws.

Reiter won't discuss the case or the broadsides aimed at him. But others almost uniformly use one word to describe the chief: professional.

"I have always been impressed by Mike's professionalism and his leadership," said Rick Lincoln, chief of the Lantana Police Department and a Palm Beach County cop for 32 years.

"The town of Palm Beach has a very professional police department. We all consider Mike to be our peer and a man of integrity."

Juno Beach Police Chief H.C. Clark II agreed. Although he doesn't know Reiter well, he has met with him on countywide law enforcement issues. "I've never seen him lose his cool. I've never seen anything but a professional demeanor from him."

Reiter joined the Palm Beach Police Department in 1981, leaving a $20,000-a-year patrol job at the University of Pittsburgh. His personnel jacket shows consistently excellent job evaluations.

Posh Palm Beach is no hotbed of crime, and in his first year on the job, a resident confined to his home with a sick child thanked Reiter for delivering a few Cokes to the house. Reiter refused payment for the beverages. Another resident thanked Reiter for shutting off his car's headlights in his driveway, saying a valet must have been at fault.

Reiter worked everything from road patrol to organized crime, vice and narcotics. And he's no novice at investigations involving the island's rich and famous. He was the lead detective probing the drug overdose death of David Kennedy in 1984. He also was one of the officers who worked the investigation of William Kennedy Smith, who was charged in 1991 — and later acquitted — with raping a woman at the Kennedy family compound in Palm Beach.

Reiter, who has a master's degree in human resource development from Palm Beach Atlantic University, also has attended the FBI National Academy in Quantico, Va., and management courses at Harvard. He's been active in countywide interagency law enforcement organizations and has a "top secret" national security clearance.

"He has a perspective that's broader than just addressing the needs of the town," said Town Manager Peter Elwell, who promoted Reiter from assistant chief to chief in March 2001. Reiter makes more than $144,000 as the town's top cop. Elwell thinks he's worth it.

"He's very businesslike, very straightforward. He's not easily agitated or flamboyant. He's about the work," Elwell said. "I think that his service as chief has been outstanding in five-plus years."

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Jeffrey Epstein

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From: Matthew Hiltzik [redacted]
Sent: 12/15/2018 6:40:52 PM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
CC: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Kathy Ruemmler [redacted] Darren Indyke [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Also think there should be a line in there somewhere which clearly confirms that JE understands and recognizes that he did something wrong

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 15, 2018, at 12:03 PM, Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

Seems very good. Is there reason or opportunity here to evoke JE's Clinton connection? He had been publicly connected to the former President and became a proxy for the considerable anger at high levels of the Federal government that still surrounded Clinton. Likewise now, one reason to revive the story is that it is a way to tar a Trump administration official, who, in the normal course of his duties, happened to deal with the case.

On Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:28 AM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
thoughts.

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Ken Starr** <[redacted]>
Date: Sat, Dec 15, 2018 at 11:24 AM
Subject: Re:
To: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Cc: Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]>

Here goes:

"Sweetheart deal! " So goes the critique of the resolution of a long-ago case involving our former client -- and now-friend -- Jeffrey Epstein. The critique is profoundly misplaced, supported neither by the law or the facts, nor by the structure of our constitutional republic. To the contrary, Jeffrey was subjected to an unprecedented federal intrusion into a quintessentially local criminal matter in south Florida. His offense to the social order -- involving sex for hire -- was entirely a matter entrusted to laws of the several States, not the federal government. His conduct -- a classic state offense --was being treated exactly that way by able, honest prosecutors in Palm Beach County, but the overweening federal government intruded where it did not belong. And now, over ten years after the fact, the current assault on federal decision-makers at the time, including now-Secretary of Labor Alex Acosta (then the United States Attorney in south Florida), condemns the federal authorities for not going far enough.

The critics are entirely wrong. Neither the facts nor the law support the misguided criticisms being leveled by journalists and politicians at federal officials from over a decade ago -- including the highest levels of the Justice Department in Washington, D.C. .

Here are the key facts: Jeffrey Epstein, a successful self-made businessman with no prior criminal history whatever, engaged in illegal conduct that amounts to solicitation of prostitution. That was wrong, and it was reasonably viewed as a violation of Florida state law. Although no coercion, violence, alcohol, drugs and the like were involved, the unsavory facts were carefully assessed by experienced state prosecutors who

aggressively enforce state criminal laws. No one turned a blind eye to potential offenses to the public order. To the contrary, the Palm Beach State Attorney's Office conducted an extensive 15-month investigation, led by the chief of the Sex Crimes Division. Mr. Epstein was then indicted by a state grand jury on a single felony count of solicitation of prostitution.

During that intense investigation, the state prosecutors extensively gathered and analyzed the evidence, met face-to-face with many of the asserted victims, considered their credibility -- or lack thereof -- and considered the extent of exculpatory evidence. Then, after months of elaborate negotiations, the state prosecutors believed they had reached a reasoned resolution of the matter that vindicated the public interest -- a resolution entirely consistent with that of cases involving other similarly-situated defendants.

Then, in came the feds. The United States Attorney's Office tried, to no avail, to fit Mr. Epstein's situation into its vision of what it viewed as a commercial trafficking ring targeting minors. This was anything but. At long last, the federal authorities acknowledged that stark reality and grudgingly agreed to defer prosecution to the state. But there was a huge catch. In the face of our arguments sharply condemning their overreach, the federal prosecutors insisted on many unorthodox requirements that tugged at fundamental values of due process. For example, the agreement required Mr. Epstein to pay an undisclosed list of asserted victims $150,000 each. Even more, the feds insisted that Jeffrey pay for an attorney to represent such unidentified victims if any chose to filed civil litigation against him. When asked what possible legal authority supported this extravagant exercise of national power, the feds lamely cited a wildly inapposite case from Alaska involving cocaine and forced on-the-street prostitution. Apples and oranges.

Under the federally-forced deal, Jeffrey was sentenced to jail. That would not have been the case under the agreed-upon state disposition of this non-violent, consensual commercial arrangement. Jeffrey complied, served that sentence, and in the process was treated exactly the same as other state-incarcerated individuals. His conduct was exemplary, and so characterized by the state custodial authorities. He continued his work, including his many philanthropic efforts.

Our friend Jeffrey Epstein has paid his debt to society. He has also paid out millions of dollars to the asserted victims and their highly-creative lawyers. For over ten years, he has lived an exemplary life, including carrying on his wide-ranging philanthropies. Those of us who represented him in the Florida proceedings -- for customary professional fees -- now count him as a trusted friend.

Our nation faces vitally important challenges, many involving the treatment of women and basic human dignity. Voices are rightly being raised speaking truth to power, especially about women in the workplace. But Jeffrey, an exemplary employer, has long since been called to account by the criminal justice system for his misdeeds of yesteryear. In the spirit of the bedrock American belief in second chances, that unhappy chapter in Jeffrey's otherwise-magnificent life should be allowed to close once and for all.

On Thu, Dec 13, 2018 at 4:24 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> ken ,would take a stab at the article for the law journal. ? thx
>
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From: Michael Wolff [redacted]h]
Sent: 12/15/2018 5:03:19 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]; Darren Indyke [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Re:

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From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 4/9/2018 9:11:24 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

Importance: High

Trump's handpicked sdnyusa just authorized a search warrant of trump's private lawyer's office looking for trump communications....had to justify it with crime-fraud exception....trump has to be shitting water

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, April 09, 2018 4:34 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

yds 8

On Mon, Apr 9, 2018 at 4:14 PM, Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
We on for tomorrow?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Monday, April 9, 2018 8:36 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Yes, time?

On Mon, Apr 9, 2018 at 2:34 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Bfast?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Monday, April 9, 2018 8:10 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Tomorrow?

On Mon, Apr 9, 2018 at 1:44 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Today and tomorrow

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Monday, April 9, 2018 2:39 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject:

are you in this week?

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From: [redacted]]
Sent: 2/10/2011 9:45:51 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: macreonomics issue

Importance: High

do you think something like this is worthwhile and should i engage?

For Federal Programs, a Taste of Market Discipline

By DAVID LEONHARDT

Published: February 8, 2011

Wouldn't it be nice if taxpayers could somehow get a refund for government programs that didn't work? Instead, the opposite tends to happen. Programs that fail to make a difference — like many of those that train workers for new jobs — endure indefinitely. Often, policy makers don't even know which work and which don't, because rigorous evaluation is rare in government. And competition, which punishes laggards in the private sector, is typically absent in the public sector.

But there is some good news on this front. Lately, both American and British policy makers have been thinking about how to bring some of the competitive discipline of the market to government programs, and they have hit on an intriguing idea.

David Cameron's Conservative government in Britain is already testing it, at a prison 75 miles north of London. The Bloomberg administration in New York is also considering the idea, as is the State of Massachusetts. Perhaps most notably, President Obama next week will propose setting aside $100 million for seven such pilot programs, according to an administration official.

The idea goes by one of two names: pay for success bonds or social impact bonds. Either way, nonprofit groups like foundations pay the initial money for a new program and also oversee it, with government approval. The government will reimburse them several years later, possibly with a bonus — but only if agreed-upon benchmarks show that the program is working.

If it falls short, taxpayers owe nothing.

The first British test is happening at Her Majesty's Prison Peterborough, where 60 percent of the prisoners are convicted of another crime within one year of release. Depressingly enough, that recidivism rate is typical for a British prison.

To reduce the rate, a nonprofit group named Social Finance is playing a role akin to venture capitalist. It has raised about $8 million from investors, including the Rockefeller Foundation. Social Finance also oversees three social service groups helping former prisoners find work, stay healthy and the like. If any of those groups starts to miss its performance goals, it can be replaced.

For the investors to get their money back starting in 2014 — with interest — the recidivism rate must fall at least 7.5 percent, relative to a control group. If the rate falls 10 percent, the investors will receive the sort of return that the stock market historically delivers. "It's been only a few months," says Tracy Palandjian, who recently opened a new Social Finance office in Boston, "but the numbers are coming in O.K."

Antony Bugg-Levine of the Rockefeller Foundation told me it had invested in the project for two main reasons. One, it expected to get its money back and then be able to reuse it. Two, if social impact bonds work, they have the potential to attract for-profit investors — and vastly expand the pool of capital that's available for social programs.

Clearly, social impact bonds have limitations. For starters, it's hard to see how private money could ever pay for multibillion-dollar programs like Medicaid or education.

Just as important, the execution of any bond program will be complicated. It will depend on coming up with the right performance measures, which is no small matter. Done wrong, the measures will end up rewarding programs lucky (or clever) enough to enroll participants who are more likely to succeed no matter what.

But whatever the caveats about the bonds, the potential for improving the government's performance is obviously huge. That's true in education, health care, criminal justice and many other areas.

A recent review found that 10 major social programs had been rigorously evaluated over the past two decades, using the scientific gold standard of random assignment. Only one of the 10 — Early Head Start, for infants, toddlers pregnant women — was a clear success. Yet all 10 still exist, and largely in their original form.

Jon Baron, the president of the Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy in Washington, points out that the social problems addressed by antipoverty programs have not gotten much better in years. School test scores have barely changed. College graduation rates for low-income students have stagnated. The poverty rate is as high as it was in 1981. Median household income is lower than it was in 1998.

"If we just keep funding social programs the way we have been," Mr. Baron says, "there's not a lot of reason to think we'll have much success."

The Obama administration's seven pilot programs would create bonds for, among other areas, job training, education, juvenile justice and care of children's disabilities. Nonprofit groups like Social Finance could apply. So could for-profit companies, said the White House official, who asked not to be named because the president had not yet released next year's budget. The $100 million for the bonds would come out of the budgets of other programs, to stay consistent with Mr. Obama's announced freeze on non-security spending.

Officials in Massachusetts and New York are looking at similar ideas but have not yet decided whether they will issue bonds.

Beyond the impact of any single program, the bonds have the potential to nudge all government agencies to pay more attention to results. Mr. Obama, after all, campaigned as a reformer who wanted to create a sleek, efficient "iPod government." He has had some success, like the expansion of a program — backed by years of solid evidence — in which nurses go to the homes of new at-risk parents to counsel them.

Over all, though, the administration has not done enough to improve government efficiency. Put it this way: If someone asked you how Mr. Obama had made government work better, would you have an answer?

Making government work better will be all the more important in the years ahead. The free market is not going to solve many of our biggest problems, be it stagnant pay or spotty medical care. And government — in Washington and locally — is going to be financially squeezed for a long time.

There never was a good excuse for wasting billions of taxpayer dollars on programs that didn't work. But now, especially, there's no excuse.

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 8/1/2018 1:34:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Congressional candidate compares Melania Trump to prostitute

Importance: High

https://nypost.com/2018/07/31/congressional-candidate-compares-melania-trump-to-prostitute/?utm_source=maropost&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=nypdaily&utm_content=20180801&mpweb=755-7157445-719004712

Congressional candidate compares Melania Trump to prostitute

By Chris Perez

A congressional candidate from Oregon has caused an uproar on social media after comparing first lady Melania Trump to a prostitute.

"Did you know the First Lady works by the hour?" tweeted independent House candidate Mark Roberts on Monday, using the hashtags "#thinkdirty" and "#hoebag."

Twitter users were quick to blast the politician for his crude comment, with some calling on him to pull out of the 2nd Congressional District race for Republican incumbent Greg Walden's seat.

"Very unprofessional on your part," tweeted one person. "Grow up and stick to the issues, so the voters in your district can decide on your stand regarding the issues."

Another added, "Wow no class Mark. You're definitely using liberal tactics and it makes me wonder if you really are a conservative at all."

Roberts sparked the social media storm on Monday afternoon after replying to a tweet from Charlie Kirk, president of the right-wing youth organization Turning Point USA. Kirk had compared Melania's staff numbers to those of former first lady Michelle Obama.

"Did you know: There are thirty-nine fewer staffers dedicated to The First Lady of the United States (FLOTUS) than under Obama," Kirk tweeted, referencing data reported in January.

"There are only five staffers dedicated to Melania Trump vs. forty-four staffers who served Michelle Obama," he said.

Political experts told The Oregonian on Tuesday that Roberts' reply completely railroaded his chances of unseating Walden in a race that was already said to be a longshot.

"If he wins, I'll sell my house and donate to charity," joked Jim Moore, political science professor at Pacific University.

Roberts is apparently known for making crude and outlandish remarks on Twitter, most of which have been aimed at politicians.

"#NikkiHaley very hot," he once tweeted, in reference to a TV appearance she made last year.

"Important stuff," Roberts added.

Describing Illinois Democratic Sen. Kamala Harris, the independent candidate tweeted: "Hot, tough & smart!"

Commenting on a video featuring President Trump, he said: "It looks like he's morphing into a woman, get that man a haircut and non fat chocolate cake!"

In response to the social media backlash he's been receiving, Roberts refused to apologize and instead cited the Constitution.

"It's that whole 1st amendment thing," he tweeted on Tuesday, along with an official explanation from Twitter as to why his tweet about Melania hasn't been taken down.

"We have investigated the reported content and could not identify any violations," a spokesperson said. "Accordingly, we have not taken any action at this time."

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
Phone [redacted]
Fax [redacted]
Cell [redacted]

From: Noam Chomsky [redacted]]
Sent: 12/26/2016 6:56:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Valeria Chomsky [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I read what his ghost-writer said about him. Pretty scary.

Reminds me of something I was told by Jon Snow, one of England's most sensible newsmen. He was with the press entourage accompanying Tony Blair on his visit to Saudi Arabia, and walking around one of the palaces one day, he saw Blair sitting in a room with a book in his lap, which greatly surprised him -- until he came over to talk. It was the New Testament.

And then Blair started telling about how delighted he and Cheri were with the gold door handles,....

I notice that your prediction was right about Trump's avoiding the White House as far too primitive. Must be driving the Secret Service up the wall.

I'll keep in mind what you say about Trump's tweets, but they are hard to ignore. Whatever he may think, others here and abroad can't help considering the meaning of the words, and take action accordingly.

About meaning, It's not clear to me how to distinguish the meaning of "New York" (however it is correctly specified) from the concept. Still don't see how to work out field models.

Noam

On Mon, Dec 26, 2016 at 12:27 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
one of donalds closet people said that remember , he has written three books. . which makes him one of the few people in the world that has written more books than he has read

On Mon, Dec 26, 2016 at 9:59 AM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted] wrote:

For word meanings, the closest I can think of to something like this is an array of meaning postulates, in Carnap's sense, something that Jerry Fodor for one has toyed with. Multidimensional, but not a field. I don't see how to work it out, or to extend it to the interpretations of longer units.

On Mon, Dec 26, 2016 at 5:51 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
happy chanukah. . - has anyone in the past made a linguistic model that used fields instead of definitions. similar to a magnet field. to some degree. there is no one vector that describes the word but a field of them. home surrounded by a field of definitions. not based on 3 d space but based on context . one could integrate over the field. see smoothness. strength , change. . not sure it is useful. but having fun

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Date: Thursday, January 9 2014 01:39 PM
Subject: RE: Re:
From: Jes Staley [redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Everyone is talking about Gates comments on Obama. Surprised by what Gates did. I talked with Daley yesterday, and he thought that Gates making his comments while Obama is still in the White House, completely irresponsible.

Lots of talk on Israel and Iran. Gives a higher chance that Israel goes it alone than I have heard elsewhere.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2014 8:37 AM
To: Jes Staley
Subject: Re:

nope. how was tenet

On Thu, Jan 9, 2014 at 8:35 AM, Jes Staley [redacted] wrote:
I got completely swamped, and then had a dinner with George Tenet and my military guy from Brookings. My fault. Is larry coming by again today?

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2014 7:02 AM
To: Jes Staley
Subject:

eveything ok, we waited
--
****
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Date: Friday, September 26 2014 10:57 PM
Subject: Re:
From: Jes Staley <[redacted]>
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

I saw that.

Sent from my iPhone
On Sep 26, 2014, at 6:51 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Administration officials were firm that President Obama was only beginning to think about a new attorney general, but many in Washington are already focusing on **Kathryn Ruemmler**, the former White House counsel, who recently returned to private practice.

Ms. Ruemmler, 43, is known to be highly trusted by the president, and she helped guide his thinking on gay rights, the health care law and the reach of executive authority.

She is one of only three women to serve as White House counsel.

Ms. Ruemmler, who grew up in Washington State and studied law at Georgetown, also has a history of winning over skeptical Republicans. "You never had to question where she was coming from, and she never volunteered something she didn't know," said Senator Saxby Chambliss, Republican of Georgia. "She is very precise but very firm also, and held her own well."

She also won admirers as a lead prosecutor on the Enron task force. But if Ms. Ruemmler is nominated, the advice she dispensed to the White House about the I.R.S. scandal and the attacks on Benghazi, Libya, will certainly draw scrutiny.

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The INDEPENDENT

Prince Andrew sex allegations: Jeffrey Epstein's butler Alfredo Rodriguez, who stole tell-all 'black book', dies age 60

Rodriguez served prison time after refusing to hand over Epstein's (pictured) book in 2011 and attempting to sell it for over £30,000

Loulla-Mae Eleftheriou-Smith

Wednesday, 7 January 2015

Alfredo Rodriguez, the butler of convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein, has died, and with him the location of a 'black book', which allegedly details "the full scope and the extent of Epstein's involvement with underage girls", and contact details of the businessman's celebrity friends.

Rodriguez died at the age of 60 after suffering from mesothelioma last week, his widow Patricia Dunn told *DailyMail.com.*

Dunn alleges that her late husband "knew all about Prince Andrew," who has been named in the current sex scandal centring on Epstein. Allegations levelled at the Prince are that he was supplied with a teenage girl who was used by Epstein as a "sex slave". Buckingham Palace has denied the allegation.

The 'black book' that Rodriguez had in his possession is journal in which Epstein is understood to have detailed the girls which attended his properties for "massages" for him and his friends, and details of his celebrity friends and associates who had no connection with alleged offences, including Bill Clinton and Donald Trump.

Jeffrey Epstein: Controversies surrounding paedophile billionaire

Rodriguez, who stole the book, claimed he needed it as insurance against the businessman to protect his own life.

The butler failed to tell prosecutors he possessed the book and later refused to hand it over. He was jailed for 18 months for attempting to sell it for $50,000 (£31,000).

In 2011 it emerged that the journal "detailed the full scope and the extent of Epstein's involvement with underage girls," according to prosecuting lawyers, who referred to it as "The Holy Grail".

Rodriguez died on 28 December. The current location of the document has not been disclosed and the *Mirror* claims Epstein's lawyers are "petrified" about where it will go, according to a source.

Read more: Boris Johnson has 'sympathy' for Prince amid sex claims
Documents about Prince Andrew's support for Epstein 'concealed'

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_030333

Billionaire sex offender Epstein had '21 numbers' for Bill Clinton

From: Martin Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 1/30/2015 5:54:21 PM
To: Jeff Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Darren Indyke [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: David Pegg <[redacted]
Date: January 30, 2015, 12:00:34 PM EST
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Dear Mr Weinberg,

I hope this email finds you well. I am a journalist at The Guardian newspaper in London.

We are preparing for publication an article in which we may mention Mr Jeffrey Epstein, who is your client. We have sent Mr Epstein an email concerning this article and made a number of attempts to contact him, to which he has not responded.

Please see the email in question below. Should Mr Epstein wish to respond, please ensure that we receive his response by no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

I would be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt of this email.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **David Pegg** <[redacted]
Date: 29 January 2015 at 16:49
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeffrey@jeffreyepstein.org

Dear Mr Epstein,

I write further to an email sent to you earlier this month, concerning an article we are preparing for publication in which you may be mentioned.

We have not received a response from you. If you wish to respond, please do so as soon as possible and no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

For your convenience, please see the original letter below,.

Yours faithfully,

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Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

On 5 January 2015 at 11:14, David Pegg <[redacted] wrote:

Swiss Accounts Survey

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We have seen records held in the US identifying you among those who have held accounts. These accounts contained assets of up to USD 3.5m, and include:

HSBC (Suisse) SA
FAMILY INTEREST L.P.
22079
BESSIE
JEFFREY EPSTEIN

1) You may therefore have been a person evading or avoiding tax, or laundering money.

We will be particularly concerned with these questions:

2) Why you had Swiss accounts.
3) How much back tax you have settled with the tax authorities following their investigation of your affairs.

Additionally, from public records and from material we have seen we note that:

4) In 2008 you pleaded guilty to solicitation of prostitution and procuring minors for prostitution. You were sentenced to 18 months in prison.

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It is intended shortly to publish the results of our survey in both the US and the UK.

As responsible journalists acting in the public interest, we would first like to give you the opportunity to comment.

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Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

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From: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 1/30/2015 7:03:47 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com; [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: David Pegg
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 12:00 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

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N1 9GU

Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

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From: **David Pegg** [redacted]
Date: 29 January 2015 at 16:49
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein
To: [redacted]

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Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

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From: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 1/30/2015 8:20:19 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 2:04 PM
To: Martin G. Weinberg
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Privileged - Redacted

On Fri, Jan 30, 2015 at 3:03 PM, Martin G. Weinberg [redacted] wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

From: David Pegg
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 12:00 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

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[redacted]

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Tel: [redacted]
Email: [redacted]

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Date: Friday, November 4 2016 10:58 PM
Subject: Re: told you , the case ws a fake
From: Eva Dubin <[redacted]>
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Sent from my iPhone
On Nov 4, 2016, at 6:24 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

The following transaction was entered by Meagher, Thomas on 11/4/2016 at 5:59 PM EDT and filed on 11/4/2016

Case Name: Doe v. Trump et al
Case Number: 1:16-cv-07673-RA
Filer: Jane Doe
Document Number: 15

Docket Text:
NOTICE OF VOLUNTARY DISMISSAL Pursuant to Rule 41(a)(1)(A)(i) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, the plaintiff(s) and or their counsel(s), hereby give notice that the above-captioned action is voluntarily dismissed, against the defendant(s) All Defendants. Document filed by Jane Doe. (Meagher, Thomas)

1:16-cv-07673-RA Notice has been electronically mailed to:

--

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Date: Sunday, January 15 2017 02:10 PM
Subject: NYTimes: Donald Trump News Conference Gets the 'S.N.L.' Treatment
From: Glenn Dubin <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

http://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/15/arts/donald- trump-saturday-night-live.html?smprod=nytcore- ipad &smid=nytcore- ipad-share

The actor Alec Baldwin, in a parody of Mr. Trump's first news conference as president-elect, began by vowing to answer what he said was "the question that's on everyone's mind."

Sent from my iPad

From: Leon Black [[redacted]
Sent: 1/30/2017 3:52:45 PM
To: 'jeffrey E.' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

Jeffrey- I can't print this and when we try- it messes up the computer. Perhaps you can have Lesley scan it – or show it to Leon this afternoon. Thanks, Melanie

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 30, 2017 10:50 AM
To: Leon Black
Subject:

http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/shrinks-break-silence-president-trump-exhibits-traits-m-article-1.2957688

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From: paul krassner [redacted]
Sent: 3/25/2017 12:41:05 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: FYI

Importance: High

On Mar 24, 2017, at 2:57 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

good, how are you?

Well, I just sent this email to Brockman:

Hey John,

I've been working on an article for the Village Voice but it seems to be evolving into a relatively short book — 3 segments:

TRUMP THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

A Funny Thing Happened On the Way to the Inauguration

Lies, Jokes, Fake News, and Alternative Facts

I Was a Dishonest Journalist Between Breitbart and Bannon

[Will Durst has agreed to write an intro.]

Please let me know if you'd like to consider the possibility of representing this.

As ever,

paul

Date: Thursday, May 11 2017 08:22 PM
Subject: Re: What is going on with your man Jes?
From: Thomas Jr., Landon [redacted]
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Other stuff I am sympathetic -- but to answer a random gmail email, that is not smart!

How are you Trump contacts responding to Comey?

On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 4:18 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

i know, everyone gets their turn in the barrel

On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 10:17 PM, Thomas Jr., Landon <[redacted]> wrote:

'Thanks for sharing the foxhole'

Twi Fac Linl 4 HOURS AGO By: Kadhim Shubber, Martin Arnold 6 Print

The subject of the email should have been warning enough for Jes Staley, the embattled chief executive of Barclays. At quarter to nine on Wednesday evening, after a bruising shareholders' meeting, Mr Staley received a message purporting to be from his chairman, John McFarlane. The heading read: "The fool doth think he is wise".

In fact, the message was from a prankster, using the Gmail account john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com. The imposter described Michael Mason-Mahon, an individual shareholder who called for Mr Staley to resign at Wednesday's annual meeting, "as brusque as he is ill informed" and went on to reassure the Barclays chief executive that together they had successfully seen off any attempt to force Mr Staley out.

“Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends,” the short email concluded. “You owe me a large Scotch.”

Mr Staley, who has been heavily criticised for his attempt to unmask a whistleblower, soon replied to the prankster in effusive terms. Presumably thinking he was talking to his chairman, who has been dubbed “Mack the Knife” for his habit of ousting chief executives, Mr Staley said, “You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane”.

“You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?” Mr Staley wrote. The 60-year-old Barclays boss continued in the same style: “You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit. Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.”

He had time for yet more praise before he signed off. “And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton,” said Mr Staley, referencing the legendary guitarist Eric Clapton and his chairman’s fondness for playing his guitar in public meetings.

The brief conversation ended with a final email around 11pm. The imposter sent a poem, which began “Worry not of tomorrow’s end” and ended “Revel in their bloodied eyes”. The first letter of each line spelled out the word ‘Whistleblower’.

“Thanks for sharing the foxhole,” Mr Staley replied.

The prankster, who contacted the Financial Times via Twitter, told us the email was part of his “battle with Barclays” over a customer issue. “I thought I’d see how Jes was relaxing after his AGM,” he said.

Barclays declined to comment.

The emails, which the FT has verified are genuine, are reproduced below.

—

[Prankster’s email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 08:47 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)

Subject: The fool doth think he is wise

Mason-Mahon is as brusque as he is ill informed.

However I do feel we've ceased the rally for you [sic] head today.

Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends.

You owe me a large Scotch.

John

Sent from my iPhone

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:08, Jes Staley wrote:

You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane.

You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?

You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit.

Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.

And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton.

Thank you.

Jes

—

[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 09:37 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

What else would Mack the Knife do but support those he can trust in!

Begs the question, who should we seek to silence next!?

Onward, to bigger, and better things.

I may have already had a stiff one, it's been a long day, and I get no younger.

Clapton has nothing on me ha!

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:40, Jes Staley wrote:

I bet he doesn't.

—

[Prankster's email]

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:45, John McFarlane <[redacted]> wrote:

In all seriousness, do let me know what fires/thorns you want me quelling over the next few days.

It's important I stand fast, and alongside you.

You have carried yourself admirably today.

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[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 10:43 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

As I retire for the night, I'm reminded of a poem my father was awfully fond of. It seems very apt.

Good night, Jes.

Worry not of tomorrow's end
Hurry not towards falling trees
Ignore at once, the jesters dance
Sigh, oh sigh, at the folly foiled
Take down the mighty route of ills
Lest not make a scratch in time
Evenhanded wins fair stance.
Broken wooden spoons we take
Left, oh left, in such a state

Over crests and furrowed field
Wirey talons arching back
Empty roosts the plagued aspise
Revel in their bloodied eyes

We fight on.

—

From: Jes Staley
Date: Wed, 10 May 2017 at 22:58
Subject: RE: The fool doth think he is wise
To: <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com>

Thanks for sharing the foxhole.

Best

Jes

--

Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/t /landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

Date: Thursday, May 11 2017 08:35 PM
Subject: Re: What is going on with your man Jes?
From: Thomas Jr., Landon [redacted]
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

---

call now -- [redacted]

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i tired to call you , not for email

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“You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?” Mr Staley wrote. The 60-year-old Barclays boss continued in the same style: “You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit. Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.”

He had time for yet more praise before he signed off. “And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton,” said Mr Staley, referencing the legendary guitarist Eric Clapton and his chairman’s fondness for playing his guitar in public meetings.

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Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

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Good night, Jes.

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Ignore at once, the jesters dance
Sigh, oh sigh, at the folly foiled
Take down the mighty route of ills
Lest not make a scratch in time
Evenhanded wins fair stance.
Broken wooden spoons we take
Left, oh left, in such a state

Over crests and furrowed field
Wirey talons arching back
Empty roosts the plagued aspise
Revel in their bloodied eyes

We fight on.

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From: Jes Staley
Date: Wed, 10 May 2017 at 22:58
Subject: RE: The fool doth think he is wise
To: <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com>

Thanks for sharing the foxhole.

Best

Jes

--

Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/t /landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
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http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/t /landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Sent: 12/14/2017 9:32:10 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Thanks.

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] | http://www.paulweiss.com
Bio: https://www.paulweiss.com/professionals/partners-and-counsel/Brad-S-Karp.aspx

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From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Thursday, December 14, 2017 4:31 PM
To: Karp, Brad S
Subject:

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html

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From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Sent: 12/15/2017 8:25:35 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: today

Importance: High

Wow, call me naïve, but that's something.

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] | www.paulweiss.com

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Friday, December 15, 2017 2:51 PM
To: Karp, Brad S <bkarp@paulweiss.com>
Subject: today

http://dailycaller.com/2017/12/15/report-feminist-lawyer-promised-cash-to-trump-sexual-harassment-accusers/?utm_medium=referral&utm_source=idealmedia&utm_campaign=dailycaller.com&utm_term=68814&utm_content=1

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From: Melanie Spinella [[redacted]
Sent: 1/3/2018 6:46:53 PM
To: 'jeffrey E.' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: [External]

Importance: High

We cannot print it since we don't subscribe

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 3, 2018 1:31 PM
To: Melanie Spinella <[redacted]>
Subject: [External]

http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/michael-wolff-fire-and-fury-book-donald-trump.html
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/7/2018 8:51:55 PM
To: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: draft

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Oct 26, 2015 at 7:08 PM
Subject: draft
To: Melanie Spinella <[redacted]>, Brad Wechsler <[redacted]>

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/7/2018 9:36:20 PM
To: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: so there is no misunderstanding

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, Nov 29, 2016 at 1:27 AM
Subject: so there is no misunderstanding
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]

I have told the brads and barry,- I am done. its not a negotiation , out !! - fyi given my carlyn joslin castrucci, admonishments,- though my involvement in those - in one instance only gave a name - in another only given an eileen dictated choice btween two 250k preparers. and for castrucci, I actually sent emails that i take no responsiblity for his being hired. - however you felt strongly that I should be saddled with their outcomes .even with brad wechsler , i again said two months in, Leon, he doesnt get it. I tell you this so that you will understand that I will not interview, recommend or vet any new hire.
A story - In 1993 trump and I had a friend that kept telling his pilots how to fly , and when to fly , he couldnt help himself from hiring morons as co pilots, and maintenance people based on cheapest rates. Donald and I tried and tried to talk some sense into him, to no avail. Donald and I were in aspen, sitting at little nells. when the friends plane crashed into the side of aspen mountain , klliing him and all on board,- Trump looked at me and said without a blink , I guess NOW he wishes he would have listened to us.- a metaphor for your office. . . had we not waited to the very last hour having had a six month window and tens of unasnwered text and emails re decisions needed including the 1031. you would have saved way more than you often feel obliged to argue about. . silly but i reallize you are stressed.
Barry will need to sit with brad for months, to absorb all the co's , structures. cash flow, financial statments etc. I will present barry my thoughts on the overall redo , it will be the exact same email that i presented to you and brad two years.ago . accurate numbers first. and foremost. . (last week gaming report stil funky). IT etc I pointed out some of the more glaring errors to barry to give him a flavor of what is to come.
Tuesday if you like we should discuss Giacometti , and pesner . difficult to finesse him if they are filing documents that you won't . these ridiculous conversations with tons of people on the phone , removes any claim you might have to not be considered a WILLFUL NON-FILER . (after youve been told by attnys and pwc that you should file in writing , you have NO choice) .. worst possible result - including serious penalties up the kazoo.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/21/2018 9:34:41 PM
To: jeffrey epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: draft

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Oct 26, 2015 at 2:08 PM
Subject: draft
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]>, Brad Wechsler <[redacted]>

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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From: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Sent: 8/8/2018 2:07:34 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: Anders Corr <[redacted]
Date: August 8, 2018 at 5:32:57 AM EDT
To: Fanell Red [redacted]>, Authoritarian Influence <[redacted]>
Subject: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat
Reply-To: [redacted]

From Reuters News:

China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat
http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-china/china-defends-iran-business-ties-after-trump-threat-idUSKBN1KT0TU

China's business ties with Iran are open, transparent and lawful, its foreign ministry said on Wednesday, after U.S. President Donald Trump said companies doing business with Iran would be barred from the United States.

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You received this message because you are subscribed to the Google Groups "Fanell's Red Star Rising" group.
To unsubscribe from this group and stop receiving emails from it, send an email to [redacted].
To post to this group, send email to [redacted].
Visit this group at https://groups.google.com/group/fanell-red-star-rising.
To view this discussion on the web visit https://groups.google.com/d/msgid/fanell-red-star-rising/CAEn6kiNCeXiyh%3DwQZztE7tOD8CondVxc4eMW8u40%2B1VFz86%3Dtg%40mail.gmail.com.
For more options, visit https://groups.google.com/d/optout.

From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Sent: 10/3/2018 1:49:27 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: whoopsie

Importance: High

Brutal piece.

Sent with BlackBerry Work
(www.blackberry.com)

From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Tuesday, Oct 02, 2018, 7:27 PM
To: Karp, Brad S [redacted]>
Subject: whoopsie

https://www.marketwatch.com/story/new-york-launches-tax-investigation-into-trump-after-ny-times-report-2018-10-02

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From: Karp, Brad S [[redacted]]
Sent: 2/21/2019 4:12:19 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

Very interesting.

How are you?

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] | www.paulweiss.com

From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2019 10:51 AM
To: Karp, Brad S <[redacted]>
Subject:

https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/430906-senate-investigators-want-to-question-russia-based-businessman-tied-to-trump

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From: Karp, Brad S [redacted]]
Sent: 2/21/2019 4:49:48 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

J-

Called and left a vm.

Brad

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] www.paulweiss.com

From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2019 10:51 AM
To: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Subject:

https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/430906-senate-investigators-want-to-question-russia-based-businessman-tied-to-trump

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/15/2014 1:06:39 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]

http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-10-14/ruemmler-said-to-emerge-as-obama-favorite-for-justice-job.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/30/2015 7:04:56 PM
To: Martin G. Weinberg [redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

On Fri, Jan 30, 2015 at 3:03 PM, Martin G. Weinberg <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

From: David Pegg
Sent: Friday, January 30, 2015 12:00 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Dear Mr Weinberg,

I hope this email finds you well. I am a journalist at The Guardian newspaper in London.

We are preparing for publication an article in which we may mention Mr Jeffrey Epstein, who is your client. We have sent Mr Epstein an email concerning this article and made a number of attempts to contact him, to which he has not responded.

Please see the email in question below. Should Mr Epstein wish to respond, please ensure that we receive his response by no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

I would be grateful if you could acknowledge receipt of this email.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

[redacted]

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **David Pegg** <[redacted]>
Date: 29 January 2015 at 16:49
Subject: Re: Media Enquiry - The Guardian - Re: Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeffrey@jeffreyepstein.org

Dear Mr Epstein,

I write further to an email sent to you earlier this month, concerning an article we are preparing for publication in which you may be mentioned.

We have not received a response from you. If you wish to respond, please do so as soon as possible and no later than 18:00 on Monday 2nd February 2015.

For your convenience, please see the original letter below,.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

[redacted]

On 5 January 2015 at 11:14, David Pegg <[redacted]> wrote:

Swiss Accounts Survey

Dear Mr Epstein,

We are writing because a US media organisation, in concert with ourselves at the Guardian newspaper in London, is currently conducting a detailed survey of Swiss bank accounts, past and present.

It is not illegal to have Swiss accounts. But as you may know, it is a topic of considerable public debate, and several governments have been investigating the owners of such accounts.

There are a number of ways such accounts and also offshore trusts have been used to avoid inheritance tax, UK domestic tax, or tax imposed by other countries. Such accounts have also been used to launder money.

We have seen records held in the US identifying you among those who have held accounts. These accounts contained assets of up to USD 3.5m, and include:

HSBC (Suisse) SA
FAMILY INTEREST L.P.
22079
BESSIE
JEFFREY EPSTEIN

1) You may therefore have been a person evading or avoiding tax, or laundering money.

We will be particularly concerned with these questions:

2) Why you had Swiss accounts.

3) How much back tax you have settled with the tax authorities following their investigation of your affairs.

Additionally, from public records and from material we have seen we note that:

4) In 2008 you pleaded guilty to solicitation of prostitution and procuring minors for prostitution. You were sentenced to 18 months in prison.

5) Your above accounts were also linked with Mr Leslie Wexner.

6) You are known to be or have previously been closely associated with Bill Clinton, Prince Andrew and Kevin Spacey.

7) You have made substantial contributions to the Clintons' philanthropic causes. Tax reform campaigners have previously been critical of those who engage in public life or the political process while avoiding or evading tax. Hilary Clinton herself, speaking in 2012, noted the importance of elites paying a substantial share of tax: "One of the issues that I have been preaching about around the world is collecting taxes in an equitable manner — especially from the elites in every country."

It is intended shortly to publish the results of our survey in both the US and the UK.

As responsible journalists acting in the public interest, we would first like to give you the opportunity to comment.

If we do not hear from you by 18:00 on Monday 12th January 2015 (preferably by email to [redacted], we shall proceed on the basis that you do not wish to comment on or amend our information.

But we have approached you in a straightforward fashion and hope you will take this opportunity to respond if you wish. Your substantive responses to each of our numbered points will be carefully considered and published if appropriate.

(For the avoidance of doubt, we do not normally regard any generalised assertion of "inaccuracies" as a substantive response; nor any generalised statement that the holders acted on advice. Neither will we regard as substantive any comment that only refers to the present state of affairs and not to the past.)

We are, of course, happy to discuss directly any concerns you may have.

We would be most grateful if you would acknowledge receipt of this letter. This will save us from chasing.

Yours faithfully,

David Pegg
The Guardian
Kings Place
90 York Way
London
N1 9GU

[redacted]

[redacted]

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/26/2015 6:08:48 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted] Brad Wechsler [redacted]
Subject: draft

Importance: High

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/26/2015 6:11:47 PM
To: Richard Joslin [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: draft

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Mon, Oct 26, 2015 at 2:08 PM
Subject: draft
To: Melanie Spinella <[redacted]>, Brad Wechsler <[redacted]>

phaidon and art space. combined basis 96 million , (reviewed with brad and joe.) . add ten for restructuring . basis 106. mi. subtract total sale price. for both, lets say approx $8 - 15m . leaving loss of between 90 and 98 million long term loss. . AMT rate 28 % obama . tax 3.8% . city and state 12% total aprox 43 %. tax rate. savings 38.7 - 44 m

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Date: Saturday, September 24 2016 01:26 PM
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Michael Wolff <[redacted]>;

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you can also add , fresh politcal juice by stating that Clinton was never on the island. I never met Al gore. no diiners on the island with either , no matter how much detail has been in the press. in fact boies Gores attny, knows that byt continues to represent the fabricator. the girl who claimed prince andrew had sex with her also accused stephen hawking and marvin minsky, . ? ehud barak on a gulfstream with five secruity guards looking the other way. ? all ludcrous.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/17/2016 2:39:57 PM
To: Richard Kahn [redacted]; Dlugash, Alan [redacted]
Subject: Fwd:

Importance: High

are they taking the deduction ONLY to get the obama care benefit. / ???? call joslin
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Brad Wechsler** <[redacted]>
Date: Mon, Oct 17, 2016 at 10:38 AM
Subject:
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Cc: Richard Joslin <[redacted]>, Tom Turrin <[redacted]>, John Castrucci <[redacted]>, Leon Black <[redacted]>

The taxes are ready to go according to RJ and Tom. There were two changes made last friday: $4mm of RA and Artspace losses can/shld reduce the 3.8% medicare tax and $7mm of TRA payments shld also be exempt from medicare taxes (consistent with prior year APO and Akin Gump advice). In aggregate this increases our overpayment by $400k.
Pls call me and I'll find rich and tom if you want to discuss. Thx, b
Otherwise, taxes are complete and we are ready to press the button and file electronically. B
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

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Date: Sunday, January 15 2017 02:16 PM
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Donald Trump News Conference Gets the 'S.N.L.' Treatment
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Glenn Dubin <[redacted]>;

saw it loved it

On Sun, Jan 15, 2017 at 10:10 AM, Glenn Dubin <[redacted]> wrote:

http://www.nytimes.com/2017/ 01/15/arts/donald-trump-saturday-night-live.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad &smid=nytcore-ipad-share

The actor Alec Baldwin, in a parody of Mr. Trump's first news conference as president-elect, began by vowing to answer what he said was "the question that's on everyone's mind."

Sent from my iPad

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/30/2017 3:50:06 PM
To: Leon Black [redacted]

Importance: High

http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/shrinks-break-silence-president-trump-exhibits-traits-m-article-1.2957688

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/30/2017 3:53:38 PM
To: Leon Black[redacted]
Subject: Re:

ok

On Mon, Jan 30, 2017 at 10:52 AM, Leon Black <[redacted]> wrote:

Jeffrey- I can't print this and when we try- it messes up the computer. Perhaps you can have Lesley scan it – or show it to Leon this afternoon. Thanks, Melanie

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 30, 2017 10:50 AM
To: Leon Black
Subject:

http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/shrinks-break-silence-president-trump-exhibits-traits-m-article-1.2957688

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Date: Thursday, May 11 2017 08:30 PM
Subject: Re: What is going on with your man Jes?
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Thomas Jr., Landon [redacted];

i tired to call you , not for email

On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 10:22 PM, Thomas Jr., Landon <[redacted] wrote:

Other stuff I am sympathetic -- but to answer a random gmail email, that is not smart!

How are you Trump contacts responding to Comey?

On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 4:18 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

i know, everyone gets their turn in the barrel

On Thu, May 11, 2017 at 10:17 PM, Thomas Jr., Landon <[redacted]> wrote:

'Thanks for sharing the foxhole'

Twi Fac Lin 4 HOURS AGO By: Kadhim Shubber, Martin Arnold 6 Print

The subject of the email should have been warning enough for Jes Staley, the embattled chief executive of Barclays. At quarter to nine on Wednesday evening, after a bruising shareholders' meeting, Mr Staley received a message purporting to be from his chairman, John McFarlane. The heading read: "The fool doth think he is wise".

In fact, the message was from a prankster, using the Gmail account john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com. The imposter described Michael Mason-Mahon, an individual shareholder who called for Mr Staley to resign at Wednesday's annual meeting, "as brusque as he is ill informed" and went on to reassure the Barclays chief executive that together they had successfully seen off any attempt to force Mr Staley out.

“Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends,” the short email concluded. “You owe me a large Scotch.”

Mr Staley, who has been heavily criticised for his attempt to unmask a whistleblower, soon replied to the prankster in effusive terms. Presumably thinking he was talking to his chairman, who has been dubbed “Mack the Knife” for his habit of ousting chief executives, Mr Staley said, “You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane”.

“You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?” Mr Staley wrote. The 60-year-old Barclays boss continued in the same style: “You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit. Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.”

He had time for yet more praise before he signed off. “And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton,” said Mr Staley, referencing the legendary guitarist Eric Clapton and his chairman’s fondness for playing his guitar in public meetings.

The brief conversation ended with a final email around 11pm. The imposter sent a poem, which began “Worry not of tomorrow’s end” and ended “Revel in their bloodied eyes”. The first letter of each line spelled out the word ‘Whistleblower’.

“Thanks for sharing the foxhole,” Mr Staley replied.

The prankster, who contacted the Financial Times via Twitter, told us the email was part of his “battle with Barclays” over a customer issue. “I thought I’d see how Jes was relaxing after his AGM,” he said.

Barclays declined to comment.

The emails, which the FT has verified are genuine, are reproduced below.

—

[Prankster’s email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 08:47 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)

Subject: The fool doth think he is wise

Mason-Mahon is as brusque as he is ill informed.

However I do feel we've ceased the rally for you [sic] head today.

Surely the fickleminded nature of the angry few will help tie up any loose ends.

You owe me a large Scotch.

John

Sent from my iPhone

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:08, Jes Staley wrote:

You are a unique man, Mr McFarlane.

You came to my defense today with a courage not seen in many people. How do I thank you?

You have a sense of what is right, and you have a sense of theatre. You mix humor with grit.

Thank you John. Never underestimate my recognition of your support. And my respect for your guile.

And some day I want to see an ad lib guitar run. You have all the fearlessness of Clapton.

Thank you.

Jes

—

[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 09:37 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

What else would Mack the Knife do but support those he can trust in!

Begs the question, who should we seek to silence next!?

Onward, to bigger, and better things.

I may have already had a stiff one, it's been a long day, and I get no younger.

Clapton has nothing on me ha!

—

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:40, Jes Staley wrote:

I bet he doesn't.

—

[Prankster's email]

On Wed, 10 May 2017 at 21:45, John McFarlane <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com> wrote:

In all seriousness, do let me know what fires/thorns you want me quelling over the next few days.

It's important I stand fast, and alongside you.

You have carried yourself admirably today.

—

[Prankster's email]

From: John McFarlane [john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2017 10:43 PM GMT Standard Time
To: Staley, Jes: Barclays (LDN)
Subject: Re: The fool doth think he is wise

As I retire for the night, I'm reminded of a poem my father was awfully fond of. It seems very apt.

Good night, Jes.

Worry not of tomorrow's end
Hurry not towards falling trees
Ignore at once, the jesters dance
Sigh, oh sigh, at the folly foiled
Take down the mighty route of ills
Lest not make a scratch in time
Evenhanded wins fair stance.
Broken wooden spoons we take
Left, oh left, in such a state

Over crests and furrowed field
Wirey talons arching back
Empty roosts the plagued aspise
Revel in their bloodied eyes

We fight on.

—

From: Jes Staley
Date: Wed, 10 May 2017 at 22:58
Subject: RE: The fool doth think he is wise
To: <john.mcfarlane.barclays@gmail.com>

Thanks for sharing the foxhole.

Best

Jes

--

Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/t /landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/ reference/timestopics/people/ t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/9/2017 4:08:49 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]

https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/nov/09/donald-trump-robert-kraft-owner-offshore-firm-new-england-patriots-paradise-papers

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/14/2017 9:31:07 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]

Importance: High

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3914012/Troubled-woman-history-drug-use-claimed-assaulted-Donald-Trump-Jeffrey-Epstein-sex-party-age-13-FABRICATED-story.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 12/15/2017 7:50:42 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]
Subject: today

Importance: High

http://dailycaller.com/2017/12/15/report-feminist-lawyer-promised-cash-to-trump-sexual-harassment-accusers/?utm_medium=referral&utm_source=idealmedia&utm_campaign=dailycaller.com&utm_term=68814&utm_content=1

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/3/2018 6:31:20 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]]

http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/michael-wolff-fire-and-fury-book-donald-trump.html
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/3/2018 6:50:43 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]
Subject: Re: [External]

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/01/03/new-trump-book-bannons-treasonous-claim-ivankas-presidential-ambitions-and-melanias-first-lady-concerns/?utm_term=.17d17352b1a4

On Wed, Jan 3, 2018 at 1:46 PM, Melanie Spinella [redacted] wrote:

We cannot print it since we don't subscribe

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 3, 2018 1:31 PM
To: Melanie Spinella [redacted]
Subject: [External]

http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/01/michael-wolff-fire-and-fury-book-donald-trump.html
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 6/13/2018 2:36:34 PM
To: Karp, Brad S [redacted]
Subject: Re: my suggested type of edits. lets talk

he is commited to not doing it - now , if any hint of trouble ill explain on the phone I had a long talk this morning.

On Wed, Jun 13, 2018 at 10:24 AM, Karp, Brad S <[redacted]> wrote:

Thanks. It's still quite challenging. Will speak shortly to Michael.

Brad S. Karp | Chairman
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP
1285 Avenue of the Americas | New York, NY 10019-6064
[redacted] | http://www.paulweiss.com
Bio: https://www.paulweiss.com/professionals/partners-and-counsel/Brad-S-Karp.aspx

From: jeffrey E.
Sent: Wednesday, June 13, 2018 9:37 AM
To: Karp, Brad S
Subject: Fwd: my suggested type of edits. lets talk

my suggested edits
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Wed, Jun 13, 2018 at 7:51 AM
Subject: my suggested type of edits. lets talk
To: Michael Wolff <[redacted]>

The Special Counsel's office, nearly leak-proof since its inception more than a year ago and seemingly immune to the President's constant taunts, might appear to be operating in some parallel universe unmoved by the every-day political turmoil. But in the course of conversations I've had recently, as a I research a new book on President Trump and the forces arrayed against him, what has become clear is that Robert Mueller and his office are preparing for a life or death confrontation with the President and the mother of all constitutional crises.

My discussions have been with both White House advisors and people close to the investigation. No source involved in this story would speak on the record.

The sources firmly believe that Special Counsel has ready an aggressive legal theory for the indictment of the president for obstruction of Justice. In the last few weeks, as the President has indulged his pardon authority, the Mueller team has also developed a legal strategy to oppose the ikely pardon of former National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, who had previously struck a plea bargain which could include his testimony against the President.

Robert Mueller, according to one person familiar with the Special Counsel's thinking, could hardly contain his disgust when Rudy Giuliani, the President's new lawyer—hired to makes a television case for the President and to push back against the Mueller team—in May airily dismissed the notion that a president can be indicted. Adding insult to injury, Giuliani—who a White House source said had likely learned of aspects of the pending indictment—said Mueller agreed with that assessment. White House sources believe Giuliani was daring the Special Counsel to tip his hand. Mueller, in character, contained his outrage and continued to hold his cards close as his team finished preparing the obstruction case and refined the legal theories under which it would

claim the right to haul the president into court.

The Mueller team, according to sources both near the investigation and the White House, has prepared a case, but it requires the approval of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, who—with the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the Russia-related investigation—oversees the Mueller team. He would need to set aside He could do this based on a finding that the former opinion was inaccurate re the president being above the law. ttherby creating an inability to indict a sitting president. Indeed, Rosenstein, as recently as April, publicly declared that the President was not a target. This may have been a form of fig leaf to soothe a President who regularly demands aides assure him he is not being pursued: the President does not become a formal target until Rosenstein agrees to designate him as one.

Any proposed indictment would confront Rosenstein with matters with which he has been intimately involved. The case, according to my conversations , is fundamentally Trump versus the FBI, Justice Department, and Mueller investigation itself. In many ways, it boils down to the word of former FBI Director James Comey against the word of Donald Trump. Rosenstein, at the President's behest, drafted a memo justifying the Comey firing for how the former FBI Director handled the Hillary Clinton email investigation. But that justification, in an embarrassment for Rosenstein, was shortly brushed aside by the President when he admitted that he fired Comey to disrupt the Russian investigation. What's more, the indictment is said to charge that the firing of Andrew McCabe, the former Deputy Director of the FBI, who reported directly to Rosenstein after the Comey dismissal, was an instance of illegal retaliation tampering or consipracy by the President against a potential witness.

According to a source with knowledge of the strategy , it will be all the more controversial because if finds the entire narrative of the case for obstruction in plain sight. Almost nothing about the case involves new information. "This indictment could have been drafted without anyone being interviewed," said this source. Rather it takes well covered public events and moves them to a set of circumstantial conclusions. There is no smoking gun beyond the often flagrant, custom-breaking, events of the President's 16 months in office. Indeed, much of the evidence is based on the President's public statements and tweets about those events.

This is, according to White House sources who have gotten wind of this approach, good news: the case then, is just an issue of what motives you ascribe to the President's behavior—behavior that is, the President's supporters believe it is easy to show, impulsive and not thought out. Hence no intent. For the Mueller team, it is precisely that careless behavior and flagrant disregard for the rules that they aim to put on trial.

There is no certainty that the Special Counsel's office will ultimately pursue its plan to indict the President. But, according to a source the worry is that the plan is "more advanced" than previosly believed. . The investigation continues and new evidence or other factors might push both prosecutors and the grand jury in another direction. Just passing its first anniversary, the Mueller investigation has conducted itself with remarkable secrecy. Descriptions of a proposed indictment provide one of the few insights into its strategy and its sense of the political peril in front of it.

It may be noteworthy that there appears now not to be plan for an indictment related to collusion, although, legal experts say, that could come later.

The White House view is that without the underlying collusion charge, Mueller will be presenting a weak and politically-motivated case. The Mueller view seems to be that the obstruction charges go to the heart of exposing how Trump has abused his power and turned the White House into a corrupt fiefdom.

The President's scheme to obstruct the FBI's investigation into connections between the Trump campaign and Russian efforts to undermine the U.S. election, according to Mueller began on the 7th day of the Trump administration. Three days prior to this, on January 24, National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, lied to the FBI about his contacts with the Russian Ambassador, Sergey Kislyak. These were contacts, directed by an unnamed person.

That unnamed person, in the view of several lawyers who discussed the case with me, is very likely Trump himself, and might imply that Trump encouraged Flynn to lie to the FBI, promising to protect him—using his influence or pardon powers.

On January 27th, seven days after Donald Trump's inauguration, the President had the one-on-one dinner with FBI

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 7/8/2018 9:51:20 AM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Re: Het hele interview met Steve Bannon | Nieuwsuur

agreed. ill pass it on :)

On Sat, Jul 7, 2018 at 8:53 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

This drives me f*ing crazy.

Simple question for your boy: Did Donald Trump actively promote the theory that Barak Obama was not born in the US and was therefore not a legitimate President?

Answer: Yes.

He should not defend that shit. He can defend populist/nationalism all he wants, but when he bullies people defending obvious Trump lies, he loses credibility.

On Jul 7, 2018, at 10:57 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Fun

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: Steve Bannon <[redacted]
Date: Sat, Jul 7, 2018 at 1:21 PM
Subject: Het hele interview met Steve Bannon | Nieuwsuur
To: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>

https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/video/2240261-het-hele-interview-met-steve-bannon.html

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/8/2018 3:08:21 PM
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Subject: Re: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat

https://www.klearwaterstore.com/davey-bt14-30-torrium2-booster-pump/?gclid=CjwKCAjwhqXbBRAREiwAucoo-6Wkrv3ZIfqAkk86XcrX9OzIV-2dsIdyWpJWa04lskPP9fCr7-zUfxoCXUoQAvD_BwE ? passing along not covered >?

On Wed, Aug 8, 2018 at 10:07 AM, Steve Bannon [redacted] wrote:

Begin forwarded message:

From: Anders Corr <[redacted]>
Date: August 8, 2018 at 5:32:57 AM EDT
To: Fanell Red <[redacted]>, Authoritarian Influence <[redacted]>
Subject: Reuters: China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat
Reply-To: [redacted]

From Reuters News:

China defends Iran business ties after Trump threat
http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-nuclear-china/china-defends-iran-business-ties-after-trump-threat-idUSKBN1KT0TU

China's business ties with Iran are open, transparent and lawful, its foreign ministry said on Wednesday, after U.S. President Donald Trump said companies doing business with Iran would be barred from the United States.

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To view this discussion on the web visit https://groups.google.com/d/msgid/fanell-red-star-rising/CAEn6kiNCeXiyh%3DwQZztE7tOD8CondVxc4eMW8u40%2B1VFz86%3Dtg%40mail.gmail.com.
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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/2/2018 11:26:53 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]
Subject: whoopsie

https://www.marketwatch.com/story/new-york-launches-tax-investigation-into-trump-after-ny-times-report-2018-10-02

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/31/2019 10:47:52 PM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]]

[redacted] worked at mara lago. . she was the one that accused prince andrew. . trump said he asked me to resign, never a member ever. . of course he knew about the girls as he asked ghislaine to stop
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Date: Thursday, January 31 2019 11:22 PM
From: J <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Michael Wolff <[redacted]>;

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https://www.thescottishsun.co.uk/news/3556604/teen- sex-prince-andrew-jeffrey-epstein-donald-trump-mara-lago-resort/

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/21/2019 3:50:48 PM
To: Brad S Karp [redacted]

https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/430906-senate-investigators-want-to-question-russia-based-businessman-tied-to-trump

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Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 10:51 PM
Subject: Re: Fwd: <no subject>
From: Faith Kates <[redacted]>
To: 'jeevacation@gmail.com' <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Call me [redacted]

----- Original Message -----
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Faith Kates
Sent: Tue Mar 08 17:48:01 2011
Subject: Fwd: <no subject>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: gmax <gmax1@ellmax.com>
Date: Tue, Mar 8, 2011 at 12:17 PM
Subject: <no subject>
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance
<http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>
by Vicky Ward <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky- ward>
March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM
"I've got a story idea for you. The rebuilding of Indonesia. Or New Orleans. Or both. Go there. I've just been. You will never think the same way about anything again."
So spoke not Bill or Melinda Gates, but Ghislaine Maxwell, the 48-year-old woman being written up everywhere at the moment as the alleged "procurer" of young women for billionaire Jeffrey Epstein.
Epstein, 57, is the financier who spent a year in jail on charges of soliciting prostitutes—and now there is talk of another investigation because various women, now in their twenties and thirties, have come forward with allegations that he molested them when they were under-age. The allegations first surfaced in British newspapers, which have zeroed in on Epstein's friendship with Prince Andrew, who has recently tried to publicly disassociate himself from his old pal.
I wrote a piece for Vanity Fair in 2003 called "The Talented Mr. Epstein." It was largely a business piece that focused on his mysterious exit from Bear Stearns in 1981, his close relationships with Jimmy Cayne, Les Wexner, the chairman of Limited Brands, and above all, the man who claimed to be his mentor, Steven Jude Hoffenberg, who is currently serving a 20-year-jail sentence for bilking investors in Towers Financial out of $450 million.

The piece alluded to Epstein's great friendship with Maxwell, and how she introduced him to young women with whom he had sexual relationships. But, in the end, the story didn't really go there, focusing instead on the issue that remains a mystery—how Jeffrey made his money, and how Ghislaine made hers.

This is not to say I didn't hear stories about the girls. I did. But, not knowing quite who to believe, I concentrated on the intriguing financial mystery instead. But now the women have come back. Not the same ones, different ones. And their stories are bone-chilling. Journalists from England have phoned—and, in one case, flown—to ask me about Epstein and Maxwell. Who is he? And the British, especially, want to know: Who is she? At this point, I am so bored of repeating myself to others—it was, after all, my 2003 Vanity Fairstory that really brought him into the limelight—that I have decided to write about this myself.

Bizarrely, perhaps, I have gotten to know Jeffrey and Ghislaine far better after my piece than before it. I kept running into both of them, separately, at parties. Jeffrey is not a social animal so he usually has a couple of young women with him who stand two feet behind him, as if serving a monarch. "Do they speak?" I remember asking him once, nodding at his lookalike blondes. He laughed. "Not like you,Vicky," was his riposte.

I remembered that when we'd once discussed math—in particular, an isosceles triangle—and I revealed I hadn't studied math since I was 14 (such is, or was, the way of the British educational system), I received a package at home via messenger. It was a book: "Math for idiots."

So he is not without humor, even though he doesn't drink or smoke, and hates restaurants.

"Jeffrey knows a good deal about most subjects," newspaper publisher Mort Zuckerman told me last week. He was certainly preaching to the converted. The truth is, Epstein does know a lot about a lot of things. Just a few moments in his company and you know this to be true.

When I saw pictures of Prince Andrew walking in Central Park with Jeffrey, my immediate thought was that "Andy"—as Jeffrey calls him—is probably asking for help with his role as British trade envoy, or whatever his strange title is. Because if one thing's for sure: When it comes to international business, Jeffrey knows what he's talking about far more than "Andy" does. Which is why Leon Black, Mort Zuckerman and a few other financiers hang out with him.

And Ghislaine?

Full disclosure: I like her. Most people in New York do. It's almost impossible not to.

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Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 11:49 PM
Subject: RE:
From: Eva Dubin [redacted]
To: Jeffrey <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

superb!!!!
Where and when will this be published??

Date: Tue, 8 Mar 2011 12:28:31 -0800
Subject:
From: jeevacation@gmail.com
To: [redacted]

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance < http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html >

by **Vicky Ward** <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky- ward>
March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM

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The piece alluded to Epstein's great friendship with Maxwell, and how she introduced him to young women with whom he had sexual relationships. But, in the end, the story didn't really go there, focusing instead on the issue that remains a mystery—how Jeffrey made his money, and how Ghislaine made hers.

This is not to say I didn't hear stories about the girls. I did. But, not knowing quite who to believe, I concentrated on the intriguing financial mystery instead. But now the women have come back. Not the same ones, different ones. And their stories are bone-chilling. Journalists from England have phoned—and, in one case, flown—to ask me about Epstein and Maxwell. Who is he? And the British, especially, want to know: Who is she? At this point, I am so bored of repeating myself to others—it was, after all, my 2003 Vanity Fairstory that really brought him into the limelight—that I have decided to write about this myself.

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Date: Wednesday, March 9 2011 01:51 AM
Subject: Re:
From: Steve Hanson <[redacted]>
To: jeevacation@gmail.com;

Hey. Just landed from LA. You around for a call- no rush- when ur free /tell me
Hope your ok
Xxoo

Sent from Steve Hanson's Blackberry

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From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Steve Hanson
Sent: Tue Mar 08 15:32:12 2011
Subject:

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From: Intelligence Squared [info=intelligencesquared.com@mcsv136.net]
on behalf of Intelligence Squared [info@intelligencesquared.com]
Sent: 4/28/2011 12:31:12 PM
To: j epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: May events, plus what's new online

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What will the fall-out be from the crisis in the eurozone? Tighter economic coordination or an increasingly detached Germany? We're bringing together a former French president, controversial Conservative MEP Dan Hannan and Timothy Garton Ash to debate the motion "Germany no longer needs Europe – the dream is over" on May 17th.

Then two very different literary events: Rob Lowe, Hollywood actor and star of *The West Wing*, talks about his new autobiography with Kate Muir on May 25th, and Nobel Prize-winning author V. S. Naipaul will be discussing Africa, magic and travel with Geordie Greig on May 31st.

- Buy tickets online using any credit card at www.intelligencesquared.com/events
- Buy over the telephone on 020 7792 4830, or email info@intelligencesquared.com with a phone number, and we will call you back to take your order.

Scroll down for more information and for what's new on our website this week, including video and audio of a recent event with Artangel Longplayer and new videos from 5x15 Stories.

EVENTS COMING UP

Germany no longer needs Europe - the dream is over
Tuesday 17th May 2011, 6:45pm
Royal Geographical society

The Germans have got what they wanted from Europe – reunification – and feel increasingly disenchanted with the bargain they had to make to get it – accepting the euro. After the grudging bailout of Greece, the fumbled bailout of Ireland and all the sharp divisions exposed by the financial crisis, isn't the idea of Europe as a world power beginning to look like a pipe dream? Or will the euro crisis drive Europe's leaders to strengthen economic policy coordination to make sure there's no repeat performance, giving a fresh impetus for the dream of Europe? Come and hear what a former French president and five other big hitters have to say on the issue.

Rob Lowe: Tales from Hollywood
Wednesday 25th May 2011, 7pm
Royal Geographical Society

Teen idol at fifteen, founder of the Brat Pack at twenty, at 47 Rob Lowe is still one of Hollywood's top international stars. On May 25th he comes to the Intelligence² stage to recount the successes and disappointments of his Hollywood career. He'll be in conversation with Kate Muir, chief film critic on The Times, and signing copies of his new autobiography, *Stories I Only Tell my Friends*.

V. S. Naipaul in conversation with Geordie Greig
Tuesday 31st May 2011, 7pm
Royal Geographical Society

The Nobel Prize-winning Trinidadian author V. S. Naipaul has spent half a century examining the legacy of colonialism on the Third World, unravelling the guilt of the rulers and the self-serving myths of the ruled. His latest book, *The Masque of Africa: Glimpses of African Belief*, is a travelogue in which the author sets out to discover how far the old Africa's belief in magic has been subverted by the outside world. Tickets are still available to see a giant of Western letters.

PARTNER CONTENT

Recommended reading from The Periscope Post

Is royal wedding fever out of control – or is it just right? Did President Obama cave in to the birther bullies – or was releasing his birth certificate the best way to stamp out a vicious rumour? And did the Guantanamo WikiLeaks files really tell us that Britain is a hotbed of Islamist extremism? Find out who said what and why at **The Periscope Post**, the best and quickest way on the Web to put the day's headlines in perspective.

IQ² ONLINE THIS WEEK

The Artangel Longplayer Conversation 2011: James Lovelock and John Gray

Watch and listen to full video and audio of the recent Artangel Longplayer conversation between political philosopher John Gray and climate scientist and 'futurologist' James Lovelock. Taking the philosophical implications of long time as a starting point, they discuss immortality, suicide, the pursuit of happiness and Darwinism.

New videos from 5x15 Stories

Including Fergal Keane on when the Japanese attempted to invade India during World War II and the outrageous blunders committed by General Mutaguchi, 'one of the great vainglorious fools of history'.

Plus, Libyan novelist Hisham Matar, on his father's disappearance into Gaddafi's prisons and why as an artist he steers clear of political engagement.

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ISSUES OF REPUTATION

For the purposes of this discussion, here are the principal objectives:

- Minimise any mentions in the tabloid press in the UK and US
- Steadily to restore your profile in select media, political and philanthropic circles
- Establish you as a pioneering supporter of science and technology with a focus on the less fashionable but most important disciplines
- Consider some kind of annual event which brings together your business and philanthropic interests

Tabloid press attention

It is imperative that this be tackled as a matter of urgency, particularly in the UK which generates so much of the follow up coverage in the US, but also comes to the fore in the most cursory Google search of your name.

Since it is an unambiguous objective of the *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday* to take down Prince Andrew, it is disastrous for you to be seen in any way to facilitate his lifestyle, or to help with his well documented issues. Their sole interest in you and Ghislaine is as a means to attack Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson. You need to studiously avoid any involvement whatsoever with the couple, which will lessen the interest and we can establish a constructive relationship on your behalf with them. In the fullness of time, it will be possible to run a positive piece about your philanthropy.

As for the US tabloids, much of what they have published took the lead from the UK papers and is to do with the Prince Andrew/ Sarah Ferguson/ Bill Clinton axis. Without that distraction, it will be easier to maintain a lower profile.

Restoring your profile

The strategy has to be one that is medium term, say 18 months, which starts off slowly and intensifies over time, and should not appear to be calculated. We can discuss in more detail but it should include the following components:

- **"Clean up" Google:** Another urgent priority is to retain one of the expert firms in search engine optimization (SEO) to "clean up" the results on all major search engines where your name is part of a search query. Today, when anyone types in your name, a majority of the first few pages of the results are references to the charges, to paedophilia, to Prince Andrew, to unflattering stories – many of which link back to the *Mail* websites. We have hired an excellent team of Israeli experts for other clients, and there are many firms that claim to be able to optimize results this way but fail to deliver. I cannot overstate the importance of this, because it is the initial source of information on you for many people.

- **Top editors and columnists:** These engagements should be informal at the outset, and preferably at dinners, lunches and events which aren't built around you. The focus should be on serious business and financial journalists who are more interested to hear your opinions on the world economy than to probe tabloid headlines. Those editors and columnists I tend to single out are Gerald Baker and Thorold Barker at the *Journal*, Lionel Barber and John Gapper at the *Financial Times*, Andrew Sorkin and Hugo Lindgren at the *Times*, John Micklethwait and Matthew Bishop at the *Economist*, *Josh Tyrangiel* at *Businessweek*, as well as a handful of international correspondents. Ideally, the first few encounters would be at dinners and events that we organize in New York and internationally, which could be followed by dinners at your house in due course.

- **International political circles:** Much more is to be gained by increasing your profile among the international political class than the domestic U.S. political class. The global nature of your business, the importance of the growth markets and the puritanism of American politics are good reasons for this. In our view, you should be spending time with European, Middle Eastern, Asian and Latin American political and business leaders – some of which you of course already do on a daily basis but in a concerted way through such gatherings as, the Ambrosetti Forum, the Abu Dhabi Media Summit, Bilderberg and the BRICS Summit. I see that you are part of the Trilateral Commission and this is in a similar vein. The advantage offered by these gatherings over private meetings is that it demonstrates vividly to all the other opinion leaders the unique position you occupy among the international business elite.

Science and technology

The passion and commitment you have for supporting scientific and technological research is extremely helpful in two ways. First, when spending time with editors and columnists, it is important to focus their attention on areas of your choice, not theirs. Not only is your funding of these disciplines an interesting subject, but the special rapport that you enjoy with a number of outstanding scientists. This helps to showcase your unique position, and acts as a powerful character reference, as did the Alan Dershowitz quotes in your 2005 *Vanity Fair* profile.

Second, since it is intrinsically difficult for people to understand the nature of your business, it is all the more important that there is an aspect of your life that is well understood and which can be proactively communicated. Philanthropy can be the vehicle for this, and your highly targeted philanthropy even more so, because the impact is quantifiable. A lot can be accomplished with the science and technology press in the first instance, who are interested in the serious side to your work and are uninterested in the tabloid headlines.

Some of the necessary steps are:

- Take down the Jeffrey Epstein Science and Jeffrey Epstein Philanthropy websites, and build a new site from scratch which explains your interests, your past funding, the scientists you support and the breakthroughs

- Introduce greater transparency into how you allocate funding in response to grant applications
- Establish a Scientific Advisory Board of the Foundation, which serves to demonstrate the deep knowledge base you draw on and attracts the best scientists to apply
- Sets out quantifiable long term targets, i.e. the Gates Foundation target to eradicate malaria by 2015

Annual event

I would advise you to think about some kind of annual event that brings together your business and philanthropic interests, i.e. an intimate and high level summit or conference. The best events of this nature clearly demonstrate:

- The convening power of the host
- Your interest and expertise in a range of subjects
- Your network that your clients and acquaintances greatly value
- The connections made between your guests
- That you are undaunted by the negative publicity, it is 'business as usual'

Whilst different from what I have in mind, the Milken Conference has been a key part of Mike Milken's rehabilitation. This could be a much smaller, more high level gathering focused on a subject of interest to these core constituencies.

Osborne & Partners LLP
14 June 2011

Date: Thursday, March 20 2014 06:19 PM
Subject: Fwd: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein
From: Tyler Shears [redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>; Christina Galbraith [redacted]

Looks like Priceline Director made a bad move today and has the same name - this works to our advantage. Pushing on this story now.

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: **Google Alerts** <googlealerts-noreply@google.com>
Date: Thu, Mar 20, 2014 at 2:04 PM
Subject: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein
To: [redacted]

Jeffrey Epstein

As-it-happens update · March 20, 2014

NEWS

Insider Selling: **Jeffrey Epstein** Sells 2000 Shares of Priceline.com Stock (PCLN)
Ticker Report
Priceline.com logo Priceline.com (NASDAQ:PCLN) Director **Jeffrey Epstein** unloaded 2,000 shares of the stock on the open market in a transaction **...**

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Daily Mail

Bill Clinton links to Prince Andrew's billionaire friend **Jeffrey Epstein**
Daily Mail
Newly disclosed flight logs show that between 2002 and 2005 the former US President travelled around the world courtesy of **Jeffrey Epstein** while his **...**

Flag as irrelevant

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Send Feedback

From: John Brockman [redacted]
Sent: 2/6/2017 8:34:19 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: sorry I missed your call

Importance: High

JE,

--Last week was misery...On Tuesday, Katinka's' younger brother, Jonathan Matson, was planning on flying in from Boston and having dinner with her. After several emails back and forth in the morning, he wrote to say he was packed and ready to leave the house but he had been fighting a stomach bug, so he had decided it was best to postpone and go to bed. He was fine at 6pm when his wife (a Mass General health professional) came home. She brought him a coke, went downstairs to make dinner. Half an hour later she went upstairs to check on him. He had died. We got the news at 9pm on a phone call from someone we hadn't talked to in 20 years" "Jonathan Matson has died" was impossible to process. Katinka is still was distraught and, just coming out of shock.

--And...this, from my older brother Philip ("Distinguished NASA Physcist" awardee), who had prostate surgery about 25 years, and got lucky be living in Raliegh-Durham, near Duke Medical Center which is tops. They've kept him alive and it's finally caught up to him:

"I have run out of standard treatments. Chemo is getting less effective with increasing side effects. There is a new drug Keytruda it has been approved for some cancers but is still experimental for prostate cancer.
https://prostatecancernewstoday.com/pembrolizumab-immune-therapy-help-men-prostate-cancer/. I have been approved to get Keytruda and will start on Thursday."

--Finally, did I ever tell you about the Biosphere crowd? Absolutely nutty cult I represented in the early 90s. (Although individually the people were sometimes fun). My friend Roy Walford, the doctor inside the Biosphere, eventually died because of a condition he developed while inside. I kept sending writers down there to work with them and they would inevitably sneak away in the dead of night. I had to sell their book three times, each time for a fractions of the previous advance which started in 7 figures. Turns out Bannon took over as CEO of the place in 1993 so we may have overlapped. See:
Steve Bannon Was Once Hired to Manage an Artificial World of People Living Under Glass (Before the Trump Campaign)-
http://slate.me/2keSDUn

In the office this afternoon and after 10:30am tomorrow.

JB
[redacted] mobile

From: Michael Wolff[redacted]
Sent: 3/24/2018 1:37:40 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: My datebook

Importance: High

Three hours with SB who believes DJT won't last to the mid terms. Also saw Brad Karp who is super menchy and offering much help on next book.

Date: Sunday, April 15 2018 05:01 PM
Subject: Interesting
From: Glenn Dubin <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

---

https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/michael-cohen-and-the-end-stage-of-the-trump-presidency/amp?__twitter_impression=true

Sent from my iPhone

The Virgin Islands
DAILY NEWS
A Pulitzer Prize-Winning Newspaper
ST. CROIX ST. JOHN ST. THOMAS TORTOLA
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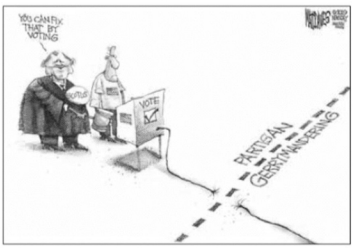
Published by Daily News Publishing Co., Inc.
Archie Nahigian, Publisher J. Lowe Davis, Editor
Ken E. Ryan, Production Director Lisa Jarnil, Advertising Director
Onneka Challenger, Circulation Director Juanita Young, Controller

The week in cartoons



Government turns its back on Jeffrey Epstein's sex victims

From the Sun Sentinel, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Private lawyers allowed sexual predator Jeffrey Epstein to escape justice. Epstein's new defense team works for the federal government.

The U.S. attorney for the northern district of Georgia claimed last week that even though prosecutors in South Florida broke the law when they approved an outrageously light sentence for Epstein, the deal must stand. Byung Pak may not actually be on Epstein's legal team, but he has placed the Department of Justice on Epstein's side.

To review, Epstein is a billionaire money manager whose friends include President Trump, former President Bill Clinton and Prince Andrew. Between 1998 and 2006, Epstein recruited roughly three dozen underage girls — generally from poor and troubled families — to his house in Palm Beach and sexually abused them.

Epstein could have faced federal sex trafficking charges. He could have faced life in prison. Instead, the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida — Alex Acosta, now Trump's labor secretary — gave Epstein immunity on federal charges and allowed him to plead guilty to minor state charges. Then-Palm Beach County State Attorney Barry Krischer went along. Epstein served 13 months in jail — he was allowed out about half the time — and had to register with the state as a sex offender.

Prosecutors never told the victims about the agreement. Until the signing of that odious agreement in 2007, the girls believed the FBI was still investigating.

Two victims challenged the deal, which applied not just to Epstein, but also to those who recruited the girls and joined in the abuse. Last February, U.S. District Judge Kenneth Marra ruled that prosecutors had violated the Crime Victims Rights Act. In criticizing the government, Marra noted, "Epstein worked in concert with others to obtain minors not only for his own sexual gratification, but also for the sexual gratification of others."

Marra then asked attorneys for both sides how he should correct this violation. Pak got the case because Acosta's old office had to recuse itself.

Pak's idea? The victims could "confer in private" with prosecutors about the deal. Prosecutors could get more training in how to consult with victims. But the deal stands. The victims don't deserve even an apology.

Pak argues that the Crime Victims Rights Act contains no provision for undoing the non-prosecution agreement, which is what the victims want. Doing so, Pak claims, could violate separation of powers.

That sounds like a warning to Marra — one he should ignore. Prosecutorial discretion doesn't matter when the action in question breaks the law. Even Pak acknowledges repeatedly that it happened.

The government, he writes, "should have communicated with the victims in a straightforward and transparent way." Pak "regrets that the manner in which (the government) communicated the resolution of the Epstein case to the victims fell short." Prosecutors could have communicated "more clearly and directly" with the victims."

None of that happened because Acosta, Krischer and Epstein's lawyers didn't want the deal to become public. The victims might have gone public with their complaints. Media coverage could have killed the deal.

Indeed, the record reflects the lengths to which Acosta and Krischer sought secrecy. Acosta drove from Miami to West Palm Beach to meet with Epstein attorney Jay Lefkowitz. Krischer wrote to a federal prosecutor, "Glad we could get this worked out for reasons I won't put in writing."

We acknowledge that Pak didn't create this mess. But his argument insults the public and reflects badly on the Department of Justice.

"The resolution in this case," Pak writes, "has led some to conclude that the government chose for improper reasons not to prosecute Epstein, a conclusion that remains unsubstantiated." That's because the principals have been able to avoid talking about it for more than a decade.

Acosta ducked the issue during his confirmation hearings in April 2017. Last November, The Miami Herald ran a series on the case that featured interviews with victims who agreed to be identified. Acosta refused to comment. So did Krischer.

Some might argue that the victims have received money from civil lawsuits and should move on. But can there be a price for what Epstein and his accomplices did to these women? How many other victims are there? Why should a man who once faced a 52-page indictment be able to resume a life of privilege?

"While the court cannot unwind the past," Pak argues, "the remedies proposed by the government would give the victims a meaningful opportunity to have their voices heard and to understand, if not accept, the decisions made in this matter."

Unacceptable is right. The victims' lawyers will file their responses soon. They should ask Marra to void the agreement.

— This editoria is the opinion of the Sun Sentinel Editorial Board.

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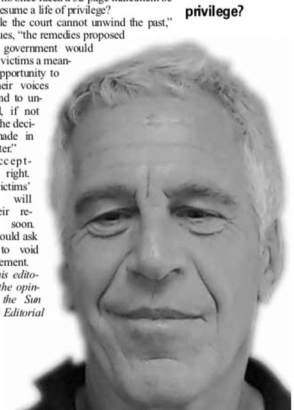

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From: Intelligence Squared [info@intelligencesquared.com]
Sent: 7/9/2019 6:31:56 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

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John Humphrys:
The Terrier of Today

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WEDNESDAY 9TH OCTOBER, 7PM
EMMANUEL CENTRE

Featuring John Humphrys and Justin Webb

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Turning the tables on Humphrys and pitching the questions will be his Today colleague **Justin Webb**. Humphrys will recount the momentous episodes of his career, such as his interview with BBC correspondent Andrew Gilligan in 2003. Gilligan claimed that the government had deliberately 'sexed up' the dossier on the threat posed by Saddam Hussein in order to justify the Iraq War. A chain of events ensued, including the suicide of the dossier's source, Dr David Kelly, severe damage to Tony Blair's reputation and the Hutton and Chilcot inquiries into the war. And then there was the time Humphrys helped to get his own boss fired. His tough interview with the BBC Director General George Entwistle, days after the BBC had made false child abuse allegations against Lord McAlpine, lead to Entwistle's resignation after a mere 53 days in the job.

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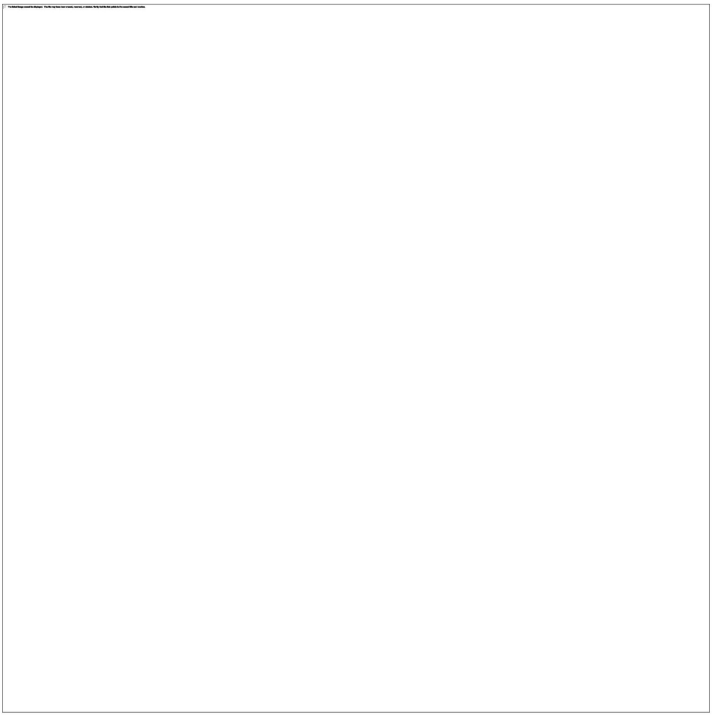

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Jeffrey Sachs on the End of American Supremacy

Last month we were joined onstage by the University of Columbia economics professor **Jeffrey Sachs**, as he laid out his radical new vision for U.S. foreign policy. Instead of a world where America reigns as the sole superpower, Sachs argued for a new international system of equals, where America shares power and collaborates with former geopolitical rivals to solve today's global crises.

Sachs was in conversation with the BBC's Chief International Correspondent **Lyse Doucet**.

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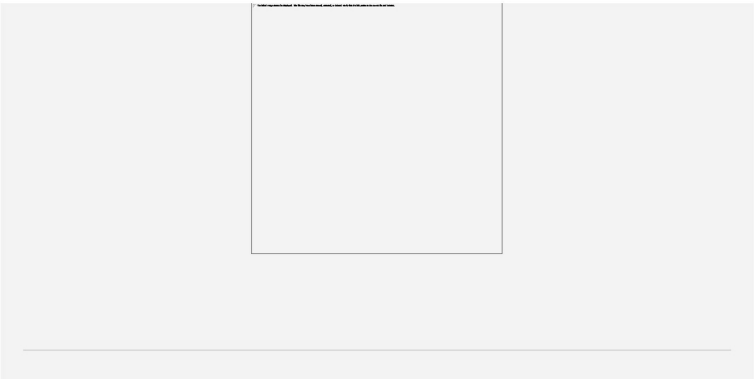

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From: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Sent: 5/6/2018 1:54:36 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fw: Fwd: APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack

Importance: High

Gates served this brother up
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Jason Miller [redacted]
Date: Sat, 5 May 2018 13:43:02 -0400
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack

Gates.

Begin forwarded message:

From: Comms Alert <CommsAlert@gop.com>
Date: May 5, 2018 at 1:19:54 PM EDT
To: undisclosed-recipients:;
Subject: APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack

APNewsBreak: Mueller team questions Trump friend Tom Barrack
Associated Press
Tom LoBianco
May 5, 2018
https://apnews.com/6dd33b4234634079821e5825f112e85b?utm_campaign=SocialFlow&utm_medium=AP&utm_source=Twitter

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Associated Press has learned that investigators working with special counsel Robert Mueller have interviewed Tom Barrack, a close friend and confidant of President Donald Trump.

Three people familiar with the probe tell the AP that Barrack met with federal investigators working on the Russia inquiry. The people spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss private deliberations.

Barrack's spokeswoman, Lisa Baker, declined to comment.

Barrack has known Trump for decades. He's been one of Trump's closest advisers through the 2016 campaign and into the administration. Barrack also is a leading fundraiser for the president and oversaw the fundraising for the inauguration.

Barrack has a longstanding relationship with Trump's former campaign chairman, Paul Manafort, and Manafort's onetime deputy, Rick Gates.

Gates agreed to begin cooperating with Mueller's investigators in February.

From: Intelligence Squared [redacted]
Sent: 6/14/2019 6:32:20 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

John Humphrys: The Terrier of Today, in conversation with Justin Webb

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John Humphrys:
The Terrier of Today

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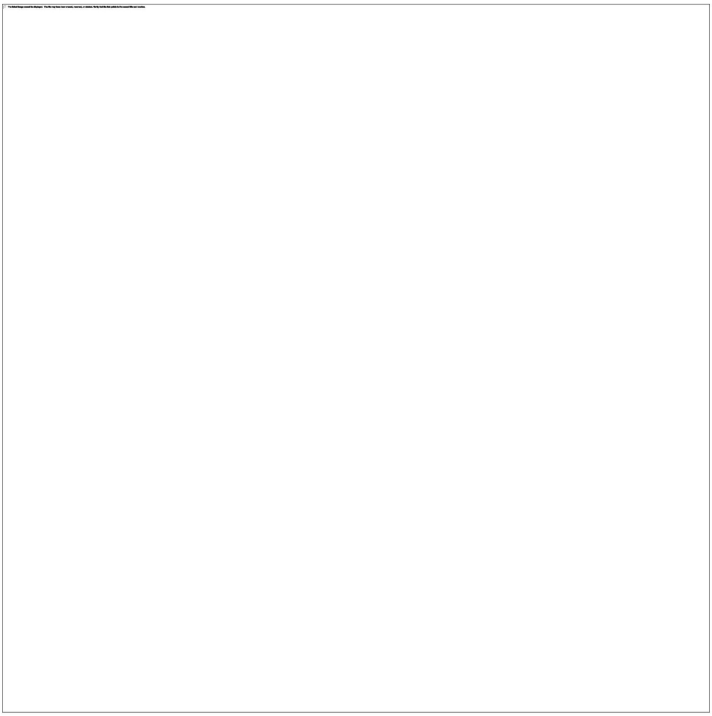

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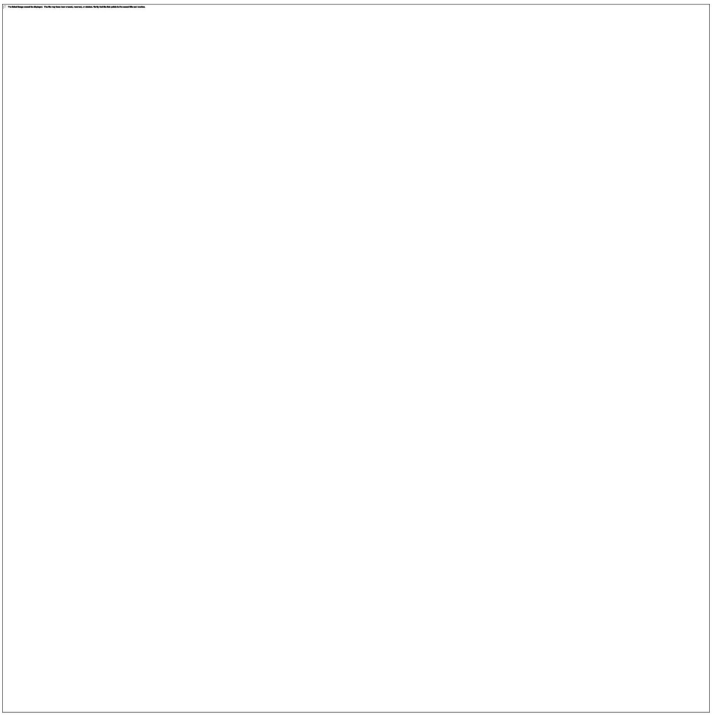

The Daily: The Rise of Nationalism Across the Globe

In this week's podcast, we hosted a live conversation from "The Daily", The New York Times' flagship podcast. In an event in partnership with The New York Times, we were joined by the podcast's host **Michael Barbaro**, as well as Berlin Bureau Chief **Katrin Bennhold**, London-based International Correspondent **Ellen Barry**, Executive Producer **Theo Balcomb** and Producer **Clare Toeniskoetter** for a conversation about the implications of the nationalist undercurrent currently sweeping across Europe.

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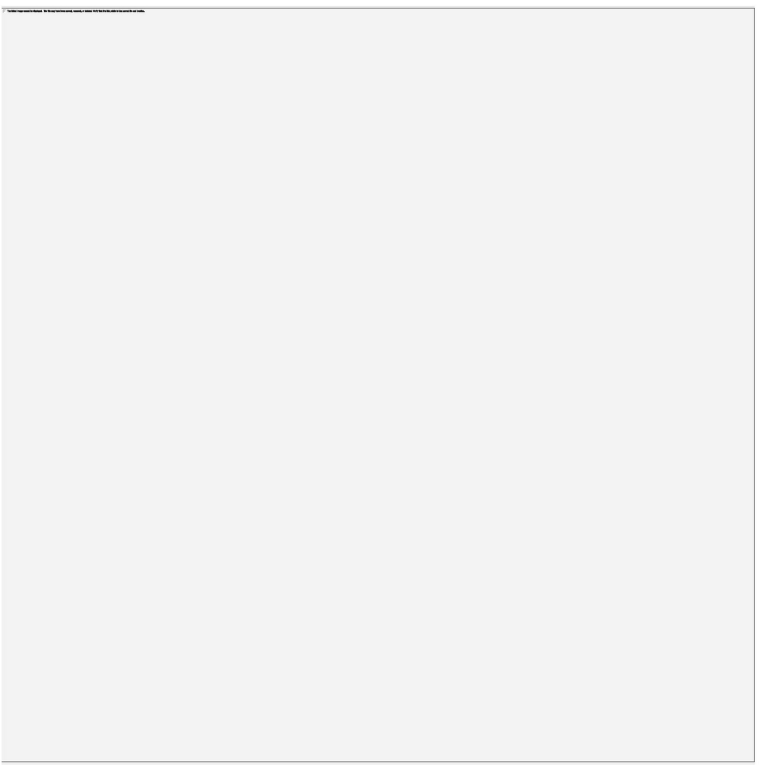

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Date:	Monday, March 7 2011 04:18 PM
Subject:	FW: Please forward
From:	Jack Goldberger <[redacted]>
To:	Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;
Attachments:	image001.png

From: Kirsty Mackenzie [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, March 07, 2011 11:11 AM
To: Jack Goldberger
Subject: RE: Please forward

I am writing in an attempt to make contact with Jeffrey Epstein and wondered if you would, as his attorney, forward this message on to him?

We are keen to explore the possibility of conducting an interview with Mr Epstein, on the subject of the stories which are circulating, however inaccurately, about both him and Prince Andrew, the Duke of York; we'd be keen to hear from Mr Epstein first hand so that the various and at times, speculative reporting which is at large in the UK press can be better scrutinised?

Let me tell you a bit about the ***Today*** programme.

Today is the BBC's main morning news show; we have been part of the BBC for over 50 years and are generally considered one of the most important news broadcast outlets - either on radio or TV - here in the UK. We set the news agenda for the BBC and in many respects we set the daily news agenda for the country. Our interviews are regularly re broadcast across the BBC's national and international news network including - ***BBC World, BBC World Service*** and ***BBC Online***. The combination of these outlets means the global 'reach' of a BBC *Today* programme interview is *second to none*.

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We are a programme that carries considerable weight and influence and which prides itself in being a first port of call for many of the most important and influential figures on the international stage.

I can best be reached via my cell phone - [redacted] - or this email address.

My very best wishes and my thanks!

Kirsty

Kirsty MacKenzie,
Interviews Editor,
Today Programme,
BBC News
mobile: [redacted]

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Date: Monday, March 7 2011 05:16 PM
Subject: Re: Fwd: FW: Please forward
From: Peter Mandelson [redacted]
To: 'jeevacation@gmail.com' <jeevacation@gmail.com>;
Attachments: image001.png

No !!

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, March 07, 2011 05:01 PM
To: Peter Mandelson BT
Subject: Fwd: FW: Please forward

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Sent: Monday, March 07, 2011 11:11 AM
To: Jack Goldberger
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Kirsty

Kirsty MacKenzie,
Interviews Editor,
Today Programme,
BBC News
mobile: [redacted]

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Date: Monday, March 7 2011 09:53 PM
Subject: RE: FW: Please forward
From: Peter Mandelson <[redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

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home if you want to talk - going to bed early....

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 07 March 2011 17:01
To: Peter Mandelson BT
Subject: Fwd: FW: Please forward

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mobile[redacted]

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Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 08:17 PM
Subject: <no subject>
From: gmax <gmax1@ellmax.com>
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance < http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

by ***Vicky Ward*** <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky- ward>

March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM

"I've got a story idea for you. The rebuilding of Indonesia. Or New Orleans. Or both. Go there. I've just been. You will never think the same way about anything again."
So spoke not Bill or Melinda Gates, but Ghislaine Maxwell, the 48-year-old woman being written up everywhere at the moment as the alleged "procurer" of young women for billionaire Jeffrey Epstein.
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Date: Tuesday, March 8 2011 08:48 PM
Subject: Re:
From: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

thank you Vicky!

On Tue, Mar 8, 2011 at 3:31 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance < http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes- on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

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From: Jessica Cadwell, Paralegal [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 8:49:29 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:
Attachments: bclc.gif

Importance: High

That's actually a very well written article, and I suspect very true and from the heart.
I was thinking about you today and all the BS....
How are you holding up??
Did you see the comments on Lambiet's Page re: Spencer ☺

BURMAN, CRITTON LUTTIER & COLEMAN, LLP
YOUR TRUSTED ADVOCATES

Jessica Cadwell, Paralegal - to Robert D. Critton, Jr. & Michael J. Pike
303 Banyan Boulevard | Suite 400 | West Palm Beach | FL 33401
[redacted] | www.bclclaw.com

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 3:42 PM
To: Jessica Cadwell, Paralegal
Subject:

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance <http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes-on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 8:58:30 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

What is this??? When this will stop. This is crazy.

And you are NOT 57 ;)

And certainly you are NOT socially awkward.
Who is that idiot.

Boris

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 3:28 PM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject:

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Sent: 3/8/2011 9:08:46 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

This is not bad

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 9:34:45 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Tue, 8 Mar 2011 12:40:36 -0800
To: Martin Weinberg<[redacted]>
Subject:

Jeffrey and Ghislaine: Notes on New York's Oddest Alliance <http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2011/03/notes-on-new-yorks-oddest-couple-jeffrey-epstein-and-ghislaine-maxwell.html>

by ***Vicky Ward*** <http://www.vanityfair.com/contributors/vicky-ward>
March 8, 2011, 2:30 PM

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Jeffrey Epstein
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From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/8/2011 11:17:34 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: <no subject>

Importance: High

I think this is a great article I think viki was clearly very nice…I remember when I got the call when she was thinking about her writing the article 8 years ago…she was spot on here this is the article that citrick should work off of…
Home all night

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 08, 2011 5:48 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: <no subject>

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **gmax** <gmax1@ellmax.com>
Date: Tue, Mar 8, 2011 at 12:17 PM
Subject: <no subject>
To: J Jep <jeevacation@gmail.com>

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